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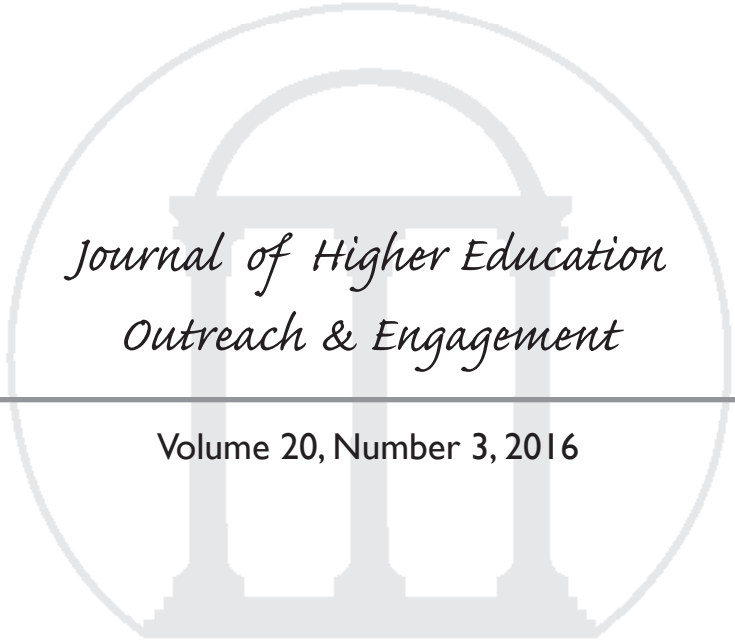

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This article reports on a project focused on understanding the work of the Knowledge Co-op (KC) at the University of Cape Town in terms of community engagement and partnership building. The project tested tools for analyzing complex university–community interactions, or "boundary work." Rather than analyzing the actual partnerships and research itself, activity theory was used as a framework for understanding the role of the KC broker, a key role in university–community partnership work. The activity theory lens assisted in identifying the complex work entailed in the broker role. In particular, the authors argue that in order to understand what happens at the university–community nexus, the unit of analysis needs to shift from individualized practices toward the transaction/boundary zone where these interactions take place.

Erin Nelson
Wilfrid Laurier University

This article focuses on the collaborations between academics and community-based organizations seeking to fundamentally reorganize the way food is produced, distributed, and consumed as well as valued. The central research question investigates whether and how the growth of community–campus engagement (CCE) can strengthen food movements. Drawing on an analysis of 5 case studies in Canada, research demonstrated that when it is part of relationships based on mutual benefit and reciprocity, CCE can—and does—play an important role in building food movements. Different orientations toward CCE are discussed in terms of their varying assumptions and implications for how partners work together.

62 ..... The Student Experience of Community-Based Research: An Autoethnography

Benjamin C. Ingman
University of Colorado Anschutz

This autoethnography provides a description and thematic illustration of the student experience of a community-based research (CBR) course and partnership. Through evaluating personal experiences with CBR, the author identified three qualities of meaningful CBR experiences: trust, indeterminacy, and emotion. These qualities are explored, and comparisons are made between the outcomes experienced and those established in the literature of student learning in CBR. These findings enrich discourse of student experiences in CBR and corroborate literature on student learning in CBR through illuminating the experience by which that learning occurs.

90 ..... The Effects of an Alternative Spring Break Program on Student Development

Stephanie Hayne Beatty and Ken N. Meadows
Western University, Canada

Richard SwamiNathan
Westcoast Connection/ 360 Student Travel

Catherine Mulvihill
Wilfrid Laurier University

This study examined the potential impact of a week-long cocurricular community service-learning (CSL) program on undergraduate students' psychosocial development. Participants in the Alternative Spring Break program and a matched control group completed surveys assessing a number of psychosocial variables immediately before and after the program, as well as 8 months later. Findings suggest that cocurricular CSL programs such as alternative breaks may positively

impact students in 2 important ways: increasing personal growth and increasing personal effectiveness. Further research with larger samples is necessary; however, results from this study indicate that cocurricular CSL can be a powerful tool for supporting positive student development.

Projects with Promise

122..... Socialization in the Institution: A Working Group's Journey to Bring Public Engagement Into Focus on Campus

Lia Plakans
University of Iowa

Rebecca Alper
Temple University

Carolyn Colvin, Mary Aquilino, Linda J. Louko, Patricia Zebrowski, and Saba Rasheed Ali
University of Iowa

For over 3 years, 6 faculty members and 1 graduate student have gathered as a working group applying an interdisciplinary focus to public engagement projects involving immigrant families in the rural Midwest. One dimension of the group's effort has been to involve faculty, staff, and students from many disciplines in its examination of pertinent issues related to engaged scholarship. To support this goal of socialization in the institution, the interdisciplinary group hosted a 1-day workshop to explore engaged scholarship at the university. Through a survey and targeted interviews, working definitions for engagement and prospective areas of interest were explored during and after the workshop.

140..... Engaging the Educators: Facilitating Civic Engagement Through Faculty Development

Sarah Surak and Alexander Pope
Salisbury University

Incorporating civic engagement into academically rigorous classroom practice requires the retooling of course delivery. In this article, the authors describe an 8-week seminar that acts as a structured, incentivized opportunity for course redesign for Salisbury University (Maryland) faculty who wish to incorporate rigorous and effective civic engagement across the liberal arts curriculum. Lessons learned include the effect of providing space for discussion and pedagogical imagining, the importance of disciplinary literacy and social responsibility, perspectives for dealing with differing faculty expecations of student engagement, strategies for moving beyond roadblocks, and

Book Reviews

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From the Editor...

Wilder Named *JHEOE* Coeditor

I am pleased to be joined by Dr. Shannon O. Wilder as a coeditor of the *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*. A scholar, administrator, and practitioner, Dr. Wilder is deeply knowledgeable about community-engaged scholarship. She has served as the founding director of the Office of Service-Learning (OSL) at the University of Georgia since 2005, providing innovative leadership for the expansion of academic service-learning opportunities both locally and in study abroad. This role involves both coordinating the OSL's Service-Learning Fellows program and overseeing programs and initiatives related to faculty and graduate student development, grants and funding for service-learning, faculty awards and recognition programs, and university initiatives promoting community engagement.

In addition to her administrative duties, Wilder serves as an adjunct faculty member in the Department of Art Education in the Lamar Dodd School of Art, where she has developed and teaches the graduate course Art Education in the Community as well as a First Year Odyssey service-learning course, "Citizen Artists" and the Role of the Arts in Public Life. Her current research interests include the impact of service-learning on students' civic participation after graduation, arts-based research methods, and service-learning and arts-based reflection. Wilder received her BFA from Baylor University in Waco, Texas. She holds a M.Ed. in Instructional Technology (2001) and a Ph.D. in Art Education (2006), both from the University of Georgia.

Dr. Wilder has served as a long-time reviewer for *The Journal of Community Engagement in Higher Education* and the *Journal of Service-Learning in Higher Education*, as well as the *JHEOE*. Most recently, she was *JHEOE*'s associate editor for reflective essays. Welcome, Shannon, to this new role! See what she has to say about this issue.…

Lorilee R. Sandmann
Coeditor

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From the Editor…

Finding Those Transformational Spaces for Community Engagement

As we continue to celebrate and reflect on the 20th anniversary year of *JHEOE*, we are now challenged to consider what and how we will build on the foundation of community-engaged scholarship that has been laid, and how we create those transformational spaces where this work occurs. Articles in this issue examine the complex relationships, spaces, and systems that are created for community–university engagement to occur and critique new frameworks and methods that can help scholars doing this work make sense of its impact and meaning.

In a thoughtful article that considers the spaces in which community–university engagement work takes place and that builds on boundary-spanning literature, McMillan, Goodman, and Schmid reinterpret the boundary as "the nexus of two interacting communities" and use activity theory as a framework for understanding the complex, sometimes contradictory community networks and social systems at work in community-based research activities. Applying this theory, they examine a science shop—known as the Knowledge Co-op—that "brokers" links between the University of Cape Town and the broader community. They examine and define the "boundary zone" where different communities intersect in this unique space designed for community-based research, and its implications for organizations that work in such a translational and transformational space.

Along with a new understanding of the spaces where community engagement and boundary work take place, authors in this issue also take up transformational learning and how the engagement field can move from more traditional, transactional forms of community engagement to employing critical engagement strategies promoting and supporting social movements, activism, and political and justice-oriented frameworks for engagement. In one such article, Levkoe et al. examine five case studies of participatory action research projects focused on social change for just and sustainable food systems as part of the Community Food Security hub across Canada. They present findings from these case studies that explore the understanding and complexity of partner roles—as well as the tensions that develop over these roles—and consider how partners resolve such tensions in order to develop partnerships that

adopt a social change orientation that more fully addresses the sustainability and social justice goals of the food movement.

In an engrossing autoethnographic account of a student's experience with community-based research (CBR), Ingman uses this qualitative methodology to examine a CBR journal kept over several years as he chronicled his development as a community-based researcher. This compelling, personal account fills a gap in CBR literature; in addition to addressing graduate student experiences, it also identifies common outcomes of the CBR student experience. Moreover, this article serves as a model for community-engaged scholars employing autoethnographic methods in order to enrich and deepen our inquiry around even well-studied topics like student outcomes.

Beatty, Meadows, SwamiNathan, and Mulvihill present a study of the impact of cocurricular community service-learning on students' personal development through Alternative Spring Break (ASB), an alternative break program. Using a quasi-experimental design, the authors surveyed ASB participants and a control group of randomly selected undergraduates using pre- and post-surveys, as well as a survey 8 months after the ASB experiences to study long-term effects. This research design attempts to fill methodological gaps in the existing literature on cocurricular service-learning and alternative break programs, which has been primarily qualitative in nature.

In a featured *Project with Promise*, Plakans et al. consider how the socialization of faculty affects the institutionalization of engaged scholarship and the kind of organizational change and spaces for dialogue that are necessary for embedding public engagement in a university's mission. Continuing with this theme of "spaces for engagement," Surak and Pope discuss Civic Engagement Across the Curriculum (CEAC), a faculty development seminar that created structured space and time for faculty to learn to embed civic engagement in their teaching.

The Relationships and Parenting Support (RAPS) Program is a stress reduction program for new mothers and support partners that is part of a larger university–community partnership. Williams and Oravecz chronicle the development of RAPS and present findings about its impact on stress reduction for participants. In addition, they examine the challenges of conducting community-based research with at-risk populations that is truly responsive to the community, culturally competent, and developed *with* rather

than *for* the community, especially given institutional constraints on faculty time and expectations.

Authors continue to explore the theme of "transformation"—both individual and organizational—in this issue's book reviews. In his review of Reiter and Oslender's *Bridging Scholarship and Activism: Reflections from the Frontlines of Collaborative Research*, Hartman reminds us that undertaking community-engaged scholarship in marginalized communities can have profound moral, and sometimes life and death, consequences for both faculty and community members. The activist-scholars in this edited volume challenge us to think about issues of danger and power in work that seeks to transform unjust systems or challenge oppression, and they ask us to consider whether our institutions and disciplines can fully support faculty and graduate students engaged in this sometimes perilous work.

Finally, Breznitz's book *The Fountain of Knowledge: The Role of Universities in Economic Development*, reviewed by James K. Woodell, analyzes how technology transfer can have profound effects on a university's relationship and contribution to economic development. Using case study examples from the University of Cambridge and Yale University, Breznitz links operational and organizational changes to the respective institution's approach to engagement with community and regional partners as a key to the success of institutional technology transfer efforts.

We thank the authors, peer reviewers, and associate editors of articles in this issue for delving into these complex spaces and frameworks where community engagement "lives" and helping us make sense of its impact through a variety of lenses.

Shannon O. Wilder
Coeditor

Research Articles

Illuminating "Transaction Spaces" in Higher Education: University–Community Partnerships and Brokering as "Boundary Work"

Janice McMillan, Suki Goodman, and Barbara Schmid

Abstract

This article reports on a project focused on understanding the work of the Knowledge Co-op (KC) at the University of Cape Town in terms of community engagement and partnership building. The project tested tools for analyzing complex university–community interactions, or "boundary work." Rather than analyzing the actual partnerships and research itself, activity theory was used as a framework for understanding the role of the KC broker, a key role in university–community partnership work. The activity theory lens assisted in identifying the complex work entailed in the broker role. In particular, the authors argue that in order to understand what happens at the university–community nexus, the unit of analysis needs to shift from individualized practices toward the transaction/boundary zone where these interactions take place.

Introduction

> The notion of a *transaction space* shifts the metaphor from the translation across boundaries to dialogue at boundaries.… Boundary work needs to be facilitated and managed and as a result specific knowledge and skills are required… engagement as a core value will be evident in the extent to which universities do actually develop the skills, create the organizational forms and manage tensions that will inevitably arise when different social worlds interact. [T]o embrace this form of engagement entails that universities themselves be prepared to participate in those potential transaction spaces in which complex problems and issues will be initially and tentatively broached. *(Gibbons, 2005, pp. 11–12)*

Community engagement activities in higher education are sometimes referred to as a form of "boundary work" *(Gibbons, 2005; McMillan, 2008; Winberg, 2006)* or as "boundary spanning" *(Romero, 2014; Weerts & Sandmann, 2010)*. Community

engagement takes place at the nexus of two interacting communities—the university and the communities that partner with the university for purposes such as service-learning, community-based research, or policy research.

Service-learning in particular has been described as a form of "border pedagogy" *(Hayes & Cuban, 1997; Keith, 1998; Skilton-Sylvester & Erwin, 2000; Taylor, 2002)*, drawing largely on work in critical pedagogy and critical postmodernism *(Anzaldúa, 1987; Giroux, 1992)* and activity theory *(McMillan, 2008)*. The researchers in all of these studies argued for the need to develop new lenses to understand aspects of the service-learning experience. Following Giroux *(1992)*, Hayes and Cuban *(1997)* suggested that the metaphors of "borders," "border-crossing," and "borderland" are useful and important as a "compelling starting point for describing and rethinking the nature of service learning" *(p. 74)*. As Giroux *(1992)* argued,

> Border crossing serves as a metaphor for how people might gain a more critical perspective on the forms of domination inherent in their own histories, knowledge and practices, and learn to value alternative forms of knowledge.… Borderlands should be seen as sites both for critical analysis and as a potential source of experimentation, creativity and possibility. *(p. 28)*

From this perspective, the framework developed in this article contributes to existing theory by introducing the tools of activity theory and recasts the notion of border crossing into the language of boundary work *(McMillan, 2008; McMillan, 2011)* to explore university–community partnerships.

The idea of "boundary work" in this context is important, as it does not imply necessarily crossing the border or boundary; rather, it signals that there is challenging work to do when one brings different worlds, histories, knowledge, and practices together *(McMillan, 2008)*. Such a framework provides a rich and illuminative set of tools to identify, analyze, and interpret the multiple and complex interactions that take place between universities and their community partners. It is commonly acknowledged that these interactions are often contested, contradictory, and changing, hence the need for frameworks and tools to ensure all parties experience mutual benefits from the relationship.

This article focuses on the partnership work of the university Knowledge Co-op (KC) at the University of Cape Town (UCT). The purpose of the study was not to provide a full analysis of the

actual partnerships—these form the basis of other outputs from the project *(McMillan, Goodman, & Winkler, 2013; Wickham, 2013)*. Rather, our intention is to contribute to the development of theoretical resources useful in analyzing boundary work by introducing activity theory as an analytical framework. The central argument of this study is that we need to understand what happens in the boundary zone or transaction space at the nexus of university–community interaction in order to manage the complexity of these kinds of partnerships better. In order to make these complex practices visible, we propose shifting our unit of analysis from individualized practices toward the transaction/boundary zone where these interactions take place.

We start by outlining activity theory and the tools that such a framework affords to understand complex systems. Although activity theory has been used to look at complex work practices in systems where joint activities take place, we have rarely seen it used in the university–community partnership space. Romero's *(2014)* study was a useful contribution to this debate, and we hope to build on this work by taking the framework in new directions. In so doing, we offer renewed insights into these partnerships and further evidence of the possibilities inherent in activity theory as a way of making sense of complex boundary-spanning relationships and interactions. We then outline the background context that led to the development of the KC. This includes a discussion of the tradition of European science shops, as these models influenced the development of the UCT KC. This is followed by an overview of the brokering process used by the KC itself. During the pilot phase of the KC, a particular model of partnership "brokering" emerged that we sought to understand. This model made visible many complex practices characterized by tensions, contradictions, and contestations that took place within the boundary zone itself. Drawing on activity theory to look at the KC as a site of boundary work, we found it a useful framework to make sense of and tackle some of these tensions. The article concludes by raising questions generated by our framework that could potentially be useful for other researchers in the field of community engagement.

Developing a Conceptual Framework: Community–University Partnerships Through the Lens of Activity Theory

Activity theory as developed through the work of Engeström *(1996)* provides key tools for better understanding how communities and universities interact to create meaningful research

and partnerships for the future. Although it has been applied in a number of studies focused on workplace learning, it does not appear in much of the community engagement literature.

Activity Theory: Defining the Unit of Analysis

Activity theory (AT) encompasses a broad range of approaches to understanding learning and activity, evident in the work of Kozulin *(1998)* and Engeström and Miettinen *(1999)* in particular. Engeström and Miettinen (*1999)* referred to this body of theory as "the current wave of contextual and culturally situated theories of mind and practice" *(p. 11)*. For Engeström and Miettinen *(1999)*, activity theory provided a very useful starting point in defining a unit of analysis (the activity system) for exploring and understanding what are often very complex interactions and relationships. It does this via the concept of an "object-oriented, collective, and culturally mediated human activity, or *activity system*" (*p. 9*; emphasis added), a "flexible unit of analysis" that enables us to look in different directions and with different levels of magnification to answer the questions that puzzle us. However, there has been a lot of debate in AT regarding the appropriate unit of analysis (see *Davydov & Radzikhovskii, 1985)*, and this has shaped the way in which the AT field has developed. Engeström and Miettinen, as well as other activity theorists, see "joint activity or practice" as the unit of analysis for activity theory, not individual action. Russell *(2002)* described it as "less of a tight theory" than a "philosophical framework for studying different forms of human praxis as developmental processes, both individual and social levels interlinked at the same time" *(p. 66)*. However, although activity theory is an evolving framework and even interpreted differently by various proponents, Russell argued that there are at least seven basic principles shared by its adherents, all of which can be traced back to the thinking and work of Vygotsky *(1978)*:

- Human behavior is social in origin, and human activity is collective.
- Human consciousness or "mind" grows out of people's joint activity with shared tools.
- Activity theory emphasizes "tool-mediated action" in context—humans not only act on their environment with their tools, they also think and learn with tools.
- Activity theory is interested in development and change, which is understood broadly to include his-

torical change, individual development, and moment-to-moment change.

- Activity theory grounds analysis in everyday life events, the ways people interact with each other using tools over time.
- Activity theory assumes that "individuals are active agents in their own development but do not act in settings entirely of their own choosing" *(Cole, 1996, p. 104).*
- Activity theory "rejects cause and effect, stimulus response, explanatory science in favour of a science that emphasises the emergent nature of mind in activity and that acknowledges a central role for interpretation in its explanatory framework." Accordingly, it "draws upon methodologies from the humanities as well as from the social and biological sciences" *(Cole, 1996, p. 104).*

In summary, activity theory is focused on understanding learning as a social act, not just a cognitive act without a connection to practice in the world; that is, learning is first a social act and then an individual one when we make sense of it for ourselves. Following Billett *(2002)*,

> AT holds that human actions are the product of social practices that are historically and culturally constituted. Some AT perspectives focus on historical and cultural contributions to human activity, including the sociogenesis of knowledge (e.g. *Leont'ev, 1981; Cole, 1998)*, whereas others focus on how situational factors shape human actions (e.g. *Engeström, 1993). The latter, in particular, assists in delineating what comprises a social practice and identifying the factors that constitute that practice* [emphasis added]. *(p. 85)*

Our interest in AT has followed the latter perspective, focusing on how situational factors shape human actions. All activity systems make up a set of interacting components that shape and are shaped by factors both internal and external to the system. The structure of such a system is represented in Figure 1.

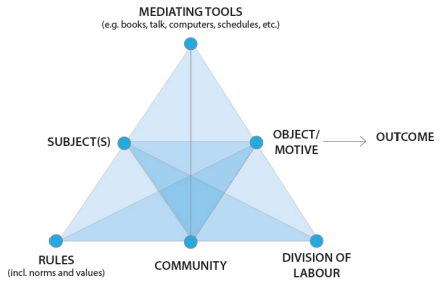

Figure 1. Structure of an activity system. Adapted from Engeström *(1987)*.

The *subjects* are individuals or subgroups engaged in an activity. The *object* is the reason for the activity system in the first place, for instance to gain information about a particular topic. The third component is *tools* or the artifacts that mediate subjects' action upon objects: They mediate or facilitate subjects' doing things. Examples of tools include a questionnaire, a computer, or a text. The *community* is the broader or larger group interacting in the activity and of which the subjects are a part. In higher education, this might include lecturers and students; in community engagement work, this would also include the community with whom the university is engaging. The *division of labor* refers to the different roles played by actors in the system, such as lecturer or student. The *rules* operating in any activity are broadly understood as not only formal and explicit rules governing behavior but also those that are "unwritten and tacit," often referred to as norms, routines, habits, values, and conventions *(Engeström, 1996; Russell, 2002)*.

Because activity theory is suitable for understanding systems and complex joint activities, it is useful not only to look at activities *within* systems, but also at activities of *interacting* activity systems. This is the work of third-generation activity theory, which focuses on "networks of *interacting* [emphasis added] activity systems"(*Daniels, 2001, p. 91)*. Here, contradictions highlighted by contested activity system objects emerge: Each of two intersecting activity systems has an identifiable object which, as they work together on a common project, becomes a transformed object. The outcome of this is Object 3, the result of intersecting activity systems. Third-generation activity theory is represented in Figure 2.

The activity system does not exist outside the community-based research activities; the activities act to constitute the system. However, this does not necessarily imply that this temporary

activity system generates one transformed object through its activities. Very often, distinct—albeit linked—objects remain. This is important in the context of university–community partnerships given the very large differences between them, such as contexts or available resources. This is represented in Figure 3, which outlines the activity system at the intersection of two communities of practice.

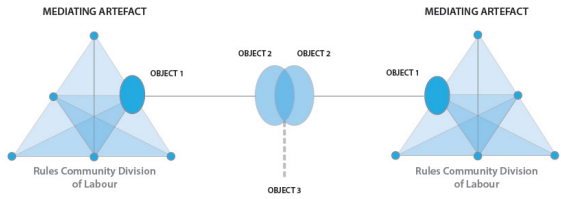

Figure 2. Interacting activity systems. Adapted from Engeström *(1987)*.

Based on earlier research *(McMillan, 2008)*, we argue for two communities of practice interacting via one activity system and engaged in a common project. On their own, universities and communities are both complex communities of practice, each with its own rules, division of labor, tools, and objects *(Lave & Wenger, 1991)*. Through the university–community partnership, they become a temporary activity system working on a project together. In other words, it is only at the intersection—or boundary—with each other that these communities of practice become one system and only through their activities together do the elements of the system get constituted.

The activity system does not exist outside the community-based research activities; the activities act to *constitute* the system. However, this does not necessarily imply that this temporary activity system generates one transformed object through its activities. Very often, distinct—albeit linked—objects remain. This is important in the context of university–community partnerships given the very large differences between them, such as contexts or available resources. This is represented in Figure 3, which outlines the activity system at the intersection of two communities of practice.

Finally, AT proved useful as a framework for university–community partnerships in our context as it illuminated two key features of community engagement that have not been discussed in other studies: an expanded community and a dual (but interrelated)

object *(McMillan, 2008)*. Both of these exert pressure on existing components of the system.

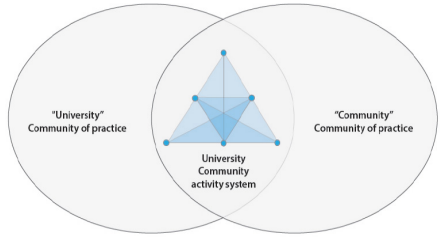

Figure 3. Activity system at the intersection of two communities of practice. Adapted from McMillan *(2008)*.

The expanded community. Community-based research involves an expanded, more diverse community than the traditional university-based one consisting of students and educators. The community in community-based research also includes an external partner. Community partners and the respective activity systems of which they are a part represent different ways of engaging with the world, different histories with specific tools of mediation, and different kinds of knowledge and ways of knowing. All of this can challenge students, and thereby the activity systems, in significant ways. As noted by Russell *(2002)*, the community element of an activity system has a significant impact on all the other elements in the system.

A dual (but interrelated) object. University–community partnerships involve two communities of practice with very different histories, rules, and interests. It can therefore be argued that two interlinked objects are inherent in such partnerships: learning *and* service. Students are not doing research for its own sake and for their degrees alone—they are doing it in the context of engaging or serving a community. The research question is generated by the community partner, not by the university (see the description of the model below). This then translates into a dual (but interrelated) object of service *and* learning, rather than one transformed object. Although the two are clearly different, service and learning are inseparable, as it is through the service that the students learn, and it is through the learning that service gets rendered.

These two features generate an inherent tension within an activity system, which can impact the other dimensions of that system; in turn, these tensions can be reflected in community

engagement activities themselves *(McMillan, 2008)*. This is outlined in the contradictions in the system in Figure 4.

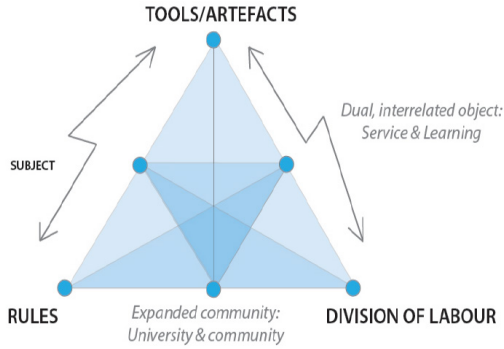

Figure 4. Service learning as an activity system with a dual but interrelated object and an expanded community. Adapted from McMillan *(2008)*.

With the theoretical framework outlined above, the next section describes the context of the case study. We begin by discussing university–community partnerships and science shops in particular, with a focus on the South-African higher education context. We then look at the UCT Knowledge Co-op, which is the focus of this article. Returning to activity theory, we argue that the work of the Knowledge Co-op and other similar structures is a form of boundary work across two communities of practice in higher education, the complex work of which is facilitated by a broker or boundary worker.

Context and Background: University–Community Partnerships and Science Shops

Universities that engage with communities—through community engagement, engaged scholarship, and service-learning—form part of a social responsiveness network within academia. Ramaley *(2014)* addressed the increasing importance of this work for learning to deal with "wicked problems" in our current complex global world. In recent years in South Africa, social responsiveness has come to light as an essential part of academic engagement between universities and broader communities *(Favish, McMillan, & Ngcelwane, 2012; Hall, 2010; Lazarus, Erasmus, Hendricks, Nduna, & Slamat, 2008)*.

Following the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994, its emerging democracy was faced with a number of challenges

requiring academic input and involvement. Unfortunately, many of these challenges still exist today. In this context, community engagement within higher education in South Africa was promoted by the introduction of an education white paper (*Department of Education, 1997*). The white paper indicated from the outset that higher education in South Africa needed to undergo transformation in order to contribute to reconstruction and development of society. One of the concerns raised in the paper was that university education does not engage with societal needs, problems, and challenges within Africa—this is referred to as the "ivory tower" *(p. 3)* syndrome.

The purpose of higher education, as outlined in the document, is to "address the development needs of society," and universities must "demonstrate social responsibility… and their commitment to the common good by making available expertise and infrastructure for community development programs" (*Department of Education, 1997, p. 3)*.

The white paper echoed Ernest Boyer's description of the need for universities to "broaden the definition of scholarship beyond research to include the scholarship of teaching, application, and integration" (as cited in *Barker, 2004, p. 124)*. Boyer's vision for applied academics within society was particularly relevant for higher education in a transitional society in South Africa. The national Community–Higher Education–Service Partnerships program (CHESP) was a good example of how this happened in the service-learning field. The CHESP project, a national project funded by the Ford Foundation, aimed at assisting higher education institutions in South Africa to enact aspects of the white paper on higher education transformation. One of the key outcomes of this policy paper was an emphasis on the engagement role of the university as a means for building democracy and addressing societal needs. University–community partnerships and service-learning programs, developed through the CHESP pilot projects, were seen as the practices that could facilitate these changes.

In other parts of the world, similar partnerships have developed, and new models are arising all the time. Many European universities have been exploring the relationship between science and society, giving rise to, among others, the science shop model *(Leydesdorff & Ward, 2005)*. This useful brokering model for university–community interaction covers both teaching and research. The European science shop model is one of the oldest examples of modern community engagement, and the Knowledge Co-op in this article was modeled after it. Its practice has also spread from

Europe to the United States (where it is referred to as community-based research) and Australia, among other countries.

The idea of the science shop was to create a bridge between academic science (using the term *science* in its most comprehensive sense, including social science, the humanities, and natural science) and groups that were unable to fund their own research *(Fischer, Leydesdorff, & Schophaus, 2004)*. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), local government, and enterprises as beneficiaries of science shop knowledge benefit from the relationship between "knowledge-producing institutions and citizen groups needing answers to questions" (*Leydesdorff & Ward, 2005, p. 354)*. Science shops are typically "staffed" by independent shop staff, university staff, students, and researchers (voluntary and/or paid researchers). The research is primarily participatory, with continual dialogue and discussion held between researchers and the individual or groups seeking assistance (*Gnaiger & Martin, 2001, p. 6)*. Results obtained from research can then be used by the organizations or disseminated among other groups, facilitated by the science shop. In the United Kingdom, there is also increasing evidence of such organizational structures *(*see *Hardwick, 2012)*. Examples include the Science Shops at Queen's University (Belfast) and at the University of Ulster, Interchange at the University of Liverpool, and the CUPP Helpdesk at the University of Brighton.

Certain institutions no longer use the term *science shop* because of renewed and varied approaches to university–community interaction. Examples of this include "project agencies" in Denmark, "co-operation offices" in Germany, and "community exchange" initiatives in the United Kingdom (*Fischer, Leydesdorff, & Schophaus, 2004, p. 200).* This change in terminology reflects a change in interaction policies between citizen groups, NGOs, and universities.

The development of the Knowledge Co-op and the continuous development of social responsiveness, both at UCT, are an indication of how one South-African university has faced the need to bridge the divide between scholarship, teaching, and community engagement *(University of Cape Town, 2006)*. The Knowledge Co-op was established according to the science shop model, providing community groups with ways to access skills and resources from the university *(Institutional Planning Department, 2009).* This initiative must be understood in light of the emergent interest in university–community engagement in South Africa. We discuss the Knowledge Co-op in more detail in the next section.

The UCT Knowledge Co-op (KC) and Brokering Model

The Knowledge Co-op (KC) provides an example of a South-African science shop, designed to act as a broker for communities in the greater Cape Town area and UCT. The vision of the KC (referred to as the Knowledge Partnership–its original name) is stated as follows:

> Acting as a bridge between society and the University, the UCT Knowledge Partnership mediates between the two constituencies to jointly reformulate the questions into manageable projects. In the case of research projects, these are allocated to students as projects that are conducted under the supervision of a senior academic, or to academics, who in turn, may use it as case material for future research. Projects may also involve service learning or experiential training initiatives. Either way, a report (or another type of product) is produced which is of direct use to the client, while the student work also fulfills criteria towards an academic qualification. For staff, the model provides a framework for research and student training and learning that is grounded in an engagement with society. (*Penfold & Goodman, 2011, p. ii)*

As an intermediary body, the KC acts as a liaison between community partners, academic staff, and students, enabling them to work together on projects that involve conducting research, finding practical solutions, or offering support for community projects. This benefits both the relevant community body and the university. Thus, the KC emulates the brokering model as the university and community interact across boundaries to provide mutual benefit to each other. Since August 2012, the date of its inception, 125 projects have been implemented under the auspices of the KC. Examples of completed projects include studies into the experience of women waiting for radiation treatment after breast cancer surgery; stigma and the behavior of sex workers around pregnancy and motherhood; alternative energy sources, especially photovoltaic, for pumping water in rural municipalities; and computer training in organizations. (More examples can be found at http://www.knowledgeco-op.uct.ac.za/kco/proj/completed.)

From the inception of the UCT KC, a project group was established to explore and evaluate the work and emerging practices. The group consisted of the Knowledge Co-op broker; a number of

faculty with community engagement experience; and colleagues from the university's Institutional Planning Department, within which the Knowledge Co-op is located. The authors of this article were part of the project group from the inception of the project.

The project had both an evaluation and a research component. The evaluation was aimed at surfacing the practices in the KC in order to assist the development of guidelines for "good practices" in university–community partnerships. The research project, on the other hand, was aimed at exploring the complex interactions between the university and its community partners as well as identifying theoretical tools that might be useful in such an exploration. This article does not focus on the research project and findings from the various case studies of practice that have been reported elsewhere *(McMillan et al., 2013; Wickham, 2013)*. Rather, it highlights the usefulness of activity theory for understanding the model of brokering that emerged in practice and was used in the work of the KC. This article, therefore, is a conceptual piece aimed at introducing tools to analyze university–community interactions. For this reason, we do not include a traditional research methods section; rather, we describe the processes involved in developing an emergent model.

Project Outcomes: An Emergent Model

A key outcome of the project was the elaboration of a complex model of partnership brokering that emerged out of practice over the first 4 years of running the KC. When analyzing the role of the broker, it became clear that the work of the KC occurred across 11 different steps, some involving only members of either the university or community constituency and others involving both constituencies.

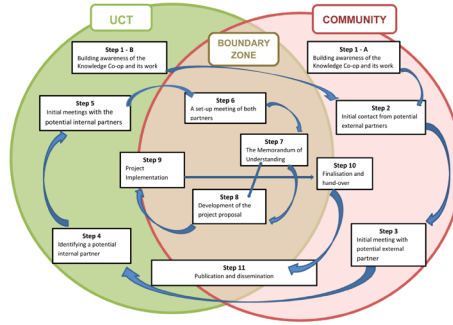

Figure 5. Brokering model of the University of Cape Town Knowledge Co-op *(Wickham, 2013, p. 9).*

Figure 5 represents the brokering model, followed by a description of the stages in the model.

Step 1: Building awareness of the Knowledge Co-op and its work. The first step in the model relates to the Knowledge Co-op's marketing function, aiming to ensure that a wide range of potential community partners and partners within UCT are aware of the Knowledge Co-op and its work. Steps 1A and 1B in the diagram illustrate these two audiences for the marketing effort.

Step 2: Initial contact from potential external partners. Nongovernment organizations make contact with the Knowledge Co-op via the Co-op's website or by e-mail. They complete a project form/brief where they indicate the nature of their request, as well as broad parameters of the project, including timeframes.

Step 3: Initial meeting with potential external partner. This step offers the Knowledge Co-op's project manager and the potential partner a first opportunity to discuss the potential project idea. It gives the broker an opportunity to collect more information about the topic and its meaning for the community partners. The external partners, on the other hand, get to understand what such a project would mean for them—for example, whether they are expected to cover direct research costs of students and what the typical process entails, including the long timelines for academic research.

Steps 4 and 5: Identifying and meeting with potential internal partners. Once a project brief has been developed, the next step is to identify a potential partner within the university. This is primarily the role of the Co-op manager. However, students and academics can visit the website to search for topics for research and/or community service, and graduate students are made aware of this facility at faculty/departmental postgraduate introduction sessions.

Step 6: A set-up meeting with both internal and external partners. The set-up meeting for all partners is arranged by the project manager. The meeting aims to ensure clarity around the project and alignment of partners' expectations. There are a number of standard agenda items for discussion here. The student is expected to provide some suggestions on how the project will be approached and the anticipated timeframe for it. Questions and a discussion follow to clarify a research question and timeline suitable to the needs of both partners. The discussion clarifies the roles and responsibilities of each partner, such as who will assist in the preparation of the student to work in this context. Finally,

the external partner defines a format in which the findings will be handed over to them.

Step 7: Development of the project proposal. Based on the discussions in the meeting outlined above, the student starts writing a project proposal for submission to the supervisor. The external partner is also given the opportunity to comment on the proposal before it is finalized. Negotiating specific aspects of the project and the development of the research proposal does not fall directly within the ambit of the project manager but becomes the responsibility of the academic supervisor, the student, and the community. In effect, this provides for another layer of brokering, requiring regular contact and interaction between university and community partners. The Knowledge Co-op project manager's role during this step in the process is to check on progress, keep the external partner informed, and ensure that commitment to a collaborative process is honored.

Step 8: The memorandum of understanding. Once agreement on the project has been reached by all partners, the project manager drafts a memorandum of understanding (MOU) that reflects the key issues, including responsibilities, as discussed by the partners, as well as details about the partners, the project, and its timeframes. The format for this MOU was developed by the UCT Research Contracts Office and the Knowledge Co-op. Once the MOU satisfies all parties, the MOU is signed by the academic supervisor, the student, the community partner. Lastly, it is signed off by the UCT Research Office (on behalf of the university).

Step 9: Project implementation. Implementation is the primary responsibility of the students and academic supervisors, with varying levels of input from the community partner. The main role of the project manager is to assist with communication and logistical requirements and to monitor progress during project implementation. This is usually done informally through checking in by e-mail or telephone with the different partners. All these communications are tracked.

Step 10: Finalization and hand-over meeting. On finalization of the project, the student's thesis is submitted for examination, and the agreed outputs for the external partner are completed. These are handed over at the final meeting of the partners or, where necessary, between the project manager and the external partner. This final meeting also makes a provision for discussion of possible follow-up projects.

Step 11: Publication/dissemination. The final step in the model involves uploading two-page "project portraits" as well as other products (dissertations, posters, reports for external partners) onto the Knowledge Co-op's website. Students' photographs, as well as their own written experiences, are also published here.

Two aspects of this model are particularly important to note here. First, the initial contact is with an external partner, not with the internal university partner. This is important because it indicates the direction of the work of the KC. It also illustrates how the university partner, when identified, works on the question posed by the community rather than the other way around. This directionality is important because a key criticism of much university–community research is that the community is used to serve the needs of the university. The approach taken in the UCT KC is the opposite of this, wherein university knowledge and resources are harnessed to serve the knowledge needs of the community (see *Cruz and Giles, 2000; Fitzgerald, Bruns, Sonka, Furco, and Swanson, 2016; Savan, 2004; Stanton, 2008; Stoeker, 1999).*

Second, although all the steps in the model are integral to fully understanding the work of the KC, most of the complexity in the role emerges in Steps 6–11 *(Wickham, 2013)*. These six stages occur at the intersection of the university and community in the boundary or "transaction space" *(Gibbons, 2005)*. These stages in particular provided insight into the complexities of boundary work and drawing on activity theory, we were able to consider events occurring as *part of a system* and not as independent, unrelated steps in a process. We explore the contribution of activity theory to this further below.

Language of the Boundary: Zones, Tools, and Brokers

Examination through an activity theory lens led us to understand that the practice underpinning the model of brokering in the UCT KC was "boundary work," work that happens at the nexus of two practices and in our case, through an activity system at the nexus of two communities of practice. Although working across all the stages clearly constitutes the whole process of boundary work, we were particularly focused on the stages in the transaction space *(Gibbons, 2005)*. This was clearly represented in the model outlined earlier.

We use the term *boundary zone* to refer to this space *(McMillan, 2008)*. Such spaces are often places of challenge, contestation, and

playing out of power relations. For example, if there is a lack of clarity about the reason for the interaction between university and community, the nature and types of engagement also change *(Gibbons, 2005)*. This has the potential to result in miscommunication and misdirection in projects, which in turn can also lead to contradictions and tensions in the partnership processes and outcomes. However, boundary zones also offer potential for new learning opportunities and knowledge generation. Thus, in boundary zones, each community of practice reflects its own discourse, structure, norms, and roles so that elements from both systems are always present *(Tuomi-Gröhn & Engeström, 2003)*. This juxtaposition can lead to new learning and engagement.

In activity theory, tools of mediation are used in the relations and activities of boundary work. Such tools have histories and are bound up in practices. In a boundary work frame, we need to understand tools as potential boundary objects *(Bowker & Star, 1999)*; that is, instruments that might serve to coordinate the perspectives of various communities linked through joint activities. Examples of *boundary objects* include research questionnaires or, as in this case, a memorandum of understanding (MOU) signed by the university and the community through the UCT KC. On its own, a boundary object is not necessarily powerful but when utilized in a specific context, such as a means of gathering information (the questionnaire) or outlining the boundaries of a project, the boundary object may become powerful and even contested. Bowker and Star argued that because such tools represent the nexus of perspectives and practices, they carry the potential of becoming boundary objects. This can only happen, however, if *through them various perspectives can be coordinated*. In other words, on their own and outside a specific context, a tool—as a boundary object—is not inherently meaningful or powerful but when put to use in a specific context, it can take on different meanings.

In our context, the MOU became such an object and required much negotiation and even compromise in some of the partnerships. However, the MOU represents a potential boundary object in that it engages the partners in clarifying objects before the project begins. As with any activity system, the object may be challenged by motives, leading to an unplanned outcome. But through the MOU, the intention to come to a joint understanding is present.

As much as possible, the nature and boundaries of such interactions need to be clearly defined and delineated *(Penfold & Goodman, 2011)*. The role of the broker, essentially, should focus on enabling universities and communities to engage in a meaningful, relatively

equitable and mutually beneficial social contract to develop workable solutions to real-life problems. An organization like the UCT KC, through its project manager, acts as a broker for the community partner, bringing the resources of the university closer to the community. Therefore, the brokering model shapes the interaction between universities and communities.

Brokers can help participants make new connections across communities of practice, enable co-ordination and, if experienced, open new possibilities for meaning and learning *(Wenger, 1998)*. However, brokering is a nuanced and delicate role that involves "processes of translation, co-ordination and alignment between perspectives" *(Wenger, 1998, p. 109)*. Influencing the development of a practice, mobilizing attention, and addressing conflicting interests—in other words, assisting with learning by introducing elements of one activity system into another—requires legitimation on both sides of the boundary, within the university *and* the community. In order for boundary zones to lead to new learning and mutually beneficial outcomes, boundary workers are essential to facilitate learning and understanding across two very different activity systems. A key example of this challenging role was evident in defining the "product" of the partnership and determining its usefulness to both the university and the community partner. A challenge that is evident in the role of the broker is translating the academic product needed by the university for the student's degree (e.g., a thesis) into the kind of product most useful to the community partner (e.g., a policy brief, a presentation in nonacademic language, or an educational brochure).

Because of the centrality of the role of the broker in university–community partnerships, more research is needed to understand the nature and influence of this role in different contexts. The work of Weerts and Sandmann *(2010)*, which looked at the differential boundary-spanning roles in community engagement, is very useful and is a start in this direction.

To summarize, community–university partnerships are an activity system operating at the nexus of two communities of practice (the university and the community). As indicated in Figure 3, an activity is formed by two interacting communities of practice. Because of the inherently contradictory nature of such systems, this can pose challenges to existing structures and requires specific support. Tensions arise due to the reality of working in an *expanded community*—with investment and ownership of the activities and different histories and rules of engaging in partnerships—where there is a *dual but interlinked* object shaping the project. The spe-

cial role of a broker or boundary worker becomes crucial in these emergent and expanded communities.

Conclusion: Emergent Models

This study proposes a framework for better understanding the complex practice of university–community partnerships. We outlined a case study of the UCT KC that emerged against the backdrop of debates on the role of universities in community engagement and the emergence of science shops in European universities. We used activity theory as a tool or lens through which to look at university–community partnerships as an activity system. We outlined the constituent elements of an activity system (Figure 1) and considered third-generation activity theory, in which two systems interact (Figure 2). Based on our experience, we discussed boundary work as occurring in an activity system at the intersection of two communities of practice (Figure 3) with inherent contradictions given the complex nature of these partnerships (Figure 4). Finally, we outlined a model of brokering that encompasses the work of boundary workers at the intersection of two complex worlds, the university and communities beyond the university (Figure 5).

In order to understand this role, we shifted our unit of analysis from individualized practices toward the transaction/boundary zone and the practices that take place here between universities and the communities with whom they are engaged. We made the argument that such partnerships constitute a form of boundary work in higher education, work that is challenging and demanding. We identified two inherent features that are important as they deepen our understanding of these practices: an expanded community (broker, students, lecturers, *and* community members) and a dual (but interrelated) object (research/learning *and* service). These two features have important implications for the other elements of the activity system and can go some way to explain many of the challenges and complexities posed by this work.

Recommendations for Further Research

There are important research questions to ask when navigating the complexity inherent in university–community partnerships. Asking such questions as the following will go a long way toward developing ethical and transparent practices with our community partners:

- How do we understand the boundary zone as a site for transformation in higher education?
- How do boundary zones shape the nature of partnerships?
- In what ways can the inherent contradictions in community engagement as in boundary work be the impetus behind such transformation?

The field of university–community engagement is rapidly gaining recognition in many parts of the higher education sector. Universities are making efforts to include this form of scholarship in their mission and vision statements and in operational policies such as faculty tenure and promotion. This is promising. However, questions about the merit of these partnerships and the resulting scholarship continue. In this context, this study suggests activity theory as a promising guide for the generation of models that inform community–university partnerships and scholarship.

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Collaboration for Transformation: Community–Campus Engagement for Just and Sustainable Food Systems

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Abstract

This article focuses on the collaborations between academics and community-based organizations seeking to fundamentally reorganize the way food is produced, distributed, and consumed as well as valued. The central research question investigates whether and how the growth of community–campus engagement (CCE) can strengthen food movements. Drawing on an analysis of 5 case studies in Canada, research demonstrated that when it is part of relationships based on mutual benefit and reciprocity, CCE can—and does—play an important role in building food movements. Different orientations toward CCE are discussed in terms of their varying assumptions and implications for how partners work together.

Introduction

There is a growing interest in the "civic university" as a way to reestablish the legitimacy of academia in the eyes of the general public *(Barnett, 2007; Powell & Dayson, 2013)*. One way this manifests is through increased commitment on the part of institutions and research funders to community service-learning (CSL), community-based research (CBR), and participatory action research (PAR; *Russell & Flynn 2001; Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker, & Donohue, 2003)*. These teaching, research, and engagement methods make campuses more relevant to the communities in which they are based while giving students more meaningful learning experiences. There are important distinctions between each of these forms of engagement, but our focus in this article is on their common element: the relationship between community-based organizations and colleges or universities, often mediated by specific faculty members and organizational representatives. In this article, we discuss community–campus engagement (CCE), but we noted when case studies were concerned with specific forms of CCE in teaching or research.

Despite numerous advancements and successes, critics have argued that CCE often privileges campuses and their constituencies and fails to adequately consider and/or address community needs *(Bortolin, 2011; Cronley, Madden, & Davis, 2015; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2000)*. The agricultural sciences, for example, have long been developing a range of industry-focused technologies across food systems, ostensibly through partnership and in accordance with community interests. Critics, however, point to the ways that a focus on technological development (e.g., biotechnology) contributes to the alienation of people from the systems that bring food to their plates as well as increased ecological, health, and social problems *(Kloppenburg, 2005; Kneen, 1999)*. These criticisms suggest the need to further investigate partnership dynamics to better understand the relationships and impacts of CCE on all parties involved.

The topic of food systems provides an opportunity to investigate the ways that diverse groups come together around common goals, specifically the engagement between community groups and academic institutions. We define *food movements* as networks of individuals, organizations, and groups that come together to challenge the logics of the dominant food system and to create viable solutions that offer prospects for a more socially just and ecologically sustainable world *(Levkoe, 2014)*. Research undertaken by academics and community practitioners on sustainable food systems has been foundational to developing a critical and informed analysis for both theory and practice *(Wakefield, 2007)*. Scholars have played an integral role, offering critical and engaged reflections about food movements' history, structure, and possible directions (see *Allen, 2004; Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; Levkoe, 2014)*. Further, campuses have long been vibrant spaces for student and faculty activism for localized projects and broader campaigns to build just and sustainable food systems (see *Barlett, 2011; Friedmann, 2007)*. In this article, we focus on the interface between academics engaged in collaborative projects with community organizations and food movements, with the goal of fundamentally reorganizing the way food is produced, distributed, and consumed as well as valued. We acknowledge that the term "community" is an extremely broad category that includes many different kinds of actors, from highly professionalized and institutionalized individuals to networks of grassroots activists. In this article, we refer primarily to our community partners as community-based and civil society organizations yet acknowledge the inclusion of a broader range of organizational forms. Our central research question investigates whether and how

the growth of campus engagement with community-based organizations can strengthen food movements in Canada.

We address the underexplored nature of CCE relationships among community-based and academic partners with explicit goals of social and environmental change. Focusing on food movements, we fill this gap by providing an empirical investigation of five CCE case studies affiliated with the Community First: Impacts of Community Engagement (CFICE; http://carleton.ca/communityfirst/) Community Food Security Hub. CFICE is a participatory action research project that examines how community-based organizations define, evaluate, and utilize the value created by CCE and how communities can exert more control over the design of engagement activities. In its initial phase, CFICE research was carried out through four thematic hubs: Poverty Reduction, Community Environmental Sustainability, Violence Against Women, and Community Food Security (CFS), with a fifth hub focused on knowledge mobilization across the projects. The CFS Hub works closely with Food Secure Canada/Réseau pour une alimentation durable (FSC/RAD), which was established in 2004 as a pan-Canadian alliance of organizations and individuals working together to build a more just and sustainable food system for all. To achieve deep and lasting change, FSC/RAD recognizes that solutions must be rooted in communities, involve democratic participation and debate, and work in harmony with ecological systems. Central to this work is their support of collaborative networks that facilitate research and enhance learning in regard to food systems projects and campaigns. Together, FSC/RAD and the CFS Hub work to build stronger links between research and policy advocacy and to increase collaboration among civil society organizations, particularly in knowledge production. Working with academic and community coleads within each of the case study projects, the CFS Hub explores various partnership models to channel lessons learned into existing and future CCE projects.

The present research forged new ground in two ways. First, it explored the nature and potential of community and academic partnerships within food movements. Drawing on five distinct cases, our work demonstrated that when defined by relationships based on mutual benefit and reciprocity, CCE can—and already does—play an important role in building more just and sustainable food systems. Second, the empirical evidence from our five case studies challenges a simplistic interpretation of the differences between "conventional" and "transformational" CCE orientations that we identified in existing literature. We agree that a more trans-

formational orientation (e.g., the orientation of "scholar-activists") is particularly attuned to the needs and interests of social movement actors. However, our diverse cases also show that (a) orientations can shift over time, and (b) *both* orientations toward CCE, when undertaken with a high level of critical reflexivity (i.e., constantly checking ourselves and our assumptions as we engage), ongoing communication, and flexibility, *can* enhance social movements' efforts to achieve transformative social and environmental change.

This study shows how participant orientations toward, and assumptions about, CCE have significant implications for what partners can achieve together. Although we are not the first to observe and describe differences in CCE orientations, the diversity in our cases allowed us to draw a nuanced set of conclusions regarding the implications of these variations for academic engagement with social movements. To set the stage, in the next section, we draw on a range of literature to specify the qualities of "conventional" versus "transformational" orientations toward CCE, paying particular attention to the roles that academics (including students) play in relation to social movements. Turning to our five case studies, we describe our research methods and our cases, then highlight our study's results. In the description and analysis of our data, we focus on two key themes that speak to partnership dynamics in food movements: (1) the (multiple) roles played by both community-based and campus-based partners involved in these kinds of CCE projects and (2) the tensions that arise in relation to roles and how these tensions can be addressed. Analysis of these themes leads to our observations that reflexivity, communication, and flexibility over time are of particular importance for successful academic engagement with social movements. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of our research for food movements.

Contributions of Community–Campus Engagement to Social Movement Building

At the most basic level, CCE can be described as a situation in which campus-based actors (including postsecondary students, postdoctoral fellows, instructors, professors, and their institutions) work in partnership with practitioners in various sectors of the broader community (including the private, public, and nonprofit sectors). According to Jassawalla and Sashittal *(1998)*, these types of partnerships represent "the coming together of diverse interests and people to achieve a common purpose via interactions, information sharing, and coordination of activities" *(p. 239)*. Central

to these relationships is the assumption that a project is mutually beneficial to all parties through an "exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" *(Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2015, p. 2).* However, not all relationships and intended outcomes are the same. In this section, we draw on a range of scholarly literatures to help identify and articulate the differences between "conventional" and "transformational" orientations toward CCE.

A Spectrum of Orientations: From Conventional to Transformational

Conventional orientations to CCE that focus on expanding field experiences (e.g., internships, practica), content knowledge, and cultural competencies have become widespread on North American campuses in recent decades. Dan Butin *(2010)* described this approach to CCE as *technical* and *cultural*, focusing on pedagogical effectiveness enhanced through real-world links and on the meanings of practice for the individuals and institutions involved. Successful outcomes include supporting the work of community-based organizations (e.g., through administration, front-line work, and strategic planning), educating students (e.g., via research and skill development, practical experience, and understanding broader social issues), and improving the quality of academic research (e.g., by grounding research in lived experiences; *Buys & Bursnall, 2007)*.

However, in many cases, conventional approaches do not engage deeply with community groups, challenge systems of inequality, or endeavor to alter social and ecological systems (*Butcher, Bezzina, & Moran, 2011; McBride, Brav, Menon, & Sherraden, 2006; Mitchell, 2008)*. For example, although CSL may promote academic research and teaching goals, practitioners have been criticized for not recognizing local knowledge production, supporting community needs, or promoting broader policy change *(Bickford & Reynolds, 2002; Butin, 2005; Swords & Kiely, 2010)*. Instead, CSL frequently privileges academic needs and is focused on professionalization, institutionalization, and job readiness for students *(Levkoe, Brail, & Daniere, 2014; Mitchell, 2008; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2000)*. Put simply, despite positive outcomes, critics have noted that many of the relationships being forged between campuses and communities adopting a conventional CCE orientation are not directly concerned with social and environmental change. Without a critical approach, Mitchell *(2008)* argued, CCE projects can result in the cooptation of higher education and research by powerful actors who do not have community interests at heart. Calhoun *(2008)* agreed, noting

that although university rhetoric promotes the interdisciplinary and social contributions of academic knowledge, many scholars are limited in their ability to actually meet these goals.

At the other end of the spectrum, Paulo Freire's lifelong practice and writing on critical and engaged pedagogy provides a framework for thinking about CCE as a politicized form of social movement building—that is, as transformational. Instead of merely teaching the instrumental and decontextualized skills of reading and writing, Freire called for educators to become participants in a political process through education as the path to liberation. Freire *(2000)* wrote of this approach as "a pedagogy, which must be forged with, not for, the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples) in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity" *(p. 48)*. These ideas were articulated in the concept of *conscientization*, in which people become aware of their oppression and, through praxis, aim to transform institutions of power. Implicit in this approach is the belief that CCE can play a vital role, not just in supporting social change efforts, but also as an integral part of social movements. This orientation fits closely with the phenomenon that Butin *(2010)* referred to as (1) *political* CCE, in which institutions of higher learning act as agents of empowerment of historically disempowered groups in society to advance a new worldview emphasizing social justice, and (2) *antifoundational* CCE, which fosters doubt as a prerequisite for thoughtful deliberation.

Adopting this transformational perspective, Swords & Kiely *(2010)* described the ways that CCE can function as a democratizing and counternormative approach for supporting social movements through addressing structural problems in collaborative partnership with community-based practitioners. Specifically, they called for the integration of innovative pedagogy, institutionalization (e.g., the way that initiatives support or preclude meaningful CCE), critical action-based research (e.g., the coconstruction of knowledge that better understands and improves the conditions of individuals, organizations, and policies), and community development (e.g., developing a movement-building vision) into a more robust model for community–campus partnerships. These ideals relate closely to Mitchell's *(2008)* description of a critical approach to CSL that "is unapologetic in its aim to dismantle structures of injustice" *(p. 50)*. She argued that this approach demands an explicit social change orientation, a redistribution of power, and authentic relationships as central to the classroom and community experience.

These two orientations of CCE, conventional and transformational, suggest a range of possibilities—at opposite poles, but

also in between. Each type of engagement involves assumptions about who is engaged with whom and why, how knowledge or solutions are sought, who should be doing the different types of work required, and how the partners should relate to one another. Further, the literature reviewed here suggests that certain forms of CCE might be better aligned with social movements and that when the alignment is problematic, we might expect tensions or counterproductive activities. The vision of a transformative CCE, one built on mutual benefit and reciprocity, is important because it speaks to the interests of social movements in transformative change.

Building Horizontal Relationships

There is a long history of campus contributions to social movement activity. In the 1960s and 1970s, many activists were based on university campuses, and scholarship benefited from these close connections, which also made campuses hubs for social movement organizing. Despite these advancements, the connections between movement scholars and activists have been dramatically weakened over the past decades. Corteau, Haynes, and Ryan *(2005)* wrote that even as movement scholarship "has become more abundant and sophisticated… the scholar–activist connections that fueled previous movement scholarship's development have been largely lost" *(p. xi)*. This does not discount the valuable contributions of theoretical analysis that social movement scholarship provides; however, in many cases scholarship has become detached from the movements themselves, making it inaccessible or irrelevant to activists *(Bevington & Dixon, 2005; Dempsey & Rowe, 2004; Flacks, 2005)*.

Movement-based academic and community engagement, however, can take place through horizontal and integrated collaborative partnerships. This approach fits well with the ideas of transformative CCE orientations. Drawing on her scholarly work in Latin-American and Spanish contexts, Zusman *(2004)* explained her adoption of a horizontal engagement where knowledge and accountability are shared between colleagues, in contrast to traditional hierarchical relationships. Rather than conceive of the relationship between activists and scholars as purely academic-led empirical investigation, Zusman argued that relationships "should evolve out of a commitment to question political, social and economic conditions through recognition that the production of knowledge, and alternative political practice, is a collective, and horizontal process" *(p. 133)*. This idea of horizontal relationships resonates with Friedland's *(2008)* call for academics to transcend boundaries between responsibilities to their institutions and sup-

port for initiatives that advance more socially just and ecologically sustainable food systems. To ensure that research is not abstracted from social movements, Friedland called for visible knowledge creation through "transdisciplinary, and transuniversity networks of researchers who, while fulfilling individual responsibilities in our universities also aim at supporting alternative agrifood social movements" *(p. 198)*.

The literature presented in this section described two different CCE orientations, conventional and transformational, and the ways that horizontal relationships between campus and community partners can strengthen the work of social movements. Returning to our central research objective of investigating whether campus engagement with community-based organizations strengthens food movements, this literature raises a key question: Do collaborators' orientations to CCE make any difference to the roles they play in practice, to the tensions that can occur, and thus to the impact of the collaborative work? Put another way, are specific orientations to CCE better suited to collaboration with food movements? Turning to our empirical research, we address this question by unpacking the key themes that emerged from our case studies.

Case Studies and Methods

The primary focus of our research was to analyze the relationships between community and campus partners using a participatory action research methodology. Participatory action research is premised on the principles of participatory engagement, systematic inquiry, and action for change *(Macaulay et al., 1999; van de Sande & Schwartz, 2011)*. It is a flexible and fluid process that seeks to understand the world by transforming it through collaboration with those most affected by the issues being studied. The five case studies described in this article were all part of CFICE's CFS Hub between Fall 2013 and Summer 2014. Each project was originally selected as a case study because of its alignment with the primary goals of the Hub: to build stronger links between research and policy advocacy, to improve CCE partnership models, and to advance more socially just and ecologically sustainable food systems in Canada. Further, each of the collaborations was initiated independent of and prior to its involvement with CFICE. Prior to the commencement of research, a general ethics approval was secured for the study of human subjects by CFS Hub researchers through Carleton University's Research Ethics Board (REB). Through this process, the REB determined that the research met appropriate ethical standards as outlined in Canada's Tri-Council Policy Statement:

Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique/initiatives/tcps2-eptc2/Default/) and Carleton University's Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research. Each of the five case-study projects also gained separate ethics approval either through Carleton University or the academic partner's institution.

During the period of study, the five case studies were coordinated by an academic and community colead and supported by the CFS Hub Management Team (made up of two community and two academic coleads). In some cases, the research focused directly on the processes of engagement through partnership evaluations, and in other cases we analyzed the impacts of CCE that emerged through assessments of projects with independent aims. Detailed notes were taken at meetings with the project coleads and at periodic CFS Hub meetings where all project representatives gathered by teleconference to discuss successes, challenges, and emerging issues. The projects each submitted final reports based on their research and reflections on the partnership. The CFS Hub also brought the campus and community coleads together into broader discussions with academics and food movement actors at the 2014 meetings of FSC/RAD (in Halifax, Nova Scotia) and the Canadian Association for Food Studies/l'Association canadienne des etudes sur l'alimentation (CAFS/ACÉA; at Brock University in St. Catherines, Ontario). Finally, project collaborators made additional analytical contributions from their case study and provided input throughout the writing processes. Quotes and anecdotes are attributed to the projects in most cases, but some are presented anonymously to respect confidentiality.

Table 1 provides an overview of the five case studies, including the main contributing partners, primary purposes of collaboration and methods of CCE employed, selected outcomes, and their connections to food movements. These five studies took place across Canada and had a range of different objectives, yet a number of key elements tie them together. Each of these CCE projects went far beyond satisfying specific program objectives or funding requirements. They evolved from and were sustained by a shared commitment and vision that was developed in collaboration among a wide range of partners, though the extent of specific community or campus involvement in each project varied. Participants from each of these projects also reflected on the achievements of their partnership as they considered directions forward. As one of our participants noted during a CFS Hub meeting, "we work with other people because we can't change the world alone. The question that

seems less obvious is who do we choose to work with and is it effective?" Another commonality among the five case studies is that each fits within the broad goal of food system change embraced by a range of food movements. Notwithstanding these commonalities, the case studies show a range of experiences with collaborative engagement between academics and community partners.

Table 1. ***Overview of the Five Case Study Projects***

	Primary Partners	Purpose of Collaboration and Methods	Selected Outcomes/ Learning	Connection to Food Movements
Planning for Change: Community Development in Practice (Ontario)	Sustain Ontario: The Alliance for Healthy Food and Farming (staff and interns); Department of Geography and Program in Planning, University of Toronto (course instructors and graduate students)	To explore different models and policy initiatives to support municipal food procurement; Conducted surveys, interviews, environmental scan as part of a graduate CSL course	Students used theory, course discussions, and reflections to enrich the research; Partnership contributed to Sustain Ontario's (under-resourced) research needs and future work	Sustain Ontario works with food movements across the province and is an active member of FSC/RAD; Project was part of Sustain Ontario's vision for food system change
The Seed Community Food Hub (Guelph, Ontario)	Guelph-Wellington Task Force for Poverty Elimination; Food Access Working Group of the Guelph-Wellington Round Table; University of Guelph's Institute for Community Engaged Scholarship/Research Shop (graduate students, postdoctoral fellow)	Short term: to identify gaps and challenges with regional emergency food systems and assess potential improvement strategies; Long term: to support the development of a community food hub; Used CBR and various forms of knowledge mobilization	Partnership met community-identified research needs, increased awareness of key issues, and helped build a shared vision for change; Research provided evidence needed to develop a community food hub and secure funding	Project focused on shifting away from a charity-based approach to hunger toward a holistic model, recognizing inherent linkages among poverty, health and well-being, participatory decision making, and sustainable food systems
The Edible Campus: From Showcase to Living Classroom (Montréal, Quebec)	Santropol Roulant; Alternatives; Minimum Cost Housing Group, School of Architecture, McGill University (professor, students, staff)	To find a permanent home for rooftop urban farm and create a living lab for students and staff; To clarify links and divergences between partners' strategic interests; Conducted an evaluation of the relationships through interviews	Established urban agriculture project and living classroom; Institutional facilities made available to community organizations; Pushed boundaries of urban agriculture and public food provisioning	Initially limited interaction with food movements; Over time, partners recognized and connected to transformative food systems values and developed food movement networks
Community Food Assessment (Regina, Saskatchewan)	Community Food System Steering Committee; Health Promotion Department of Regina Qu'Appelle Health Region; Regina Education and Action on Child Hunger (REACH); Community Research Unit, University of Regina	To engage in a participatory process to improve community food systems; Conducted an environmental scan, needs assessment, and evaluation process through focus groups and interviews	Overcame challenges by consolidating partnerships; Academics generated research that was highly valued by community partners; Created an action plan that created new networks	Initially limited interaction with food movements; Project played a role in starting the conversation and building/connecting to food movement networks

Developmental Evaluation (Mission, British Columbia)	Long-term Inmates Now in the Community (LINC); Correctional Service Canada; District of Mission, BC; Hope Central; School of Nursing, University of British Columbia (faculty)	To conduct a developmental evaluation to build on (1) an existing partnership formed around a critical ethnographic study of food insecurity and the transitioning from incarceration and (2) LINC's new agricultural social enterprise (Emma's Acres) that employs survivors/victims, ex-offenders, and offenders	Academics gained deeper understanding of the realities of offenders and ex-offenders; Produced valuable outputs (e.g., digital storytelling); Peer research assistants and research staff that had worked in the prison food system helped engage participants and contributed to research and knowledge dissemination	Initially limited interaction with food movements; Project addressed issues of localizing food systems and sustainable agriculture with an emphasis on restorative justice; Over time, relationships were built with other CCE projects (through CFICE), FSC/RAD, and food movements

Results

In this section, we draw on the five case studies to address two key themes that emerged from our research in relation to ways that CCE might support social movements and contribute to building socially just and ecologically sustainable food systems: (1) the roles of the different community-based and campus-based partners and (2) the tensions that emerged and how they were addressed.

The Roles of "Campus" and "Community" in Community–Campus Engagement

The contributions of campus-based actors. Although faculty and students played different roles depending on the project, they generally contributed knowledge and professional research skills that community-based practitioners lacked. Academics (whether faculty or students) also have the privilege of being able to take a step back from the day-to-day work of civil society organizations to consider the broader sociopolitical context, gather data, and critically reflect on research results. In our five case studies, academics working with community partners facilitated dialogues, integrated information from beyond the community context, and reframed issues to articulate them in new ways. Campus-based actors reported having a more concerted amount of time and space to analyze data as a part of their professional expectations. The contributions that academics provided were identified as being important to food movements. One of the community-based coleads commented,

> Given my heavy load of responsibility… I rarely have the time to step back and reflect, as my workload frequently only allows for a reactive approach. I really appreci-

> ated that the academics involved bring a methodical and rigorous approach to the work. They frequently reminded me of the original goals, possibilities and lessons learned from the project through their observations and suggestions.

Throughout the case studies, academic researchers also provided valuable new information, challenged accepted knowledge about the dominant food system, and helped civil society organizations reflect critically on their own strategies.

Evaluations of The Seed project noted that although many of the community stakeholders possessed a wealth of anecdotal evidence regarding the challenges facing the dominant food system, it was difficult to translate this knowledge into action. The participation of academics was seen as beneficial because they provided solid evidence demonstrating the problems with existing emergency food provisioning and suggested potential strategies for improvement. The campus-based research team was also able to integrate the opinions of stakeholders with experiences from other contexts about how to most effectively combat issues of food insecurity. The academics supported the ongoing efforts of the community partners and contributed to a gradual shift in the local discourse around food systems from a focus almost exclusively on emergency food toward using ideas of social justice, dignity, equity, and sustainability. The research results articulated both the current reality and the potential for change and were used to leverage advocacy efforts aimed at transforming the dominant food system more broadly. Although processes of CCE were challenging at times, it was also an invaluable way of building broad-based and meaningful support for what eventually became The Seed's vision of a community food hub.

Our research also found that having academics involved in CCE provided legitimacy (in the eyes of the public, funders, other academics, and the media in particular) to the projects. Collaborating with academics considered experts in a particular subject area proved useful to community partners. For example, in the case of Planning for Change, the two graduate students working with Sustain Ontario conducted environmental scans of municipal procurement programs in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom, as well as jurisdictions across Ontario. Their research (and academic affiliation) contributed to a successful grant application that enabled this work to move forward through a newly created network of community-based actors across the

province. In the Developmental Evaluation project, the university partnership with LINC helped to raise the profile of Emma's Acres (LINC's agricultural social enterprise) and broader issues within the prison system.

For the Edible Campus project, being associated with a high-profile institution helped raise awareness for Santropol Roulant through media coverage. Santropol Roulant also benefited financially through access to funds available within McGill University. According to an evaluation report on the CCE project, the stakeholders all agreed that the partnership enabled them to accomplish much more than if they had worked independently *(Made in Montreal & Lance, 2014)*. Reflecting on their experience, one of the community-based coleads noted, "I think that the academics in this project helped to open some doors for the partnership, for example through publications, which then create opportunities for reflection, learning, and building legitimacy for community-based work."

The participants all agreed that academic knowledge should not be elevated above community-generated knowledge; nonetheless, there was consensus that the credibility brought by academics in the eyes of the public or the media could be used strategically. One of the community coleads spoke to the value of having academics involved in CCE work:

> I think that one of the most important contributions of the academic partners is the legitimacy they accord to the community work and the integrity and importance of knowledge generated in the community. In some instances the credibility of academic partnerships and publications helps the community concretely in making a political case for their work or funding.

Although community-based practitioners were also active participants in the research, many commented that they were limited in what they could say publicly for fear of jeopardizing relationships with authority figures they might be trying to engage. For example, many community organizations were beholden to multiple funders, which caused challenges for doing movement-related work. One of the community coleads explained, "We have to be careful with the language we use, particularly around critique." This created a valuable role for academics, since they often had greater freedom to express dissenting ideas in a public forum. In one of the case studies, tensions arose around the way that research

was being presented because of the critical nature of the findings. Midway through the project, the funder articulated a new direction that was quite narrowly focused, a demand that dramatically changed the project's direction and limited the organization's ability to take a critical stance. However, the academics involved were still able to present their critiques (confidentially) to provide food movements with important knowledge and insight into the challenges that arose.

Finally, academics in our case studies had access to resources beyond those of the community-based organizations. This included paid time to conduct research and analyze data as well as access to material resources. For example, the CFICE project was able to provide community-based organizations with a small budget to support the evaluation of their partnerships. Supporting community organizations to leverage these resources was identified as a valuable part of CCE relationships since community groups have little access to research-related funds. In the case of the Edible Campus project, when Santropol Roulant lost access to the original location for the urban agriculture project in 2006, the provision of space on McGill's campus to reestablish the gardens enabled the project to continue. In this instance, a preexisting relationship with a professor at McGill enabled representatives to explore the possibility by engaging in negotiations with campus administration, faculty, and other departments. Through collaborative design and planning, which the team presented to McGill's administration, a totally reimagined project was relocated on the downtown campus. As the partnership developed, the faculty and students were able to leverage additional support from the university's Sustainability Projects Fund, which enabled the community partner to hire a gardening animator and support an initial demonstration project to expand and incorporate new growing areas (e.g., raised beds and an apiary). Links to the university also enabled the project to connect to the growing food movement on McGill campus that included a student-run gardening initiative and farmers market that has engaged many new academic and community partners.

The contributions of community-based actors. Our case studies represented a broad range of actors, from informal alliances to registered nonprofit organizations and public health offices. In each of the projects, community partners contributed the knowledge and experiences that formed the basis of academics' research and writing. Community-based actors also had a sophisticated range of research skills, as well as networks of relationships and context-based knowledge that academics lacked. One commu-

nity-based colead commented, "Academics need to recognize that research done within and by the community can be extremely rigorous." This was evident in the high-quality documents that were produced as a result of the case study projects, many of which were researched and written by community-based actors. Partnerships with community-based organizations also provided academics with practical cases and tangible sites for constructive, critical, and meaningful research. Their profession requires academics to conduct new and innovative research; thus they are constantly looking for "real world" environments for their fieldwork. Project coleads noted that civil society organizations could also grant legitimacy to academics by establishing relationships with prospective research participants and audiences. Further, many academics also leverage community partnerships for their grant proposals and research.

In the case of the Developmental Evaluation project, the research would not have been possible without LINC's contribution. With incarceration-related research, it is extremely difficult to reach the population of interest and get accurate and meaningful data. In particular, those who work within the prison system (e.g., individuals who were incarcerated, parole officers, correctional officers) are rarely willing to talk about the food system, particularly in the current context of cutbacks and the centralization of food production of some prisons. Because LINC is firmly established and well recognized as an ally of those who are currently and formerly incarcerated, the relationship enabled the academics to connect with the target population. In the case of The Seed, the community partners had well-established trust-based relationships with participants from vulnerable populations (e.g., people experiencing poverty and food insecurity) necessary for conducting participatory research. The community partners were able to effectively identify key research needs and priorities based on their extensive knowledge of the region. Throughout the project, the community partners helped the research team navigate politics and tensions within the communities. This became particularly important as the project moved into its later stages, which focused on action. These examples highlight the ways that community partners provided the researchers with legitimacy in the eyes of a wide variety of community stakeholders who might otherwise have been less inclined to participate in the research or pay attention to the results.

Community-based organizations are required to produce practical outputs from their work, and academics are required to publish research results in peer-reviewed journals and books. When the research and publications emerge from a partnership and

can be crafted collaboratively, their use and value can be mutually beneficial to all parties. For example, outputs from the case studies were used for meeting academic needs but were also identified as helpful for community actors in their strategic planning and for funding applications. The students in the Planning for Change CSL course were able to write papers and reflections to satisfy the course requirement while also contributing to a major report and grant proposal for Sustain Ontario. In the case of LINC, interactive sessions with participants of Emma's Acres contributed baseline data for future evaluations. The collaboration provided valuable research data for the academic partners and also helped LINC develop resources that contributed to insights for expanding their project. In the case of The Seed, academic and community collaborations provided evidence that was perceived as valuable by community members and key stakeholders due to the rigorous research process and expertise of the team. The research produced evidence that helped the community partners clarify direction for future action-oriented change. The research results were also useful for securing project funding and were integrated into grant applications. Research from the Edible Campus project was showcased at the Canadian Centre for Architecture as a part of their two very successful exhibitions: What You Can Do With the City and ABC: MTL; A Self-Portrait of Montréal.

Collaborations with community-based organizations were also found to lend credibility to instructors with their students. In a number of our case studies, connecting students with community-based organizations offered experiences that could not be gained exclusively in the classroom and provided an application and context for in-class learning. Like faculty, students also have the skills and resources to contribute to the work of civil society organizations and in some cases, the students were already directly affiliated with organizations working on food system transformation. For example, in the case of Planning for Change, the instructors were required to develop partnerships with community-based organizations for their graduate CSL course. As part of the pedagogy, it was important to build long-term relationships with social-justice-oriented organizations that had the capacity to manage students and facilitate meaningful research projects. The course would not have been possible without Sustain Ontario and its broad network of members. In the case of the Community Food Assessment, the partners recognized that students involved in the research were already engaged with the community organizations through clubs and volunteer work. In contrast, the faculty were not as clearly

connected, and their commitments and timelines were not as well aligned. For these students, participation in CCE provided the theoretical framework and analysis to complement their lived experiences.

In The Seed project, the academics involved were all graduate students at the time, and the project created opportunities to actively engage in their local community. One of the students went on to teach an introductory seminar course that worked with The Seed to provide further community-engaged learning opportunities to his students; another continued to be actively involved as a volunteer despite leaving her official role as a university researcher. Similarly, the urban agriculture infrastructure established at McGill University through the Edible Campus project has become a vibrant outdoor classroom, workshop space, and research site used by faculty and their students. Working closely with students (among others), Santropol Roulant creates opportunities for people to learn more about growing food in the city through hands-on activities by offering workshops on topics from seed saving to beekeeping. In addition to educational activities managed by Santropol Roulant, faculty and students use the gardens for multidisciplinary educational and research projects.

In summary, our research found that community and campus actors involved in the five CCE case study projects contributed significantly to research and teaching and to organizational objectives. Further, this collaborative work was identified as a central part of achieving the food movement goals of fundamentally reorganizing the way food is produced, distributed, and consumed as well as valued. However, participants also noted that more work was needed in order to ensure that these collaborations reach their full potential and are meaningful for everyone involved.

Tensions Emerging from Assumptions About Roles

As described above, campus and community actors can attain mutual benefit through CCE work. However, our research found that making assumptions about roles and contributions could become a significant barrier to effective working relationships. From a conventional CCE orientation, academics are often assumed to do research and teach, and civil society organizations are expected to focus on programming in the community. Although CCE participants may at times play these respective roles, it was also evident that roles were rarely fixed and often changed as the

projects developed. In our case studies, we found examples of academics involved in day-to-day work that supported civil society organizations. Likewise, we found examples of community-based actors deeply engaged in research and data analysis. Even when concerted efforts were made to clarify expectations at the outset (e.g., through discussion, terms of reference, and contracts), unexamined assumptions could become a major barrier to developing fruitful partnerships between campus and community actors. As the projects developed over time, strategic directions and daily tasks changed. Many of these shifts were unexpected and informal (i.e., original terms of reference remained unchanged) and were based on the particular context and needs of each project.

Understanding tensions: Unpacking differences through conventional versus transformative approaches to community–campus engagement. Analyzing the tensions that emerged within the community–campus relationships, we observed some significant differences among the five case study projects. In the case of the Community Food Assessment, the evaluation of the partnership revealed that there were very different perceptions of what role the academics were intended to play. For example, community partners expressed that there was a "lack of understanding and sensitivity to timelines" and that many of the academics did not act as "full partners" and selectively "chose their level of involvement" as the project progressed. In contrast to the community partners' expectations, academics described their role as primarily "supervisory." One academic commented, "There was no professional incentive for my involvement; it was just my area of interest… I am surprised to learn that concerns have been raised. We thought everything was just fine." This was identified as a major lesson learned by project partners and as a topic vital to address within future collaborations. At first glance, it appears that these relationships represented fairly conventional forms of CCE. Upon closer analysis, we also observed that the academics lent their expertise and other resources to the community-based partners in pursuit of the project's objectives. Still, the partners remained distinct, with their work largely separated except for specific contributions of traditional academic support such as supervising research outputs. Here, campus and community partners adopted an approach whereby academics were more distant. However, the evaluation work suggested that this form of CCE was appropriate for academics and was still valued by the community partners. Further, it also helped move other types of community and policy action initiatives forward.

In the case of the Developmental Evaluation project, the relationship had elements of both conventional and transformative approaches. In its early stages, the academic researcher and LINC were already partnering on a research study initiated by the campus partner examining food insecurity and the transition from incarceration. However, as the partnership developed, the collaborative initiation of a developmental evaluation helped evolve the relationship to take a more transformative orientation that included developing horizontal relationships. Both the academic and community partners realized they were working toward a common goal of social justice that included a critical assessment of the food system within the prison context and for those transitioning from incarceration. Because LINC controlled the funds, direction, and pace of the Developmental Evaluation project, the academic partners were forced to step back at times, reflecting a relationship that disrupted conventional (and assumed) roles. Since there has been limited research around the food system within the prison context, the project added significantly to the existing knowledge about food systems and marginalized populations, yielding results that could be shared and extended beyond the prison context. The research helped to clarify the interrelationships of food, health, and justice systems within social and political contexts and how the food system within the prison context does not foster mental health. Through firsthand accounts obtained from interviews and the textual data that was produced, the campus and community partners gained a deepened understanding of how multiple systemic factors and social locations intersect and contribute to inequities for those in the prison system and the people that support them. This relationship also suggested that developing more horizontal relationships required academics to adjust their expectations and be willing to forgo their own desired outputs and control over the project. The transformational CCE orientation was necessary for building authentic relationships within the communities and connecting to food movements more broadly.

Similarly, in the case of The Seed project, the work began with a conventional CCE orientation. Initially, community organizations approached the university looking for specific answers and models to fix a problem. However, it became clear over time that leading the project was not an effective role for the university to play. Eventually, the partners decided together that the university should take on a more supportive role that included sharing information to help support decision making. A key turning point in the relationship occurred during the first phase of the research,

when it became clear that the partners had been working under different assumptions regarding their roles. This process of clarifying roles and expectations was a gradual one that happened over the course of many meetings (both formal and informal). As the research team negotiated with the many partner organizations, the relationships between campus-based and community-based actors shifted to become more horizontal. This enabled the research to take on an activist orientation as the project evolved.

Addressing tensions and challenges in community–campus engagement: The importance of critical reflexivity and respectful relationships. Given the potential disconnects between the assumed contributions and actual roles, communication and flexibility were identified as critical for effective CCE. Because the case study projects were each working with different approaches and methodologies, we observed that CCE worked best when partners reflected critically on their practice. This was even more apparent in respect to social movement building, where the relationships were intended to be long-term, and the goals of the work extended beyond the immediate needs of both the academic and community partners engaged in the projects. An example was the requests from project coleads to hold regular in-person meetings as opposed to relying strictly on virtual communication among the CFS Hub projects. There was also an expressed desire to use these meetings to participate in an ongoing and interactive dialogue about problems that arose as well as to learn from the other case studies. The CFS Hub Management Team helped to facilitate regular teleconferences and in-person meetings between campus and community partners as often as possible. The case studies also revealed the importance of reflexivity among all actors in their work together. In some cases, this reflexivity came through formal evaluation processes and critical questions supported by the CFS Hub that forced project coleads to reconsider their assumptions. In other cases, community and campus actors challenged each other to reconsider their assumptions and ways to move forward. For example, the final report from the Community Food Assessment project *(Beaudry-Mellor, 2014)* discussed the evaluation process in which participants critically reflected on the contributions and value of all the different partners involved.

Developing meaningful communication takes significant time and effort. In the case of The Seed project, both the university and community partners were working together for the first time as well as with a new network of organizations. This meant that each partner lacked clarity around expectations and processes of CCE.

Open and honest communication along with critical reflexivity did not happen in a meaningful way until a crisis provoked by miscommunications and assumptions on all sides threatened the project's ability to move forward. In part, this was because pressure from community partners and other key stakeholders led the research team to focus on trying to meet tight deadlines. The campus-based Research Shop played an important role by providing a structured space for members of the research team to engage in dialogue about their experiences. As the collaboration matured and the partners worked through various challenges such as miscommunications, the level of trust increased dramatically, which facilitated a more effective research–action partnership. Once relationships were well established, it became easier to communicate and in some cases, this happened on an informal basis (e.g., during social gatherings held outside official CCE activities). As the project developed, the responsibilities and expectations of the partners became clearer and over time, the trust and good faith between the partners grew to such a degree that they began to consider themselves colleagues as well as friends pursuing a shared agenda for community change. The importance of this transformation cannot be overstated as without it, the successes of The Seed's community food hub initiative would have been far more difficult to achieve.

In a number of the case studies, preexisting relationships were identified as an important factor for addressing tensions that arose over the course of the project as well as for developing critical reflexivity and maintaining effective partnerships over time. For some, these relationships evolved informally; for others, they had developed over the course of earlier CCE projects. In the case of Planning for Change, the instructor had worked in the nonprofit sector and brought his community networks into teaching the CSL course. The partnership was seen as a way to advance the curriculum and support the work of the community colead and a food movement agenda. In practice, this meant that although the project focused on municipal procurement, the broader goal of the work was to build new networks of scholars, activists, and civil servants who were working toward a more socially just and sustainable food system. This preexisting relationship enabled both campus and community coleads to anticipate some of the challenges that might arise and to deal with new challenges effectively. It also enabled the partners to develop a culture of collaboration in which both coleads understood how to gain mutual benefit through a CSL course, and it established the basis for Sustain Ontario to work with CSL students in subsequent years. In the case of the Developmental

Evaluation project, the campus and community partners also had a relationship antedating the CCE project. Since this preexisting relationship had centered on an advocacy project for food system sustainability, it was understood that the partners shared a commitment to the community they both lived in. The community colead noted that this helped to make everyone involved feel like they were on more of an "equal footing from the get go." It also meant that the university was not imposing anything on their organization, but rather that the project was able to develop from the ground up.

In summary, our case studies highlighted the ways that partnerships need to honor the diversity and the distinct organizational cultures of campus and community actors. This means the structure, processes, and communication tools need to be well established and flexible and aimed at maximizing inclusiveness through cultivating contextual fluidity—that is, placing the relationships and the vision at the heart of CCE work while remaining open to the way projects shift and present new opportunities (see *Stroink & Nelson, 2013)*. Our research also suggests that a simple dichotomy of conventional versus transformational orientations does not account for the complexity of actual CCE relationships in practice. In view of the shifting and fluid nature of CCE projects, it appears more important to focus on reflexivity that can be developed through colearning and adapting, as well as on commitment of all partners to figuring out how to make CCE work in a way that fits each participant's context and constraints.

Discussion

The research from the five case studies we presented addresses the intersections between campus–community research and teaching partnerships with the goal of building socially just and ecologically sustainable food systems. The CCE projects are all engaged in food systems work, with each using a particular partnership model, initially with different orientations that presented both opportunities and challenges for advancing the work of food movements. We observed that both academic and community-based actors made important contributions to the CCE projects and when partners cultivated cultures of collaboration, which included mutual benefit and reciprocity in their relationships, significant gains were realized for those involved and for broader food movement goals. However, we have also indicated where challenges and tensions arose through the projects that presented barriers and were less constructive for movement building. In this final section, we reflect on the lessons from these CCE projects and address the

implications of scholar-activists engaged in these kinds of partnerships for food movements.

Results from the research with our five case studies showed examples of both conventional and transformative orientations that played an important role in the CCE projects. However, analysis also showed that these initial orientations and the models of collaboration changed over time in response to the specific context of the projects and based on the needs and objectives of each partner. Thus, although the conventional–transformative spectrum may be a valuable heuristic tool for analyzing the different orientations, in reality, our case studies exhibited a variety of approaches that lay in between the two poles and even oscillated between them. It also became apparent that each of these approaches to CCE could and *did* contribute to strengthening the work of the specific projects and to food movement goals. From this analysis, we suggest that conventional forms of CCE are not always problematic or negative. Indeed, conventional forms of CCE have an important place in higher education and may generate significant community benefits—if they involve open communication, flexibility over time, and consideration of individual and collective processes and if they are seen as mutually beneficial by all those involved.

Nonetheless, the literature and our case studies suggest that conventional orientations of CCE may not align as well with food movements since community-based knowledge production (including place-based knowledge) is often unrecognized or regarded as less valuable than academic knowledge. As described in the literature and confirmed through our case studies, transformative CCE orientations require adopting social change orientations, redistributing power, and developing authentic relationships. We suggest that transformative CCE orientations should be pursued to better meet food movement goals of fundamentally reorganizing the ways food is produced, distributed, and consumed as well as valued. Pursuing these types of partnerships also demands a focus on broader system change including changes in university culture, funding structures, administrative bureaucracy, and the lack of institutional support for academics' engagement in CCE.

Beyond simply studying social movements or sharing their research with activists, many academics that were part of our case studies were deeply embedded within food movements through their research, teaching, and activism. Cancian *(1993)* referred to this as a "two career strategy," where academics produce outputs that make significant contributions to both scholarship and social movements. In our case studies, we identified a subgroup of profes-

sors, students, and other institutional players with a commitment to transforming the dominant food system. There is a strong presence of scholar-activists in Canada's food movements, and the case studies provided insights into what this looks like.

A further observation is that the roles of those involved in CCE are not fixed and can change significantly over the course of a project. The multiple and often overlapping subject positions that campus-based and community-based actors play can push the boundaries of conventional forms of collaboration. It is clear from our research that in the context of collaborative partnerships, the boundaries between scholarship and activism can be blurred through engagement in work that is useful to social movements. The fluidity of individual roles demonstrates that the lines between the campus and community can be highly permeable. This is especially prominent in the context of CCE and movement building because the motivation to become involved in collaborative work is often driven by an individual's values and social positioning more than organizational or professional mandates. Food holds a privileged place in people's lives and lends itself to encouraging the permeability of these lines.

In Canada, there is a unique history of collaboration between campus and community actors in respect to the development of food movements. Levkoe *(2014)* described how two pillars of Canada's food movements, FSC/RAD (an alliance of food movement organizations) and the CAFS/ACÉA (an alliance of academic and community-based researchers), were both established by academics and community-based practitioners engaged in promoting socially just and ecologically sustainable food systems. This is exemplified by the establishment of CFICE (with FSC/RAD and CAFS/ACÉA as core partners) and the work within the five case studies described in this article. FSC/RAD acknowledged that the CFICE case study projects helped to advance organizational thinking on when, how, and why to engage with academics in food systems work. Although the CFS Hub has roots in the academic community and FSC/RSD has connections with community-based work, the partnership created a bridge between academics, communities, and food movements, building relationships that mobilized and shared valuable knowledge and practices. The partnership also contributed to creating longer lasting networks between campus and community actors across Canada that have already been fruitful for new partnerships around building solutions to problems within the dominant food system. For example, the experience of being involved in the CCE projects helped FSC/RAD to develop a formal

protocol addressing ways to engage with academics. In short, these types of bridging initiatives can play an extremely valuable role in supporting the partnerships and sharing lessons learned through CCE in an accessible way to further food movement goals.

Limitations and Areas for Further Research

Within PAR projects, associations like the CFS Hub and social movement organizations like FSC/RAD can help bridge gaps between academic and community partners as well as place-based projects and social movements. However, we need to better understand and work with limitations, including ones that we have observed in this research. For example, this study is limited by its focus on only 1 year of the case study's work and would benefit from longitudinal research. Future research could explore the ways that CCE partnerships are best sustained over time. In addition, more research is needed on the long-term impact of CCE projects in respect to food movement goals of building just and sustainable food systems. These collaborations might also provide valuable information on ways to better support CCE more generally.

Working to transform any one element of the food system demands considering and acting on the multitude of internal and external factors that affect that system. No single civil society organization or campus-based actor can possibly accomplish this task alone. Social movements require substantial popular mobilization, and the collaborations established through CCE projects can be strategic in building a broad-based popular movement to address the complexity of local and regional concerns along with the impact of global issues. This research shows that moving toward more transformative CCE orientations can be an important part of movement building through mobilizing to effect social and environmental change. Developing transformative CCE orientations and horizontal relationships, however, also means cultivating cultures of collaboration that go beyond any one organization or institution and finding resonance with social movement goals. As we have demonstrated in this study, participatory action research not only expands our knowledge about CCE relationships and practices, but can also serve to strengthen these partnerships in the process. We suggest that future research might work to build and strengthen networks of academics and practitioners while simultaneously exploring their impacts. In this way, participatory action research might also be conducted between different social movements to encourage more diverse kinds of collaboration that would further social and ecological goals.

Conclusions

In this article, we have described the ways that CCE can contribute to social movement building. Focusing on food movements in Canada, we have addressed the underexplored nature of CCE relationships among community-based and academic partners with explicit goals of social and environmental change. Our research has brought a range of literatures into conversation, and our analysis of five case studies presents empirical evidence that breaks new ground in the existing literature. We have shown that while both conventional and transformational orientations of CCE can strengthen the work of social movements, the latter may be better suited to promoting transformative goals. Further, we have identified some key opportunities and tensions that emerge from relationships between campus and community partnership initiatives.

In closing, we maintain that when CCE is based on building horizontal relationships rooted in solidarity, the potential to challenge the power dynamic between academic institutions and the broader public and contribute to the goals of social movements is increased. Without discounting the specific skills of individual researchers and community-based actors, we advocate working in collaboration to conduct research, analyze data, clarify understandings of broader contexts, and encourage different kinds of critical reflection toward developing new strategies for action. Activist research also offers complementary benefits to conventional academic understandings of sociopolitical realities. Connecting CCE projects at the local level through social movements increases the potential to collaborate more broadly, learn from others, and influence public policy.

Our research suggests that although the values of transformational CCE may be better aligned with social movements than conventional orientations, the distinction between these two documented approaches should not be overemphasized and may, in practice, be less important than other factors such as critical reflexivity, ongoing communication, mutual benefit and reciprocity (including respect and working to understand and accommodate various contexts and constraints), and flexibility over time. These additional factors are especially important when individuals involved in CCE play the dual role of scholar-activists. Some CCE partners may not adopt a critically reflexive stance; however, partner orientations and collaborative processes often develop and change based on the context and connections within a particular project. These moments of change offer the opportunity for the

reflection, communication, and accommodation that appear to be critical for success.

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The Student Experience of Community-Based Research: An Autoethnography

Benjamin C. Ingman

Abstract

This autoethnography provides a description and thematic illustration of the student experience of a community-based research (CBR) course and partnership. Through evaluating personal experiences with CBR, the author identified three qualities of meaningful CBR experiences: trust, indeterminacy, and emotion. These qualities are explored, and comparisons are made between the outcomes experienced and those established in the literature of student learning in CBR. These findings enrich discourse of student experiences in CBR and corroborate literature on student learning in CBR through illuminating the experience by which that learning occurs.

Introduction

It was supposed to be a summer break from my doctoral studies—a well-deserved respite from the grind of graduate school. Instead, I was stumbling through a presentation to a panel of experts in a community I had not known existed just 6 months prior. I fought my way through the presentation of curriculum, doing my best to address questions from the panel of scholars representing various disciplines. This eclectic of expertise left no stone unturned in their questioning, and their collective analysis served as an intellectual flogging of sorts—the kind that keeps doctoral students awake at night.

Upon concluding the presentation and leaving no doubt that this was, in fact, the work of a student, I hastily collected my things and rushed to the parking lot. I sought refuge in the back of our van, hopeful that I might disappear into the seat as an escape from further interrogation. The lump in my throat steadily grew, but showing this pain would only further distinguish me as the novice in the group. I tried to think about anything else, but images of the unintelligible presentation and seemingly endless questioning remained in the forefront of my mind. I was overwhelmed with

feelings of inadequacy, insecurity, and incompetence.

My professor, Dr. London [pseudonym], and the principal investigator of the project, Dr. Boston [pseudonym], entered the van a moment later, and our caravan of experts, community partners, and students departed. As we rolled out of the parking lot, Dr. London opened the conversation excitedly: "Man, what a great experience for Ben! Jeez!"

Dr. Boston quickly informed him that "Ben is in the van, [Dr. London]."

"Oh… well, what a great experience, eh, Ben?" he offered, grinning at me through the rearview mirror. I nodded, acknowledging his comment, but I reserved the right to respectfully disagree with my professor about the supposed greatness of this ordeal. Dr. London easily read my emotions despite my attempts to stow them in the back of the van. He continued, "Don't worry, your dissertation defense will be nothing compared to that." He shook his head happily, unable to wipe the smirk from his face as we pulled onto the highway, seemingly reveling in my struggle.

As we sped down the two-lane road past potato fields, abandoned trailers, and wire fences entangled with tumbleweeds, I reflected on how I ended up in this situation: spending the summer with people I had only met in the last year, working to correct social injustices in a rural population as a doctoral student in the field of curriculum and instruction. Though just a few hours from home, I felt an eternity from any conceptual or experiential familiarity.

Six months prior to the episode recounted above, I enrolled in a community-based research (CBR) course as a doctoral student. Now, years later, I regard this course and the ensuing partnership as among the most significant experiences of my education. As a student who saw benefit from CBR, I present this autoethnography to illustrate the qualities of my experience in the hopes that exploring the experiences of one might foster

understanding of the experiences of many (see *Ellis, 2004; Marton, 1981; Starr, 2010; Van Manen, 1990)*.

Background

More universities and communities are embracing the mutual benefits of community–university partnerships, particularly in disciplines of public health *(Horowitz, Robinson, & Seifer, 2009*), education *(Bray, 2001)*, and social work *(Begun, Berger, Otto-Salaj, & Rose, 2010)*. Students can bring productive energy to these partnerships, often "invigorated by their accountability and a heightened sense of purpose" *(Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker, & Donahue, 2003, p. 126)*, which has inspired the continued blending of academic work with community partnerships through community service *(Jones & Hill, 2001; Neururer & Rhoads, 1998)* and community-based research courses in higher education. As Stoecker and Tryon *(2009)* noted, "the practice of sending students into communities that are defined as disadvantaged has become a part of the curriculum and even the requirements of an increasing number of higher education institutions" *(p. 1)*.

Community-based research (CBR; see also community-based participatory research, CBPR), as defined by Strand et al. *(2003)*, "is a partnership of students, faculty, and community members who collaboratively engage in research with the purpose of solving a pressing community problem or effecting social change" *(p. 3)*. It is "research that is conducted *with* and *for*, not *on*, members of a community" *(Strand et al., 2003, p. xx)* and, in this regard, may be considered a branch of service-learning *(Stoecker, Loving, Reddy, & Bollig, 2010)*. Service-learning "integrates community service with instruction and reflection" *(Barnett, Silver, & Grundy, 2009, p. 119)* where "service and learning goals [are] of equal weight and each enhances the other for all participants" *(Furco, 1996, p. 3)*. It is an approach to experiential learning (see *Kolb, 1984)* often couched within the social justice tradition *(Hooks, 2003; North, 2008)*, in alignment with Freire's *(1970/2009)* advocacy for correcting inequitable systems: "To surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity" *(p. 47)*.

Further, in CBR, "the research process itself becomes a means of change and growth for everyone involved" *(Strand et al., 2003, p. 10)*. Student experiences in CBR have been likened to what Kuh *(2008)* called "high-impact activities"—endeavors marked by a

notable commitment of time and effort in which students address substantive issues in unfamiliar contexts alongside faculty and others and receive feedback on their performance. There is growing acceptance that engaging students in communities beyond the walls of the university has proven effective in enriching the student experience of higher education *(Ash, Clayton, & Atkinson, 2005; Celio, Durlak, & Dymnicki, 2011; Pelco, Ball, & Lockeman, 2014)*.

So the goals of CBR in higher education are twofold:

> The most important goal of CBR is to produce usable research for the community.… [Yet] there is always an eye to helping students acquire the knowledge, skills, and values that will make them effective citizens and agents of social change. *(Strand et al., 2003, p. 168)*

These interrelated but distinct aims should receive direct and concerted attention as CBR grows as a means for universities to connect with the communities they are designed to serve *(Furco, 2010)*.

To date, scholars have duly noted the "powerful social and personal change [that] involvement in CBR can stimulate for students" *(Willis, Peresie, Waldref, & Stockman, 2003, p. 43)*, yet few have explored the experiences that facilitate this growth. The majority of research on student learning in CBR focuses instead on the outcomes perceived by students participating in those courses and partnerships *(Lichtenstein, Thorme, Cutforth, & Tombari, 2011; Moely, Furco, & Reed, 2008; Willis et al., 2003)*. Though studies of what students learn and what they identify as outcomes are important, also vital to our understanding is the process by which these outcomes are realized through experience. Studies of university–community partnerships often utilize case study methodology *(Polyani & Cockburn, 2003; Willis et al., 2003)*, but still wanting are the cases of how students perceive their experiences in CBR. One way to satisfy this dearth in understanding is to balance the scales of research done on students in CBR with an account *by* a CBR student.

In this study, I aim to facilitate a deeper understanding of the student experience of CBR through examination of my own experiences as a student in a CBR course and partnership. This focus on personal experience is methodologically aligned with autoethnography, which others have noted as particularly suited for inquiries of community-engaged scholarship *(Cutforth, 2013)* and educational research *(Bossle, Molina Neto, & Kreusburg Molina, 2014)*. Through this method, I present and discuss the salient qualities of those experiences I identify as meaningful—or most readily contributing to my

own learning and growth—and in so doing, provide a point of corroboration to the popularly championed student benefits of CBR. These findings contribute to the extant literature of student learning in CBR and may serve as a preliminary guide for CBR teachers and students engaged in university–community partnerships.

To preview, in this article, I review the context of my CBR experience, provide an overview of the literature on student learning in CBR, and outline the methodology utilized in this study. I then present the findings of this study through three qualities of meaningful CBR experiences: trust, indeterminacy, and emotion. I provide vignettes and excerpts from my journal to substantiate these claims as well as to depict the experiences from which these qualities are derived. I also identify the outcomes I experienced as a result of engaging in CBR and offer the significance of this study for teachers and students of CBR.

A Personal Account of CBR

My story with CBR began when I enrolled in a CBR course as a doctoral student in curriculum and instruction. During this course, our professor, Dr. London, coupled the theoretical underpinnings of CBR with practical experience in the field made possible through partnerships with universities, schools, and community groups. Our primary experiences in these partnerships provided material for discourse in class and, in turn, our course discussions informed our contributions to community projects.

From the menu of possible student activities, I chose to engage in a curriculum development project designed to guide middle school students through the process of understanding how their environment influences their health and altering their school environment to make it a healthier place for students. This curriculum was to be constructed by combining a service-learning curriculum with a strategic planning process facilitation guide.

The curriculum would be implemented in rural middle schools of the San Luis Valley of Colorado. The terrain of this valley is reminiscent of the plains of the grain belt. The rough soil taints the groundwater, and the high elevation shortens the growing season. The subtly rolling plains stretch 40 miles across the valley before giving way to rugged mountain ranges and wildlands. Stunning mountain views, cold winters, unrelenting winds, high poverty, and low health outcomes characterize the valley. The people are tough—hardened by the geographic and socioeconomic conditions in which they live. The aim of our project was to empower youth in

this region to address health disparities here by way of the school environment *(Hartley, 2004; Sherman, 1992)*.

After the CBR course drew to a close, I continued my involvement in the partnership through a practicum, was offered a paid position on the project, and remained engaged with this work intermittently for the duration of the 5-year grant. As a result, I have had the privilege of working with professors, curriculum specialists, teachers, principals, students, advisory boards, and other community stakeholders. I documented my experiences with the course and project through a journal and, as a result, have a thorough record of my evolution from student to colleague in a CBR partnership.

Though my involvement in this project ultimately transcended the role of student in a formal sense, I remain an informal student of CBR to this day. While engaged in this partnership, I have benefited from the mentorship of professors, content experts, community partners, and students alike. I have been engaged in difficult, gratifying, and memorable experiences and have managed to cope with the challenges inherent to engaging, for the first time, in a university–community partnership. This account has value that justifies its dissemination because it documents and characterizes the experiences that have led to my growth across several years of CBR. Having outlined the context from which this study draws findings, I transition to a review of the pertinent literature on the topic of student experiences in CBR.

Studies of Student Experiences in CBR

Though few have directly researched the topic, several scholars have initiated the work of exploring what students experience, learn, and identify as outcomes of their CBR experiences. Following is a review of studies that scaffold collective knowledge on student learning and experience in CBR.

Strand et al. *(2003)* noted four major challenges encountered by instructors of CBR courses: finding a disciplinary connection, building CBR into the curriculum, ensuring student readiness, and structuring the CBR experience. Stocking and Cutforth *(2006)* expanded on this work by clarifying the pedagogical practices they utilize to cope with these challenges through "emerging pedagogy" *(p. 56)* in order to ensure that students find value in the course without marginalizing the needs of the partnering community. Through coping with the challenges inherent to CBR, Stocking and Cutforth argued, professors of CBR courses can facilitate an

environment where students acquire the various positive outcomes of CBR.

Lichtenstein et al. *(2011)* added empirical backing to these ideas through their study of 166 students across 15 colleges and universities. They identified five major student learning outcomes resulting from participation in CBR courses: academic skills, educational experience, civic engagement, professional skills, and personal growth. Though the aim of this study was to develop a survey tool to help quantify the student outcomes of participating in CBR, the authors also found statistically significant correlations across each of these outcome categories, which suggested that "each factor is assessing a different facet of an underlying phenomenon" *(Lichtenstein et al., 2011, p. 22)*.

Whereas Lichtenstein et al. *(2011)* identified the general outcomes of these experiences, Moely et al. *(2008)* found that in the context of service-learning, "the perspectives that students bring with them to the service-learning experience are… important in determining learning outcomes" *(p. 45)* and that matching students' preferences to projects was a predictor of learning in these projects. This presentation of idiosyncrasy in student outcomes somewhat complicates the conversation about what students might identify as experientially valuable in CBR. However, Moely et al. also noted that projects contributing to larger social change were associated with higher student learning outcomes, which is suggestive of the value of CBR as a pathway to student development in higher education. This was supported in the work of Preiser-Houy and Navarrete *(2010)*, who attributed the rich educational outcomes of CBR to the multidimensional nature of the student experience, where academic, personal, and interpersonal dimensions intersect (see also *Kuh, 2008)*.

Finally, and perhaps of most relevance to this study, Willis et al. *(2003)* explored the student perspective of CBR courses through examining their own experiences as undergraduate students. They presented the preparations necessary for instructors of successful CBR projects as follows: set goals, set realistic expectations and time frames, establish clear support systems, ensure prior experience and skills, and facilitate personal investment in the project. They also presented the following set of benefits for students of CBR courses: enrichment of traditional academic coursework, sense of empowerment, greater understanding of social problems, and an integration of academics and service. Through reference to the experiences of the four participant-authors, this study contextualized and clarified the undergraduate student experience of

CBR, as well as complemented the outcomes identified in the literature through providing the student perspective on those outcomes.

Though this literature has clarified the student experience of CBR somewhat, the "need for more extensive study on the student's role in CBR remains" *(Willis et al., 2003, p. 37)*. The present study responds to this call by building on the work of Moely et al. *(2008)*, Lichtenstein et al. *(2011)*, and Willis et al. *(2003)*, effectively supporting the literature on student learning in a CBR project through provision of a concrete account of the graduate student experience of CBR. Further, although others have identified and categorized the outcomes of student learning in a CBR course, in this work, I articulate the process by which those ends may be realized through the method of autoethnography.

Method

This study is an autoethnography; thus my experience stands as the source and filter from which meanings rendered here were generated. Autoethnographic research is a branch of ethnography, which stands in the tradition of cultural anthropology in that immersion in a phenomenon allows researchers to obtain a more complete understanding of the norms and meanings of a given culture or context *(Fetterman, 1998)*. The major distinction between autoethnography and ethnography is the focus on *other* in ethnography and the focus on *self* in autoethnography. Further, autoethnography builds on narrative research in that "the researcher's own experience is the focal point from which a new understanding of the culture in question is revealed" *(Starr, 2010, p. 3)*. In this regard, autoethnography is a study of personal narrative situated in context as a pathway to understanding both. As Ellis *(2004)* explained:

> Back and forth autoethnographers gaze: First, they look through an ethnographic wide angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then, they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations. *(p. 36)*

In short, because "my own experience [is the] topic of investigation in its own right" *(Ellis & Bochner, 2000, p. 733)*, autoethnography presents itself as an appropriate methodology. This method is suited to address the call for "more stories of success and struggle that have played a part in shaping who community-engaged scholars are and what they do" *(Cutforth, 2013, p. 28)*. Through this method, I explore

the following question: What are the qualities of meaningful community-based research experiences for me?

Data Collection and Analysis

In alignment with ethnography, the primary sources of data in this project were personal notes, reflections, and revelations recorded in my CBR journal *(Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995)*. This journal began as a course assignment and, as my experience with CBR extended over time, transformed into a confessional of sorts, complete with questions, feelings, and vignettes pertaining to my experiences with CBR *(Van Maanen, 1992)*. Through documenting these experiences, I compiled an account of the student experience in a CBR course and ensuing partnership, spanning several years of intermittent participation.

I employed two tactics of analysis in this study. I utilized an iterative process of open-ended analysis and coding to identify preliminary codes and distill these codes to the qualities of meaningful CBR experiences for me *(Rossman & Rallis, 2012)*. I also used "prefigured codes" *(Creswell, 2007, p. 152)* to weigh current theories of student outcomes in CBR against my personal outcomes of CBR. The findings that follow are colored with my personal background, biases, and perceptual abilities *(Clarke, 1975; Eisner, 1998)*.

Findings

The findings of this study fall into two categories. First, I present the qualities of CBR experiences that I perceive as meaningful. Second, I clarify the ways in which I have grown through CBR by reviewing the outcomes of these experiences. Though no discrete boundary distinguishes the two sets of findings, I present them separately in the interest of clarity.

Qualities of the CBR Student Experience

I identified three qualities of the meaningful CBR experience for me: trust, indeterminacy, and emotion. Each quality is described and supported with reference to the experiences themselves. This is not to contend that qualities are associated with particular experiences in exclusive terms, but to illustrate how these interrelated qualities arose through my collective experiences with CBR.

Trust

> We sit on the hard plastic seats of the cafeteria table. Two middle school girls bounce in to join us for lunch. I am struck by how young they look. Our table of adults gives them our undivided attention as the girls are asked to share their thoughts on health issues facing students at their school. I am desperate to hear their perspective. At first, they are guarded in their responses, and we engage in casual banter about less charged issues—activities they participate in, bus routes, favorite school subjects, and so on. But after a few minutes, the girls seem comfortable discussing their critiques of sexual education in their rural region, where abstinence-only curriculum remains popular *(Santelli et al., 2006)*. These girls, for whatever reason, have grown to trust our discretion over the course of lunch, and we, in turn, trust their perceptions to guide work in the school.

Trust was the initial point of contention to arise in my CBR experience, and it served as the gatekeeper to engaging in meaningful experiences in both the course and the partnership. I use the term *trust* here in its relational sense, signifying "confidence in or reliance on some quality or attribute of a person or thing" *(Trust, n.d.)*. In my experience, trust was a prerequisite to meaningful involvement in the partnership; only when my future colleagues and I achieved a degree of mutual trust did the experience begin to take on educational significance. This assertion is supported through the following vignette, which describes the events surrounding my request to borrow the lone copy of an unpublished curriculum manual:

> Given my initial task on the project, to blend two curricula, I felt it necessary to review each curriculum manual prior to initiating any work on merging the two. I requested to borrow one of the manuals from Dr. Boston. Her email response, "I have one copy of the… facilitation manual but I don't loan it out!" suggested I should find another means to merge the two curricula. However, in the following weeks I continued to show interest in the project and found other ways to contribute. I scheduled time to review the manual when Dr. Boston was in meetings on campus, offered

> my perspectives on curriculum development procedures, and maintained prompt correspondence related to the project. She responded quickly to my enthusiasm by amending her previous stipulation, loaning me the manual for days, and later, weeks.

This excerpt not only showcases how trust plays an integral role in the relationships between CBR collaborators, but also how this trust must be earned. Before this partnership, I did not know Dr. Boston, and she had little reason to trust me with her curriculum. It was a professional risk for her to involve students in this work, and in order for her to take that risk, she needed to know that I could be trusted. Dr. Boston later reflected on how we built trust with one another early in our partnership:

> It feels a bit like speed dating! You have to match up quickly and hope for the best. But external factors make it difficult for a smooth courtship! We only have a quarter to bond, it takes me a while to build trust and for the student to earn my stamp of credibility, if you will. This is especially true for a very large scale project such as [our project]—it's hard for a student to jump in sometimes.

This notion of trust validates Strand et al.'s *(2003)* recommendation that CBR partners develop mutual trust to ensure a successful partnership: "Each partner trusts that the other can be counted on to 'do the right thing'… [and] work to develop a faith in the collaborative process itself" *(p. 31)*. It was only after I had earned trust with partners, academic and community-based, that I was able to engage in experiences that I considered productively contributing to my own growth. Seen in this light, trust stands as a gatekeeper to student learning in CBR projects.

But this trust was not unrequited; it was also necessary that I, in turn, trust my community partners and professor. Had I not trusted that they would be there to guide me when challenges arose, I likely would have been reluctant to invest time and energy in the project. But through trusting in others, I was able to engage in work that I would have otherwise considered beyond my capacity. This presentation of trust as an aspect of meaningful experience in CBR is supported tangentially in Noddings' *(2005)* argument that the caring, trusting relationship between teachers and students is

a necessary condition of educational experience (see also *Bryk & Schneider, 2003)*.

In summary, through trusting my partners and professor, and in earning their trust, we were able to lean on one another to reap the benefits of collaboration. It was only after building these trusting relationships that I was able to engage in those experiences that I believe most directly contributed to my growth. Therefore, I present trust as an integral quality of the meaningful CBR student experience.

Indeterminacy

> I watch from the back of the classroom as seventh grade students stroll in the door. They waste no time in interrogating me: "Who are you?" "Why are you here?" "Are you our new assistant?" "Why is your hair so long?" I should have expected this. I explain that I helped write the lessons for their class, and I am here to learn how we could improve the course. "OK, let's get started," the teacher's voice rises above the chatter, and students file into their seats. I open my laptop and start taking notes.

> We have relied heavily on teachers to expose the vices and virtues of the lessons, and their feedback has been instrumental in improving each version of the curriculum. This was never the plan. Though curriculum development is often presented in texts as a concrete linear procedure resulting in a polished final product, in practice we have found it to be anything but. Rather, it is an iterative, uncertain, seemingly unending process of trial and error.

A second quality of the meaningful CBR student experience is *indeterminacy*—noting that which is "not exactly known, established, or defined" *(Indeterminacy, n.d.)*. I use this term with intention, as I identify direct ties to Dewey's *(1938)* argument that engagement in an indeterminate situation is an antecedent condition to genuine inquiry. As he stated,

> A variety of names serves to characterize indeterminate situations. They are disturbed, troubled, ambiguous, confused, full of conflicting tendencies, obscure, etc. It is the *situation* that has these traits. *We* are doubtful

> because the situation is inherently doubtful.… [S]ituations that are disturbed and troubled, confused or obscure, cannot be straightened out, cleared up and put in order, by manipulation of our personal states of mind. Restoration of integration can be effected… only by operations which actually modify existing conditions, not by merely "mental" processes. *(Dewey, 1938, pp. 105–106)*

Dewey's *(1938)* indeterminate situation is one that troubles or confuses us and cannot be easily reconciled. Further, in his words, "the indeterminate situation becomes problematic in the very process of being subjected to inquiry" *(p. 107)*; the activity of inquiry, then, is one of resolving indeterminate situations through engagement with the conditions of that problem.

Situations with conflicting interests that required creative problem solving were commonplace throughout my CBR experience, and reconciling these issues often required a diverse skill set, realized only through channeling the collective expertise of the members of our partnership. Engagement in this indeterminacy also required a willingness to adapt my role in the partnership to the needs of the situation at hand, with particular attention to my own capacities as they complemented our collaborative inquiry. In other words, in the context of CBR, indeterminacy breeds ambiguity, and ambiguity requires the collaboration, flexibility, and adaptation of those involved (see also Strand et al.'s *[2003]* assertion that remaining flexible is a "crucial element" *[p. 37]* to successful CBR partnerships).

For instance, upon joining the project, my task was to merge two independently successful curricula, logically enough, into one successful curriculum. Though this task was presented in simple terms, my journal describes points of confusion and apprehension regarding my responsibilities:

> I still lack the "big picture" information I need in order to actually begin any of the prospective merging, or even understanding, of the two curricula—I need more. There is some confusion about how [another student] and I are meant to work (together or separately).

Weeks later, I noted that this variance in roles was not exclusive to my experience but was, rather, inherent to CBR:

> CBR never ceases to amaze. I went into this meeting thinking that I would have some very good points to put forward regarding the continued merge of the curriculum. However, for virtually the entirety of the 2-hour meeting, we focused on logistical issues of approaching the school, what to say, what we want to disclose, and what we don't.… In this discussion, we were closer to a group of salespersons than we were curricularists, which speaks [to] the diverse array of roles played in a partnership.

Months later, I continued to reflect on these issues of ambiguity and uncertainty, again acknowledging these struggles as a natural tendency of engaging in this work.

> This [work] retreat reiterated the "you really never know with CBR/CBPR"—the constantly changing contacts and input keep changing the project as we are writing it. It's such an ever-changing process. Even writing—something traditionally done in solitude—involves meeting with tons of people, getting tons of input (both from the community and experts) and writing and re-writing based on that input. I think we are going to end up with a better curriculum as a result [of] the huge number of voices and perspectives we are getting on this curriculum—it's just a ton of work to receive and import that input.

It seems that to maintain partnership across these dynamic systems—including schools, universities, community stakeholders, and external experts—we had to constantly adapt and amend our plans, roles, and tasks to fit the needs of the situation. Challenges calling for adaptation included the discontinuation of community partnerships, changes in staff and faculty at partnering public schools, forging new partnerships, soliciting input from consultants, hiring new research partners and students, and other unforeseen issues arising along the way. As a result of accepting a role in this dynamic system, my responsibilities throughout the project evolved to reflect the best match of my abilities and the fluctuating needs of the project (see *Moely et al., 2008; Strand et al., 2003)*. Embracing this indeterminacy often led me into unfamiliar situations which, as Dewey *(1938)* noted, are environments full of potential for inquiry and educational significance. The uncertainty

innate to CBR yields a nonlinear, iterative, messy path forward *(Strand et al., 2003)*, but such is the path of educational progression *(Dewey, 1916/1944)*.

Emotion

> K-12 teachers, parents, a principal, a school nurse, and a few students look to me to adjourn our meeting. My shirt does not fit, and my steel-toed boots do not pair well with the khakis I am wearing, though I am too inexperienced to know the difference. My heart thumps higher in my chest as I talk with my hands, trying to convey professionalism, experience, and competence, though in the moment I am convinced I lack all three. It does not help that I am sitting in a chair designed for an elementary student. I do my best to suppress my emotions and conceal the shakiness of my voice as I express gratitude to the group: "You know, what's so cool is we are all here for these kids. I feel like this doesn't happen very often. And together, we can really do something here."

The third quality of the meaningful CBR experience is *emotion*. I do not introduce this quality to simply note that I experienced emotions in CBR—indeed, every experience carries with it some emotion. As Dewey *(1934/2005)* explained, "emotions are qualities… of a complex experience that moves and changes.… All emotions are qualifications of a drama and they change as the drama develops" *(p. 43)*. I introduce emotion here to indicate the emotional fluctuation I experienced as a mark of the drama in my CBR experience.

As a student in a CBR course and partnership, I struggled with the difficulties inherent to CBR while also celebrating the gratifying nature of working toward social justice. As with trust, this emotional investment was both a signifier of and a prerequisite to meaningful experiences in CBR. My emotional response to the work reflects a degree of care and ownership for the purpose behind it; I cared about what happened with this project because of my belief in the greater mission to which it contributed (see *Freire, 1970/2009; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008)*.

Evidence of these emotional swings is pervasive throughout my journal. One example arose through our partnership with an educational consulting firm. The consultants self-identified as "stan-

dards people" and recommended that we revise the curriculum so that each activity be associated with an instructional objective composed as a measurable outcome (see *Bloom, 1956; Mager, 1962; Popham, 1972)*. This philosophy of curriculum development reflects that of the scientific curriculum-maker *(Bobbitt, 1924; Charters, 1923; Kliebard, 1975)*, an approach to curriculum design for which I held philosophical reservations.

If I had not been emotionally committed to this project, I might have felt more apathetic about the input of our new partners, but this was far from the case. When these differences in curricular philosophy began to materialize through recommended alterations to the curriculum, I felt intense frustration and irritation at having the work we had produced to that point put through the filter of an alternative philosophy. As my journal reads:

> I am worried about [our curriculum] being analyzed by "curriculum specialists" I hugely disagree with. They were very "outcomes-based" repeatedly saying "each activity needs to state what each student will 'know and be able to do' at the end of each lesson." I was silently in shock during the meeting, but fuming under the surface.…I did not want to have to put our good work through this bad filter.

> [Dr. Boston] appears to have fully adopted the [consultant] position. I am VERY concerned about the future of the curriculum [in light of our new consultants' philosophy] and even my potential future in the project. I cannot see myself writing a curriculum that includes "students will know and be able to do" for EVERY [expletive] activity!

I raised these concerns with Dr. Boston through a lengthy e-mail, clarifying the difference in educational philosophy between our curriculum and that proposed by our curriculum consultants. My emotional plight was met with an affirming and appreciative response:

> I think your concerns are valid and I'm so glad you raised them. Thanks very much for taking the time to put them in writing. I feel SO GRATEFUL that you are part of this team.

To be sure, this incident was not the exception. Other moments of frustration and emotional toil litter my journal, such as this entry titled "Frustrated in September":

> I'm frustrated with the constant "iterativeness" of this project.… I'm also frustrated that we are incorporating everything [our curriculum consultant] says.… Right now… I am sitting in front of my computer deleting what I wrote months ago. I'm super, uper, duper, frustrated.

But these low moments were balanced with emotional highs, such as these:

> Fruition! I was finally able to provide a meaningful contribution to the curricula merge—and man did it feel good. I was prioritized for our meeting… so I could share some of my findings. Most of my ideas were well received by the group, and inspired rich conversation in regard to design.

> All the hard work is worth it on nights like tonight when I can connect with people and work to bring people together in these communities. Remembering all their faces in that room still brings me joy; I love this project!

As Freire *(1970/2009)* noted, the desire and ability to work for social change come from a place of love: "If I do not love the world—if I do not love life—if I do not love people—I cannot enter into dialogue" *(p. 90)*. It should come as little surprise, then, that the prospect of actualizing change in a marginalized community took on emotional significance for me. It became something I wanted for myself, as well as for others (see *Lichtenstein et al., 2011; Rosner-Salazar, 2003)*. This inspired deeper engagement with the project which, in turn, magnified the educational benefits of the experience (see *Willis et al., 2003).* Seen in this light, we may consider emotional engagement as impetus, signifier, and catalyst to the meaningful CBR experience. With the qualities of the meaningful CBR experience clarified, I shift the focus to the outcomes of these experiences.

Outcomes of the Experience

> I sit at a long table with parents, teachers, principals, and other members of the local community—our

steering committee. Small groups flit through the curriculum, jotting down reflections and recommendations to improve lessons. I stare blankly at the pages, feigning review of what I know well to be in these lesson plans, while eavesdropping on hushed critiques of the curriculum.

One lesson under review is designed to prepare students to examine health problems in their school. We sought to do this creatively by explaining how investigating a health problem "is a lot like solving a case. To solve a case, detectives use evidence or clues to try to figure out what happened.…" Students would practice using their detective skills by solving a fabricated crime: "The Salazar family returned home… from their two-week vacation to Patagonia to find they had been robbed!" This was followed by a list of evidence, notably including: "1) The Salazar family locked all doors and windows, and turned on the alarm when they left for Patagonia. 2) Missing items include all electronics (iPods, speakers, televisions, computers) and expensive jewelry. 3) There was a carnival 3 miles from the Salazar's home 7 days after the Salazar family left for Patagonia."

Before the meeting, I was proud of this lesson. I had associated economic success with a traditionally Hispanic surname, which aligned with what I learned recently in a course on culturally responsive pedagogy (see *Gay, 2000)*. However, the steering committee quickly instructs me that an understanding of whom we are responding to is a prerequisite to genuine responsiveness. They explain how this lesson plan showed a lack of cultural understanding on as many as four counts: First, Salazar is the name of a local family, and this would inspire a charged response from students. Second, most families cannot afford the valuables in the example, let alone travel abroad. These examples could be alienating. As one community member offers, "Maybe they could take a vacation to Denver. I think that would connect better with students." Third, even the wealthiest families do not have an alarm system or lock their doors; most

> leave the keys to their car in the ignition. Fourth, and finally, "We don't have carnivals, we have county fairs."
>
> These community partners are gentle in informing me that, despite my efforts to be responsive, I lack the background knowledge of the community to successfully do so. My generic, academic conception of responsiveness is no match for the experiential community knowledge. I still have much to learn, and in this case, I learn the value of a steering committee to help outsiders navigate the cultural and practical terrain of a community. As a student of the community partnership, I am able to learn these lessons.

Stepping out from the comfortable nest of the academy to flap my wings with the community was a meaningful experience that produced numerous educational outcomes for me. Namely, through experiences marked by trust, indeterminacy, and emotion, I was able to mature as a professional, build academic and collaborative skills, develop as a researcher, awaken my social consciousness, and grow as a leader and community liaison.

Evidence of this growth permeates my CBR journal. Reflections early in the project posit my contributions as minimal. As I stated in the first month of the project,

> I desire to give meaningful input, but don't believe I can give very much until I know both curricula very well. I'd like for my comments to carry the knowledge of both curricula, rather than guessing where we are headed.

And in the second month of the project:

> I feel that my contribution will not accurately reflect the effort I have put forth in understanding the entire project.

But as time went on, my role in the project began to take shape, and my opinions began to carry more weight. Again, testimony of this perceived growth is evidenced through several journal entries:

> My opinion and voice continue to grow as I become both more comfortable with the group, more confident

> with the material and process, and more skilled at strategically expressing my opinions.
>
> Another important thing that happened during this meeting, and has been happening through the process, is the amount of weight my recommendations carry, and my comfort in making them. At first, I had a lot of listening to do before I could give any recommendations, which may have come across as a lack of engagement. As of late, I feel more confident about my understanding of our objectives, and how they can best be accomplished—I am more of a player in the game now. I also feel I am taking more ownership of the project, not from a power-hungry perspective, but just in that I have invested a fair amount of energy in this process, and therefore have an interest in how this project turns out.
>
> I have grown into a position of being an irreplaceable asset to the development of this curriculum. I now feel I understand the parameters of our project as well as anyone—and continue to grow as more of a leader in the project. I now feel comfortable to delegate to people who have been in this project longer than I have. This is perhaps overly ambitious to my knowledge or skills, but seems to feel natural.

As the months of engagement in this project turned into years, I grew into a position of leadership on the project, which I would have perceived as beyond my capacity at the inception of the work. As Dr. Boston once professed: "Can you imagine the position we would've been in without you here today?" Similarly, in a different meeting, Dr. London observed, "Ben, you're really leading the project now, aren't you?" To evolve from having limited expertise and confidence and making minimal contributions to the project, to taking a position of leadership within the project, was a gradual but steady transition that mirrored my growth over time.

This CBR experience provided me with grounds fertile for development as a professional in several ways. By embracing the challenge of collaborating across communities, disciplines, professions, institutions, and backgrounds, I have gained skills as a collaborator and translator of ideas. Further, and perhaps more important, engaging in work for and with marginalized commu-

nities facilitated the awakening of my social consciousness *(Freire, 1970/2009)*. CBR showed me not only that academic work could make an immediate difference in the lives of others, but also that I have the capacity to engage in this work. In this regard, the project and partnership took on new meaning: It was not merely a means to my own education but a meaningful endeavor in and of itself (see *Dewey, 1916/1944, 1938/1997)*.

This is not to say that I now possess the necessary package of knowledge and skills for professional enterprises of this nature, nor is it to congratulate myself for my efforts. Rather, my aim is to give experiential credit where credit is due. Through these experiences, I have transitioned from a naïve, unsure, and guarded student to a position of leadership, confident in my capacity to provide meaningful contributions to the partnership. Although I have much to learn, I have come a long way.

Ultimately, by following the wandering and difficult path of CBR, I was rewarded through learning skills I did not know I needed, gaining knowledge I did not anticipate attaining, and identifying values I did not know I had. These personal outcomes both support and expand existing conceptions of student outcomes in CBR (e.g., *Lichtenstein et al., 2011; Moely et al., 2008; Rosner-Salazar, 2003; Willis et al., 2003)* through provision of a personal account of the process by which these outcomes may be achieved. Meaningful CBR experiences—characterized by trust, indeterminacy, and emotion—apart from facilitating the various results identified above, have been intrinsically gratifying and rank among the most significant experiences of my education. The unpredictable and sometimes circuitous path of CBR stands in stark contrast to the steadfast direction of my personal growth as a result of these experiences.

A Note on Limitations

The notion of a researcher's personal narrative as the source from which findings are identified may appear egocentric or even lacking rigor *(Holt, 2003)*. To be sure, utilizing the method of autoethnography results in findings that are reflective of my experience alone and come laden and enriched with my personal bias and background *(Eisner, 1998)*.

One limitation of this study is that my experience is not neatly associated with time spent as a formal student in a CBR course. As I have noted, I remained engaged in the partnership through a practicum, then as a student employee. Consequently, the findings

presented here are reflective of engaging in CBR for a significant period of time, longer than most students who enroll in a CBR course *(Strand et al., 2003)*.

Finally, to reiterate, I do not present these qualities and outcomes as reflective of all student experience in CBR courses and projects, but as aspects of my experience alone. This is not to excuse the methods utilized but to clarify that, in this study, "referential adequacy is tested not in abstractions removed from qualities, but in the perception and interpretation of the qualities themselves" *(Eisner, 1998, p. 114)*. It is my hope that this recounting will stand as one case in the collective exploration of "the promise of autoethnography" *(Cutforth, 2013, p. 28)* to enrich our understandings of CBR. These limitations aside, this study does present several important implications for CBR teachers and students.

Significance for CBR Teachers and Students

Although I strike an appreciative tone with respect to community-based research, I do not mean to present this article as a blind endorsement of CBR in all contexts with all populations. Surely, although engagement in a CBR partnership was beneficial for me, it may present other students with undue hardship. The hours do not readily align with a regular work schedule; the tasks are indeterminate, fluid, and collaborative; and the learning is often more idiosyncratic than prefigured *(Moely et al., 2008; Strand et al., 2003)*. Whether we perceive these aspects of the experience as an opportunity or an inconvenience is likely a strong predictor of achieving the purported educational benefits.

Despite the limitations of this study and of CBR, it is my contention that this work may be of interest to teachers of CBR courses, students who participate in community engagement projects, and university affiliates who strive to blend student coursework with community partnerships. To me, trust, indeterminacy, and emotion are important qualities of meaningful student experiences in CBR, and I hope that illustrating these qualities may help students and teachers of CBR anticipate and validate these qualities as they arise. In other words, through enriching our understanding of the student experience of CBR, those involved may be better able to facilitate and engage in meaningful experiences, and as a result, produce the positive outcomes noted by Lichtenstein et al. *(2011)* and Willis et al. *(2003)*.

Further, teachers of CBR courses may consider intentionally facilitating experiences that actualize the qualities presented in

this article through cognizance of how trust, indeterminacy, and emotion may cultivate educational outcomes for students. This is not to usurp other prevalent guidance for teaching CBR *(Preiser-Houy & Navarrete, 2010; Stocking & Cutforth, 2006)*, but it is to recommend concerted attention to the conditions of student experiences in CBR. Teachers of CBR may benefit their students by fostering trusting relationships with their students and community partners, encouraging students to invest emotionally in the work, and challenging students to embrace the indeterminacy inherent to CBR partnerships. It may well be that the provision of these conditions positions the experience as one primed for positive student outcomes.

The findings of this study also suggest that CBR students should seek and earn the trust of faculty and community partners, be willing to adopt an emotional stake in their work, and lean into the indeterminacy inherent to meaningful experiences in CBR. CBR is iterative, ambiguous, emotional, nonlinear, messy, challenging, and complicated. But students willing to engage with the difficulties presented by CBR may be rewarded with meaningful experiences and various educational outcomes (see *Lichtenstein et al., 2011; Moely et al., 2008; Willis et al., 2003)*.

Ultimately, the decision of significance and directions of future study will be shaped by readership. I present these qualities of experience in the hopes that those engaged in CBR may apply them to their contexts as appropriate. This study opens the empirical door, so to speak, to understanding the qualities of the meaningful CBR experience, and the findings herein may be applied to practice in innumerable ways. Future studies may explore the qualities outlined in this study or apply other frameworks of educational experience to the study of students engaged in CBR. These experiences may also serve as examples of how critical consciousness and socially just orientations can be awakened in students, and therefore provide a perspective on bringing these theories to practice *(Freire, 1970/2009; hooks, 2003)*. Continuing down these lines of inquiry could inform CBR teachers as facilitators of experience and may help students identify and assimilate the educational value therein.

Epilogue

To close this study, I return to the opening vignette:

> After the van ride back to the hotel, I have a few moments alone—just enough time for a cliché pep

talk in the bathroom mirror. I attempt to dull the emotional discomfort I feel by taking the long view; trying to identify whatever it was Dr. London was smiling about. I have to get over it somehow, as I am due for dinner with the same scholars who had just so politely scrutinized the curriculum I had worked so hard on.

Thankfully, my CBR professor and community partners have created an environment where insecurity and emotional investment are to be cultivated as contributing to student development. I reside in a space where it is safe to show how this work elicits an emotional response, and my feelings of inadequacy may be considered a reflection of my commitment. I feel hurt only because I care.

The lump in my throat subsides, and I begin to see this experience in a more positive light. I realize that it does not matter that the curriculum I wrote requires revision, and it does not matter that I trip over my words when I am nervous. It does not matter that I still have much to learn about participating in university–community partnerships. My shortcomings do not matter because I am a student, and this is my chance to learn.

I remind myself that it takes courage to work on something you believe in, and our efforts could make a genuine difference in the lives of people in this community. I also remind myself that it is precisely because these experiences are difficult that I am able to grow through them. For these reasons, I am able to see this interaction as but one in a series of experiences that will further prepare me as one who engages in some of the best, most difficult work.

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The Effects of an Alternative Spring Break Program on Student Development

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Abstract

This study examined the potential impact of a week-long cocurricular community service-learning (CSL) program on undergraduate students' psychosocial development. Participants in the Alternative Spring Break program and a matched control group completed surveys assessing a number of psychosocial variables immediately before and after the program, as well as 8 months later. Findings suggest that cocurricular CSL programs such as alternative breaks may positively impact students in 2 important ways: increasing personal growth and increasing personal effectiveness. Further research with larger samples is necessary; however, results from this study indicate that cocurricular CSL can be a powerful tool for supporting positive student development.

Introduction

The past two decades have seen increasing emphasis on experiential learning in higher education as a way of bringing learning to life and providing students with professional work experience that will help them build skills for the future. Work-integrated learning programs (internship, co-op, practicum) have long been hailed as critical to students' successful entry into the workforce. More recently, community service-learning (CSL) programs have proliferated on college and university campuses as an effective method to improve student learning and produce tangible benefit for communities. Research on curricular (credit-bearing) CSL has demonstrated that students can achieve improved academic outcomes (linking theory with practice) as well as significant personal outcomes (e.g., self-confidence, commitment to service). Although some research exists on the effects of community service/volunteering (e.g., *Astin & Sax, 1998; Avolos, Sax, & Astin, 1999)*, there is very little research on the effects of cocurricular CSL *(Keen & Hall, 2009)*. We contend that cocurricular CSL can be differentiated from community service by its prioritization of intentional reflection. Although community service and cocurricular CSL activities both take place outside the classroom and are non-credit-bearing, practitioners who build

programs with structural elements similar to CSL courses (e.g., community partnership building, student orientation, reflection) have used the label *cocurricular CSL* to distinguish these programs from unstructured volunteer programs.

With this study, we sought to contribute to the CSL literature by addressing the paucity of research on cocurricular CSL as well as the limitations evident in much of the research on alternative break programs, including its primarily qualitative nature and the lack of longitudinal data. To address these issues, we employed a quasi-experimental design to examine the longer term impact of a cocurricular alternative break program on participants' personal development relative to a matched control group of students who were actively volunteering but were not participating in the alternative break program.

Review of the Literature

Although the community college system has long been infused with opportunities for practical experience, 4-year colleges and universities have recently placed additional emphasis on providing experiential learning opportunities in undergraduate degree programs *(Eyler, 2009; Warren, 2012)*. This emphasis is, in part, a response to the call for such institutions to provide an education that has more obvious practical utility for its graduates *(Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2002; DiConti, 2004; Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities, 2012)*. Eyler *(2009)* contended that experiential learning programs link academic content with meaningful work and volunteer experiences, reinforce classroom learning, and advance students' capacity for critical thinking. Additionally, in an effort to produce socially responsible graduates who contribute meaningfully to social change *(Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Bringle, Studer, Wilson, Clayton, & Steinberg, 2011; Chambers, 2009; Jones & Abes, 2004; McCarthy & Tucker, 2002; Ramaley, 2014)*, universities are embracing opportunities to connect students' academic learning with community projects. Community service-learning (CSL) has emerged as an effective pedagogy that addresses this dual emphasis on experiential learning and social responsibility, and it has been integrated into U.S. campus missions as a critical step toward institutionalization *(Furco, 2001; Holland, 1997; Stanton, 2008; Weerts & Sandmann, 2010)*.

For Canadian institutions, the focus on CSL may be more directly connected to the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE), a survey of undergraduate student participation in activi-

ties inside and outside the classroom. Canadian institutions have historically scored lower than their U.S. counterparts on variables including *active and collaborative learning* and *enriching educational experiences (Conway, Zhao, & Montgomery, 2011)*. CSL activities may have direct implications for improving scores in these areas. Further, CSL was identified by Kuh *(2008)* as a high-impact educational experience that increases rates of retention, improves student engagement, and contributes to students' development of personal and social responsibility.

Given the relevance of CSL for student engagement in higher education, the significant debate in the literature about the definition of CSL must be noted. There is considerable discussion regarding whether this definition should include activities outside formal credit-bearing courses (i.e., cocurricular activities) or whether "true" CSL must occur within the context of an academic course (i.e., CSL is limited to curricular activities; *Furco, 1996; Kezar & Rhoads, 2001; Rama, Ravenscroft, Wolcott, & Zlotkowski, 2000)*. The distinction between cocurricular and curricular CSL is important as each can contribute to different outcomes for student development. Curricular CSL has been associated with cognitive learning outcomes *(Giles & Eyler, 1994; Markus, Howard, & King, 1993)* whereas cocurricular CSL is often linked to aspects of personal development such as identity exploration and social responsibility *(Kezar & Rhoads, 2001)*. In this ongoing debate, our views acknowledge the value of cocurricular service activities that include both specific learning goals and an intentional reflective component and align with Eyler and Giles *(1999;* see also *Jacoby, 1996)*; we argue that it is important to acknowledge the significant personal growth students can experience through out-of-classroom involvements.

As discussed earlier, the debate in the literature about the exact nature of CSL has emphasized curricular forms of CSL. A similar focus is found throughout CSL research. A preponderance of the literature addresses the impact of curricular CSL (e.g., courses with a community placement, community-based research projects) on students' academic and personal development. For example, students in CSL courses report greater understanding of community problems *(Astin & Sax, 1998; Borden, 2007; Markus et al., 1993)*, increases in the belief they can make a difference in the community *(Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000; Ericson, 2011; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Simons & Cleary, 2005)*, greater commitment to future community service *(Eyler & Giles, 1999; Markus et al., 1993; McCarthy & Tucker, 2002; McKenna & Rizzo, 1999; Moely, McFarland, Miron, Mercer, & Ilustre, 2002; Porter & Monard, 2001)*, and plans to become involved

in service-related careers *(Markus et al., 1993; Simons & Cleary, 2005; Tonkin & Quiroga, 2004)*. However, the research shows mixed results concerning the impact of curricular CSL on students' academic learning. Some studies demonstrate the positive contributions to students' understanding of course material *(Astin et al., 2000; Berson & Younkin, 1998; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Markus et al., 1993; Novak, Markey, & Allen, 2007; Warren, 2012)*, but others show no difference between CSL courses and traditional courses *(Kendrick, 1996; Miller, 1994; Parker-Gwin & Mabry, 1998)*.

In our study, we placed emphasis on the impact of CSL on students' personal development. The studies cited here align with the position taken in our research. Eyler and Giles' *(1999)* seminal study used a quasi-experimental design to survey 1,500 students (1,100 in service-learning courses and 400 in traditional courses) from 20 U.S. colleges and universities. Results from the pre- and post-semester surveys showed the positive effect of CSL on several outcomes including personal development, social responsibility, interpersonal skills, and tolerance and stereotyping. Another quasi-experimental study of undergraduates enrolled in multiple CSL courses across different faculties found that students who participated in CSL showed positive changes in self-rated civic attitudes and plans to be involved in civic activities postgraduation compared with those who did not participate in CSL *(Moely et al., 2002)*. Research conducted by Markus et al. *(1993)* randomly selected two of eight sections of an American politics course to include CSL. Results from the pre- and post-course surveys indicated significant increases in CSL students' intentions to participate in future community service and in pursuing a helping-related career.

The considerable research on the effects of curricular CSL has contributed little to the understanding of the effects of cocurricular CSL (e.g., days of service, participation in service-based campus clubs, alternative breaks). Specifically, there has been limited examination of the effects of cocurricular CSL on student development. In our review of the literature, the work of Keen and Hall *(2009)* represents the sole instance of a study on the impacts of cocurricular CSL. In this longitudinal study, researchers surveyed two cohorts of students at 23 institutions who participated in the same structured cocurricular CSL program. Surveys were administered in students' freshman, junior, and graduating years. Participants completed at least 10 hours of service and reflection every week for 4 years, as well as two or three longer term service experiences, often in international settings. By graduation, each student had participated in a minimum of 1,680 hours of CSL. Study results

revealed that between their freshman and senior years, students experienced significant increases in the value they assigned to doing community service, working for social justice, and the development of intercultural skills. Researchers were able to isolate cocurricular service-learning as the variable that contributed to the study's positive outcomes.

Research on Alternative Spring Breaks

Within the last decade, the CSL literature has included studies about the potential impact on students of alternative breaks, or organized, team-based community-service projects during a college or university's annual spring break period (e.g., *Niehaus & Kurotsuchi Inkelas, 2015; Piacitelli, Barwick, Doerr, Porter, & Sumka, 2013)*. Moreover, Bowen's *(2011)* qualitative study of five cocurricular alternative breaks at one institution included data from participants' oral and written reflections. His analysis showed positive outcomes for students' sense of accomplishment, sensitivity to social issues, and commitment to community. Boyle-Baise and Langford *(2004)* conducted a qualitative study of eight students enrolled in a CSL course with an alternative break component. From the data collected through interviews, participant observations, and document reviews, the researchers found the alternative break experience had three positive outcomes for participants: (a) students had a chance to learn from the lived experiences of their peers; (b) they increased their awareness of the realities of poverty in their community; and (c) in some cases, participants increased their motivation to continue serving. Boyle-Baise and Langford also discussed several improvements they would make to the course, including the addition of structured team-building exercises and a focus on community capacity in reflective discussions. Jones, Robbins, and LePeau *(2012)* built on Kiely's *(2004, 2005a)* work on transformative learning by considering students' experiences in four week-long immersion programs. The authors used a multisite case study approach to identify which elements of the program (e.g., getting out of the bubble, boundary crossing, and personalizing the issues) impacted how students were able to make meaning from their experiences. Although each of these studies offers important insights related to the structure and value of alternative breaks, they are all qualitative designs, some with small sample sizes, and thus not necessarily generalizable to alternative break participants overall.

Armstrong *(2006)* conducted a quantitative study that utilized a pretest/posttest design with a control group to determine

whether students in different models of CSL would experience unique outcomes. He explored the psychosocial development outcomes of CSL by comparing three different models: (a) semester-long curricular CSL, (b) semester-long cocurricular CSL, and (c) a 1-week alternative break. He discovered students in the alternative break program had the most developmental differences, specifically related to developing autonomy and maturing interpersonal relationships.

Rationale for the Current Study

The current study was designed in response to the scarcity of research on cocurricular CSL and addresses the limitations of some of the existing studies on alternative break programs, as previously discussed. We conducted a quasi-experimental study of a short-term cocurricular alternative break program, designed to consider the impact of the program on students' personal development. The quantitative design, which involved using a control group and surveying students at three distinct points throughout the experience, allowed us to identify specific personal development outcomes for participants versus nonparticipants and to consider potential longer term effects of alternative break participation. Avalos et al.'s *(1999)* seminal study on the long-term effects of volunteerism during the undergraduate years found that service participation had lasting impacts on students' level of social responsibility, commitment to community service, self-empowerment, and commitment to further education. Does involvement in an alternative break program have similar effects?

The program under investigation, the Alternative Spring Break (ASB) program, involves the short-term immersion of participating students in a cocurricular CSL experience. ASB students serve approximately 40 hours over a 1-week period in a variety of locations in North and South America. In each area, students lived within the host community and served with nonprofit agencies and nongovernmental organizations to build homes, teach English, support seniors and First Nations programs, offer medical clinics, and/or provide emergency food and shelter. Teams were facilitated by faculty and staff leaders who helped prepare students for their experiences during five 3-hour predeparture workshops that included topics such as community development, power and privilege, cultural humility, and transformative learning.

The ASB program, like many CSL programs, is grounded in Kolb's *(1984)* experiential learning theory, using it as a framework

for experiential learning activities that focus on both action and reflection. Students are active participants in service experiences (e.g., building a house or teaching English), spend time engaging in critical reflection about their experiences, link these experiences to discipline-specific learning, and integrate their learning into future experiences. Through daily facilitated reflection that included personal journaling, group discussions, and interactive games, team leaders supported students' development of a greater awareness of social issues, helped them think critically about their beliefs and values, and encouraged them to make connections between the CSL experience and in-classroom learning from their individual disciplines. The goals of the ASB program are threefold: (a) develop mutually beneficial partnerships between participating students and local and global community organizations, (b) inspire active participation in the community and increase students' civic engagement, and (c) support students' academic success and career development. The program is marketed to students as a CSL experience with emphasis on the opportunity to contribute to meaningful community projects in global settings. With the tagline "Be the Change," the program tends to attract students interested in community development, social justice, and intercultural learning.

Research Question

In response to the gaps in the existing literature, we asked: If students engaged in curricular CSL identify significant personal development outcomes including an increased sense of civic engagement, to what extent can similar outcomes be facilitated by cocurricular programs? Jacoby *(1996)* argued that although curricular CSL has the inherent benefit of instructors making direct links between course content and community service experiences, significant opportunities for student learning and development can also occur outside the traditional classroom environment. The current study adds to the limited body of research on the transformative effects of cocurricular CSL *(Armstrong, 2006; Bowen, 2011; Keen & Hall, 2009)* by investigating the impact of an ASB program on nine outcomes: attitudes toward community service, personal growth, personal development, personal effectiveness, beliefs and values, constructive personal behavior in groups, career plans, and community problem identification.

Consistent with existing research, we expected to see positive changes to ASB participants' personal growth, personal development, personal effectiveness, and personal behavior in groups when compared with nonparticipants. Because the ASB program

is designed to immerse participants in a different culture/community, we also hypothesized they would report an increase in their ability to identify community problems. Finally, because of the intensity of the program and previous participants' reporting anecdotal changes in attitudes around community service, we predicted an increase in these attitudes, as well as preference for a service-oriented career.

Although there is evidence to suggest that CSL contributes to students' personal development in the short term *(Astin et al., 2000; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Markus et al., 1993; Miller, 1994)*, less research has examined the enduring influence of CSL *(Jones & Abes, 2004;* for a recent study on the long-term impact of CSL, see *Fullerton, Reitenauer, & Kerrigan, 2015*). Data for the current study were collected in a pre-ASB survey, a post-ASB survey, and an 8-month follow-up survey in order to determine any longer term impacts of CSL involvement. For example, are ASB participants more likely than nonparticipants to be engaged in community service and/or volunteer work once they are separated from their teammates and distanced from the communities in which they served? We chose to conduct the follow-up survey after 8 months to allow students returning to the university a full semester back in school after the summer break before assessing the long-term impact of the program; it was our hypothesis that returning to a regular schedule of school, work, and extracurricular activities would give a more accurate picture of whether students were able to realize their intentions for engagement. Finally, in order to isolate cocurricular CSL as the variable that contributes to students' personal development, we matched ASB participants with nonparticipants who were engaged in volunteering activity. We wanted to determine whether the ASB program had an impact on participants above and beyond that of non-ASB volunteer experiences.

Method

Participants

The participants of our study were students enrolled at a large research-intensive Canadian university. The project received approval from the Institutional Review Board. To assess the potential impact of ASB on student development, all 171 students participating in the ASB program and 6,000 randomly selected undergraduates were invited by e-mail to complete three online surveys in January, March, and November of their ASB year (henceforth

referred to as the pre-ASB, post-ASB, and follow-up surveys, respectively). For the three surveys, there were 628, 492, and 364 respondents, representing 10%, 8%, and 6%, respectively, of the 6,171 students invited to participate.

We intended to match ASB and non-ASB participants who had completed all three surveys. Unfortunately, insufficient numbers of ASB participants completed all three to conduct this matching. Thus, only those 30 ASB participants who had completed both the pre-ASB and post-ASB surveys were matched with non-ASB counterparts according to gender, program year, enrollment status (all were full-time), and faculty of enrollment. Similarly, all of the 43 ASB students who completed the third survey were matched with a non-ASB participant on these variables.

Table 1. ***Demographic Information for Matched ASB- and Non-ASB Respondents to the Three Surveys***

Demographic Variables		Pre and Post Surveys		Follow-Up Survey	
		ASB	Non-ASB	ASB	Non-ASB
Gender					
	Male	3	3	8	8
	Female	27	27	35	35
Year of Study					
	First	7	7	1	1
	Second	13	13	7	7
	Third	7	7	21	21
	Fourth	3	3	14	14
Enrollment Status					
	Full-time	30	30	43	43
	Part-time	0	0	0	0
Faculty					
	Arts and Humanities	2	2	2	2
	Engineering	0	0	2	0
	Health Sciences	9	8	14	15
	Information and Media Studies	1	1	0	0
	Medicine & Dentistry	3	0	9	4
	Sciences	8	11	7	14
	Social Science	7	8	9	8

Sixty participants (30 ASB and 30 non-ASB) who had completed both the pre- and post-ASB surveys were compared on the

variables of interest, as were the 86 participants (43 ASB and 43 non-ASB) who completed the follow-up survey. The demographic distribution of the participants is outlined in Table 1. It was not possible to match all participants on faculty of enrollment, so faculty-based substitutions were made (e.g., one health science student was matched with a social science student, three medical sciences students were matched with science students).

Measures

Demographic variables. All three surveys included items assessing participants' gender, age, year of program, enrollment status, faculty of registration, and whether they had volunteered in the last 12 months. To keep the surveys short, we did not ask questions about the nature of the volunteering (e.g., with what organization).

Positive attitude toward community service. Participants completed 11 items from the Ability, Actions, Awareness, Benefits, and Connectedness subscales of the Community Service Attitudes Scale (CSAS; *Shiarella, McCarthy, & Tucker, 2000)*. Participants rated their agreement with these items on a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*) to determine their attitudes toward community service (e.g., "I am responsible for doing something about improving the community," "There are people in the community who need help"). A principal components analysis (PCA) revealed one component, which we labeled *positive attitude toward community service*, and which had a Cronbach's alpha of .91. Only the results of the PCA components and Cronbach's alphas from the first survey are reported. The results of these analyses for Surveys 2 and 3 are nearly identical in almost every case.

Personal growth through community service. The Personal Growth through Community Service subscale of the Serving Country and Community Survey (SCCS; *Corporation for National and Community Service [CNCS], 2004)* assesses the extent to which participants perceive they have grown personally because of their volunteer experience in the last year (e.g., "I re-examined my beliefs and attitudes about myself," "I was exposed to new ideas and ways of seeing the world"). Participants rated their agreement with the five items on a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*). A PCA confirmed one component, *personal growth through community service*, which had a Cronbach's alpha of .85.

Personal development. Selected items from the Post-Experience Survey of Service Learning *(Gaudet, 2007)* were used to

examine participants' personal development on a number of characteristics. Participants rated their current level (1 = *Low* to 5 = *High*) on eight items. A PCA revealed two components, which we labeled *desire to help* (four items; e.g., "Your desire to help others," "Your desire to make the world a better place") and *personal competence* (four items, e.g., "Your self-confidence," "Your ability to effectively lead a group of people"), which had Cronbach's alphas of .83 and .67, respectively.

Personal effectiveness through community service. Participants completed three items from the Personal Effectiveness Through Community Services scale of the SCCS *(CNCS, 2004)* to assess the extent to which participants perceived they had an impact through their volunteer community service (e.g., "I felt like I made a contribution to the community," "I felt like I could make a difference in the life of at least one person"). Participants rated their agreement with these items on a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*). A PCA confirmed one component, *personal effectiveness through community service,* which had a Cronbach's alpha of .75.

Beliefs and values about service. Participants completed the six items from the Beliefs and Values Measure developed by Markus et al. *(1993)*. These items assess the extent to which participants hold positive beliefs and values about service (e.g., "At some point in the future I would like to work with disadvantaged groups," "I can make a difference in the world"). Participants rated the items on a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*). A PCA revealed one component, *beliefs and values about service*, which had a Cronbach's alpha of .72.

Positive behavior in groups. Participants also completed the five items of the Constructive Personal Behavior in Groups scale from the SCCS *(CNCS, 2004)*. To determine how frequently they engaged in constructive personal behaviors (e.g., "I try to present my ideas without criticizing the ideas of others," "I help find solutions when unexpected problems arise"), participants rated the items on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never* to 5 = *Always*). A PCA confirmed one component, *personal behavior in groups*, which had a Cronbach's alpha of .70.

Importance of a service-oriented career. Participants completed the three items from the Importance of Service-Oriented Careers scale of the SCCS *(CNCS, 2004)*. To determine the importance of a service-oriented job for participants (e.g., "Working in a job to correct social and economic inequalities," "Working in a

job where I am of direct service to the community"), they rated the items on a 5-point scale (1 = *Not important at all* to 5 = *Very important*). A PCA confirmed one component, *importance of a service-oriented career*, which had a Cronbach's alpha of .74.

Community problem identification. Respondents who participated in the ASB program completed a revised version of the Community Problem Identification Measure from the SCCS *(CNCS, 2004)*. This version asked respondents to indicate how much they knew about seven problems their ASB community may face (e.g., "the environment," "poverty") on a 5-point scale (1 = *Nothing* to 5 = *A great deal*). A PCA revealed one component that we labeled *community problem identification*, which had a Cronbach's alpha of .88.

Procedure

Students who participated in the ASB program, along with a randomly selected group of students who did not participate in the program, were invited via e-mail to participate in the three online surveys in January, March, and November of that year. Submission of the survey was taken to indicate consent to participate. For each survey, participants had the option to enter a drawing for a $200 gift certificate for a chain of shopping malls. Close to 100% of the participants opted to participate in the drawing.

Data Analysis

To examine possible interactions between ASB participation and the timing of the survey administration (i.e., pre- versus post-program survey), a series of 2 (ASB participation; ASB, Non-ASB) × 2 (Timing; preprogram survey, postprogram survey) split-plot analyses of variance were performed. For this analysis, ASB participation was the *between participants* variable, and timing was the *within participants* variable. There were no significant main effects for timing, so those analyses are not reported below. A series of independent *t*-tests were also performed to examine ASB participation differences on the 8-month follow-up survey.

A Bonferonni correction was used to control for inflation of Type I error due to multiple comparisons for both sets of analyses. This resulted in employing a conservative standard of significance ($p < .006$). A number of findings did not reach this standard, although they did meet the noncorrected standard of $p < .05$. We report the findings that met the noncorrected but not the corrected

standard as trends in order to shine light on areas that warrant further investigation.

Results

The findings examining the relationship between ASB participation and psychosocial development are presented below. We report the effects of ASB participation on each psychosocial component discussed previously by comparing pre- and post-ASB surveys (see Table 2). Additionally, the 8-month follow-up surveys helped us identify longer term effects of ASB participation (see Table 3).

Positive Attitude Toward Community Service

There was a significant main effect for ASB participation, $F(1,58) = 8.74$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$, on the pre- and post-ASB surveys for positive attitude toward community service, but no comparable effect on the follow-up survey was found, $t(84) = .60$, *ns*. ASB participants reported a more positive attitude toward community service overall than their non-ASB counterparts, but that difference was not evident on the follow-up survey.

Personal Growth Through Community Service

A significant interaction was found for personal growth through community service, $F(1,41) = 11.71$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$. Post hoc analyses (i.e., Tukey's HSD) revealed that ASB participants were significantly higher on personal growth on the post- rather than the pre-program survey ($p < .001$), whereas there was no significant difference for their non-ASB counterparts. For the follow-up survey, a significant ASB participation effect was evident for personal growth, $t(70) = 3.11$, $p = .003$, $d = .74$, such that ASB participants were significantly higher on personal growth than their non-ASB counterparts.

Personal Development

Desire to help. There was a significant main effect for ASB participation for desire to help on the pre- and post-surveys, $F(1,57) = 27.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .33$. There was also a significant main effect on the follow-up survey, $t(74) = 3.05$, $p = .003$, $d = .66$. ASB students reported wanting to help others more than their non-ASB counterparts did, regardless of the timing of the survey.

There was a trend evident in the interaction for desire to help, $F(1,57) = 6.03$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. The ASB participants' desire to

help was higher after the program than before ($p = .04$), but there was no corresponding difference pre- to post-program for the non-ASB students.

Personal competence. There were no significant differences for personal competence for any of the three surveys, but there was a trend. ASB participants tended to be higher on personal competence than non-ASB participants on the pre- and post-program surveys, $F(1,56) = 4.29$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. There was no corresponding trend on the follow-up survey, $t(83) = .85$, *ns*.

Personal Effectiveness Through Community Service

A significant interaction between ASB participation and timing was found for personal effectiveness through community service, $F(1,41) = 10.84$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$. ASB participants scored significantly higher on personal effectiveness on the post-ASB survey than pre-ASB survey ($p < .001$), whereas there was no significant difference for their non-ASB counterparts. This difference in personal effectiveness was not evident on the follow-up survey, $t(70) = 1.93$, *ns*.

Beliefs and Values About Service

There was a significant main effect for ASB participation for beliefs and values about service for the pre- and post-ASB surveys, $F(1,57) = 27.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .33$, as well as for the follow-up survey, $t(84) = 3.00$, $p = .004$, $d = .64$. Regardless of the timing of the surveys, ASB students had significantly more positive beliefs and values about service than their non-ASB counterparts.

There was a trend evident in the interaction for beliefs and values about service, $F(1,57) = 5.28$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. The ASB participants' beliefs and values about service were more positive after the program than before ($p = .04$), but there was no corresponding difference pre- to post-program for the non-ASB students.

Table 2. ***Means (and Standard Deviations) for ASB and Non-ASB Participants on the Pre- and Post-ASB Surveys and Overall***

	Pre-ASB		Post-ASB		Overall[a]	
	ASB	Non-ASB	ASB	Non-ASB	ASB	Non-ASB
Positive attitude	4.50 (.774)	4.23 (.557)	4.51 (.693)	3.98 (.628)	4.51 (.531)*	4.10 (.531)*
Personal growth	3.78 (.856)	3.53 (.923)	4.54 (.541)*	3.52 (.640)**	4.16 (.655)	3.53 (.658)
Desire to help	4.28 (.544)	3.59 (.833)	4.52 (.517)†	3.44 (.896)†	4.40 (.646)*	3.52 (.646)**
Personal competence	3.65 (.841)	3.34 (.805)	3.86 (.646)	3.45 (.673)	3.75 (.668)†	3.39 (.668)†
Personal effectiveness	4.08 (.765)	4.02 (.542)	4.61 (.369)*	3.85 (.639)*	4.35 (.490)	3.94 (.488)
Positive beliefs toward service	4.02 (.556)	3.44 (.595)	4.21 (.508)	3.33 (.694)	4.11 (.531)*	3.38 (.533)**
Personal behavior in groups	4.09 (.495)	3.86 (.707)	4.06 (.554)	3.85 (.599)	4.07 (.520)	3.86 (.517)
Service-oriented career	4.08 (.751)	3.80 (.928)	4.19 (.641)†	3.52 (.829)†	4.13 (.723)†	3.66 (.722)†
Community problem identification[b]	3.29 (.768)*	--	3.77 (.532)*	--	--	--

Note. [a]*Overall* column represents the main effect for ASB participation on the dependent variables, the effect of ASB participation averaged across the levels of timing (*Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1990*).

[b]Only ASB participants completed the community problem identification measure.

*$p < .006$. **$p < .001$. †$p < .05$ (indicates a trend outside of established significance level for this study).

Personal Behavior in Groups and Importance of a Service-Oriented Career

Although there were no significant differences for constructive personal behavior or importance of a service-oriented career on any of the three surveys, a trend was evident in the interaction for importance of a service-oriented career, $F(1,57) = 5.51$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. Interestingly, for non-ASB participants, a service-oriented career tended to be more important before the program took place than after ($p = .02$), but there was no corresponding tendency pre- to post-program for the ASB students. There was also a trend on the follow-up survey such that ASB participants rated the importance of a service-oriented career higher than their non-ASB counterparts, $t(83) = 2.63$, $p = .01$, $d = .57$.

Table 3. ***Means (and Standard Deviations) for ASB and Non-ASB Participants on the Follow-Up Survey***

	Follow-Up	
	ASB	Non-ASB
Positive attitude	4.42 (.710)	4.33 (.706)
Personal growth	4.08 (.811)*	3.45 (.891)*
Desire to help	4.29 (.617)*	3.77 (.924)*
Personal competence	3.80 (.697)	3.65 (.830)
Personal effectiveness	4.33 (.695)	3.98 (.865)
Positive beliefs toward service	3.97 (.663)	3.50 (.806)*
Positive behavior in groups	4.13 (.663)	3.89 (.806)
Service-oriented career	4.08 (.845)†	3.52 (1.09)†
Community problem identification[a]	3.55 (.543)	--

Note. [a] Only ASB participants completed the community problem identification measure. *$p < .006$. **$p < .001$. †$p < .05$ (indicates a trend outside of established significance level for this study).

Community Problem Identification

In their self-rated knowledge of the problems associated with their ASB location, ASB students showed a significant difference from the pre- to the post-ASB surveys, $t(26) = -3.07$, $p < .005$, $d = .73$. After the completion of the ASB program, participants indicated that they had a significantly better understanding of the social issues facing their ASB community than they had prior to going to that community.

Discussion

The research produced two important findings: ASB participants demonstrated both increased personal growth and increased personal effectiveness through their cocurricular CSL experience when compared with students who had not participated in the program but had done volunteering in another capacity. These findings will be discussed below in greater detail.

Personal Growth and Effectiveness

Following the program, ASB participants reported exposure to new ideas and ways of seeing the world as well as changes in their belief that they can make a difference in the world. These results are consistent with Armstrong's *(2006)* research on developmental outcomes of CSL students and Rhoads's *(1997)* findings that CSL helps to foster an "ethic of caring." Rhoads suggested that CSL experiences involve an encounter between the self and the other, and one of the greatest benefits of this encounter is the development of a caring self. Our research suggests that ASB participants experience this kind of personal growth after encountering difference. ASB participants also reported feeling like part of a community and expressed confidence they could make a difference in the lives of others. This sense of personal efficacy through participation in CSL is also consistent with previous research (e.g., *Astin et al., 2000; Ericson, 2011; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Simons & Cleary, 2005)*.

Increases to participants' personal growth and effectiveness may be connected to the intensive nature of the ASB program, where students reside in host communities and experience a variety of cultural customs including speaking the language, partaking of food, and participating in traditional ceremonies. The duration of international service programs has been addressed by previous research *(Camacho 2004; Kiely, 2005a).* Kiely *(2005b)* suggested that the intensity and duration of the immersive experience impacts the persistence of students' transformational learning; however, despite the short-term nature of the program, ASB participants do experience a considerable degree of immersion. Students are removed from their home environment and encouraged to participate in their new community in a way that is free from typical distractions (e.g., cell phones, internet). Immersive CSL experiences such as the ASB program can help students develop a greater understanding of self and community *(Kiely, 2004; Rhoads & Neururer, 1998)*.

Development in these areas may also be linked to the structured reflection that is a hallmark of all CSL programs, whether

curricular or cocurricular. Research shows that in the delivery of effective CSL, the amount and type of reflection are critical factors *(Ash, Clayton, & Atkinson, 2005; Billig, 2009; Eyler, 2002; Eyler & Giles, 1999)*. Reflection enables participants to question their existing attitudes, behaviors, and assumptions in a supportive environment. ASB participants engage in daily reflective activities including journaling, peer discussions, and dialogues with community partners. These activities are facilitated by trained university faculty and staff leaders. Although the control group of non-ASB participants had engaged in some kind of volunteer experience, it was not clear whether this experience was immersive in nature or accompanied by intentional reflection to help the student process his or her experience. Future research could determine the length and depth of students' alternative volunteer experiences and allow for greater comparison between the two groups.

At the time of the 8-month follow-up survey, differences in personal effectiveness across the two groups were no longer observed. Immediately following a short-term immersive program, participants may feel confident in their capacity to make meaningful contributions to community change. However, as participants become more entrenched in their daily routines and further removed from the ASB experience, their level of perceived self-efficacy may decline. Alternatively, participants often comment anecdotally on the difficulties associated with putting their ideas into action when they return from their ASB experience. Although they may leave their host community with good intentions about their continued engagement with a particular social issue, they often lack the time, resources, or support to follow through on these plans when they return to school. This is consistent with what Kiely *(2004)* called the "chameleon complex": CSL students return from an experience and struggle to take action that is reflective of their shifts in worldview.

Though a slight decrease in the absolute value of their personal growth ratings was noticeable on the follow-up survey, ASB participants continued to report higher levels than non-ASB participants on all three surveys, which suggests a potential lasting effect to the personal growth experienced by ASB participants. This finding is consistent with research by Jones and Abes *(2004)*, who found an enduring influence of CSL on participants' identity development and self-authorship 2 to 4 years after the initial experience. Further research into the lasting effects of alternative break programs is needed.

Awareness of Community Problems

Consistent with our hypothesis, ASB participants demonstrated increased awareness of their respective communities after the program. This study indicates that immersion in the communities; time spent learning about the social, political, and economic landscapes of the host communities in predeparture workshops; and participants' independent research enabled participants to develop a deep understanding of their communities, including the problems those communities face *(Astin & Sax, 1998; Markus et al., 1993)*. This finding is particularly significant because it highlights the important role of CSL programs—and specifically cocurricular programs—in developing students' sense of citizenship, a current emphasis in higher education *(Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Jones & Abes, 2004; McCarthy & Tucker, 2002; Ramaley, 2014; Rubin, 2001)*. Programs like ASB have the potential to broaden students' understanding of social issues and complement their classroom learning to produce more globally aware citizens.

The Value of Community Service

Involvement in the ASB program did not increase positive attitudes toward community service as hypothesized and as demonstrated in some of the existing CSL research (e.g., *Keen & Hall, 2009; Moely et al., 2002)*. However, ASB participants scored higher than non-ASB participants on both pre- and post-program surveys. Given the high value placed on community service during the initial survey, there was little room for noticeable improvement in areas like recognizing the needs of the community and feeling a responsibility to help those in need. This finding may be indicative of a "ceiling effect," wherein ASB participants tend to demonstrate extremely positive attitudes toward community service, as evidenced in their program applications, and participation in the program may confirm these attitudes rather than increase them.

Career Choices

Surprisingly, ASB participants did not indicate a stronger interest in service-oriented careers compared to non-ASB participants. This finding was counter to our hypothesis as well as existing research on the impact of CSL on career-related decisions *(Jones & Abes, 2004; Markus et al., 1993; Simons & Cleary, 2005)*. Because of the ASB program's interdisciplinary nature, students participated in a wide variety of projects, many of which may have been outside the scope of the students' academic and career interests, and this may

have affected responses to questions on this topic. Alternatively, CSL participation can open students' eyes to some of the challenging aspects of community-related work (e.g., long hours, sensitive issues, lack of resources) and may cause students to pause and reconsider the demands of a career in the nonprofit sector. That said, a statistical trend suggested the program could potentially have an impact on students' interest in service-oriented professions. This is consistent with the research of Niehaus and Kurotsuchi Inkelas *(2015)*, which showed that participants in alternative breaks may experience subtle shifts in career intentions, and practitioners can work more closely with the institution's career center to facilitate career development. Further research, with a larger sample, would help to clarify the potential relationship between the ASB program and students' career choices.

Commitment to Community Service

Not surprisingly, ASB students reported a greater desire to help than non-ASB students at all three survey points, but the program itself did not seem to substantially impact their desire to help. Like their positive attitudes toward community service, ASB participants' initial interest in giving back and making a difference is fairly high, as evidenced by their willingness to participate in the program. Although we imagined the program would encourage even greater commitment to community service, as demonstrated in the literature *(Eyler & Giles, 1999; Markus et al., 1993; McCarthy & Tucker, 2002; McKenna & Rizzo, 1999; Moely et al., 2002; Porter & Monard, 2001)*, this study showed the program did not have this effect. It is possible that we are "preaching to the converted," and students who might receive the greatest benefit from involvement in CSL programs may not be participating. Program promotion emphasizes the community service element over the opportunity to travel or develop intercultural competence. Program marketing language likely appeals to students who have firmly entrenched values about volunteering and community engagement. In the future, ASB program coordinators might consider adjusting promotional techniques and/or application criteria in order to attract an even wider range of students. That said, a statistical trend suggested the program could have an impact on ASB participants. Further research—again, with a larger sample—would help to clarify the potential relationship between the ASB program and students' desire to help.

Competence

Contrary to our predictions, the program itself did not seem to impact students' personal competence. However, a trend in the data suggested that these students came into and left the program with greater levels of confidence, interpersonal connections, and leadership ability than nonparticipants. This trend should be interpreted with caution, as the personal competence scale's Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .67$) was below the commonly stated lower limit of acceptable values ($\alpha = .70$; see, for example, *Tavakol & Dennick, 2011*.) Perhaps students who are more willing to take risks and meet new people are more likely to apply to the program. We speculate that providing more information to would-be participants may help coordinators appeal to those less likely to push their boundaries. Revised marketing could include material emphasizing that the program offers a safe space to make friends, build confidence, and develop leadership skills.

Teamwork

ASB participants did not appear to improve their teamwork skills or problem-solving abilities through the program. Although we assumed participation would promote gains related to understanding different perspectives and communicating opinions without judgment, these changes were not evident in the research. Because behaviors such as these are likely difficult to shift, it is not surprising that participation in a 1-week CSL program showed little impact. A future research study might isolate the experience of ASB student team leaders and examine whether their specific involvement in the program improves their capacity for team building.

Limitations

Three limitations of this study are worth noting. First, for obvious ethical and practical reasons, it is not possible to randomly assign participants to the ASB and non-ASB groups in order to eliminate any preprogram group differences. Even though we attempted to reduce differences between the groups by matching the ASB and non-ASB participants on key demographic variables (e.g., gender, faculty), the results of the preprogram assessment suggest important differences between the groups that could conceivably predispose the ASB participants to be more receptive to the impact of the program than otherwise might be the case (which has the added effect of limiting the generalizability of the findings; *Elmes, Kantowitz, & Roediger, 1999*). This tendency toward predisposi-

tion could be addressed in future research by preassessing students' baseline levels of voluntary engagement in terms of number, length, and depth of activities. ASB participants and non-ASB participants with relatively low levels of engagement could be compared in order to avoid some of the predispositions of highly engaged ASB participants.

Second, only a small number of ASB participants completed more than one of the three surveys; 30 ASB participants completed the first and second surveys, but a negligible number completed all three surveys. With only 30 students completing the first two surveys, we likely did not have the ability to detect potential significant differences that would have been evident with a larger sample *(Elmes et al., 1999)*. This conclusion is supported by the trends that were evident using a less conservative standard for statistical significance.

Also, because only a negligible number of ASB participants completed all three surveys, we were required to analyze the results of the third survey separately from those of the first two, in effect rendering the design cross-sectional, not longitudinal, for the third survey. Differences between the first two surveys and the third survey may be attributable to differences between the participants and not the program, thereby limiting the strength of the conclusions that we can draw about the longer term impact of the program.

Third, women were overrepresented in the research, making up 90% and 88% of the sample for the pre- and post-ASB and follow-up surveys, respectively, relative to their participation in the program (71%) and enrollment at the university (55%). This overrepresentation is consistent with research on gender differences in survey response rates (e.g., *Sax, Gilmartin, Lee, & Hagedorn, 2008)*. Unfortunately, it may limit the generalizability of our findings. In future research, investigators should specifically target the recruitment of men to ensure a more representative sample.

Conclusions

We believe this study makes a substantive contribution to the limited body of research on cocurricular CSL in higher education. Our findings suggest that cocurricular CSL programs, such as alternative breaks, can positively impact undergraduate students in two important ways, through personal growth and personal effectiveness. The findings also suggest that other areas require investigation with a larger sample (i.e., desire to help, personal competence, and

the importance of a service-based career). Because of the growing interest in use of cocurricular CSL models like ASB, future research comparing the impacts of these experiences when offered as credit-bearing versus non-credit-bearing opportunities is warranted.

We have known for some time that CSL courses can contribute to positive civic attitudes, commitment to community service, and in some instances, greater comprehension of academic material. The results of this study complement those of Armstrong *(2006)* in confirming the value of cocurricular CSL, particularly in the form of immersive alternative break experiences, as a tool for supporting student growth and development. Researchers and practitioners have historically been hesitant to acknowledge cocurricular CSL as a legitimate form of CSL (e.g., *Furco, 1996; Kezar & Rhoads, 2001; Rama et al., 2000)*. This study supports the utility of the alternative break model and prompts further research into the specific elements of the program that contribute most significantly to student development (e.g., reflection, team building, predeparture workshops). As most of the research to date has focused on short-term effects (e.g., *Astin et al., 2000; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Markus et al., 1993; Miller, 1994)*, this research has extended the literature to include an examination of the longer term effects of cocurricular CSL participation. Avolos et al.'s *(1999)* large-scale study on long-term effects of volunteerism (broadly defined) surveyed students from multiple institutions at three points, including 5 years postgraduation. In contrast, this study isolated a single alternative break program, allowing researchers to reflect specifically on the individual program's impact and the overall model's viability.

The findings from this research have provided the CSL community with important information about our student participants, who tend to be highly engaged, community-minded individuals. As providers of CSL opportunities, we need to examine our marketing, outreach, and application practices and ascertain how they can be more inclusive of students from diverse backgrounds and perspectives, and for whom the program may be even more transformative. In addition, a mixed-methods research approach might allow us to obtain a more holistic understanding of ASB participants' experiences. Historically, students have reported difficulty articulating the value of their participation in the program. Focus groups or interviews may assist researchers in collecting rich descriptions that highlight new areas of students' development through the program.

Results from this study can be applied to three key program components in order to improve outcomes for future ASB partici-

pants. First, ASB coordinators can work more strategically with the institution's career counselors to build activities that improve students' awareness of career opportunities in the nonprofit sector. With intentional planning, ASB can offer students the chance to explore service-oriented careers and ascertain whether their skills and interests are well-suited to a career path in this area. Second, the program's reflective activities can be strengthened in order to maximize students' gains in personal growth and effectiveness. To this end, coordinators of the ASB program in question developed a structured ASB reflection workbook to assist students in their learning about international and cross-cultural activities and to support students in processing and recording changes to their beliefs, attitudes, and actions. Finally, these results should encourage coordinators to consider how they are working to keep participants engaged in community service after the immersive ASB experience. The 8-month follow-up survey showed decreased differences in personal effectiveness between the two groups, which suggests that coordinators can do more to help students focus on next steps for community engagement. This might involve post-ASB service days, group projects with local agencies related to the trips' themes, and/or additional follow-up meetings where teammates can share ideas and encourage each other to maintain their commitments.

This study supports the potential of cocurricular CSL, specifically in the form of alternative breaks, to influence student development in positive ways. Although cocurricular CSL has been historically less researched than curricular CSL and, as a result, less recognized in the field, we argue that there is value in approaching community-based education from multiple avenues, including days of service, semester or year-long projects with local nonprofits, community-based research, workshops and conferences on social justice issues, and democratic initiatives (e.g., elections, petitions, protests). Future research on these forms of cocurricular service programs would allow us to determine whether they help students achieve similar outcomes to those found for ASB participants in this study. Broadening the scope of community engagement opportunities can provide students with a greater variety of experiences that can lead to personal development. This is a step that institutions of higher education can take to meet the growing demand to graduate individuals who are socially responsible and globally aware.

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Projects With Promise

Socialization in the Institution: A Working Group's Journey to Bring Public Engagement Into Focus on Campus

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Abstract

For over 3 years, 6 faculty members and 1 graduate student have gathered as a working group applying an interdisciplinary focus to public engagement projects involving immigrant families in the rural Midwest. One dimension of the group's effort has been to involve faculty, staff, and students from many disciplines in its examination of pertinent issues related to engaged scholarship. To support this goal of socialization in the institution, the interdisciplinary group hosted a 1-day workshop to explore engaged scholarship at the university. Through a survey and targeted interviews, working definitions for engagement and prospective areas of interest were explored during and after the workshop.

Introduction

> A next step in building support for the institutionalization of community engagement is a deeper understanding of successful faculty integration of research, teaching, and service in community contexts in different disciplinary and institutional arenas, and to learn more about the structures supporting such work. *(Moore & Ward, 2010, p. 45)*

Public engagement in higher education faces the challenge of generating interest among faculty, students, and administrators while simultaneously providing guidance for this compelling yet complicated work that brings campus and community partners together. Research investigating public engagement has identified faculty support and socialization as critical for sustaining such work *(Childers et al., 2002; Franz, Childers, & Sanderlin, 2012; Sandmann, Saltmarsh, & O'Meara, 2008)*. With this goal in mind, six faculty members and one graduate student at a public, research-intensive university came together as a working group to focus on campus–community projects involving immigrant families in the rural Midwest. The group's mission has evolved over the years to include socialization for public engagement in the institution. To support this goal, we organized a 1-day workshop to build aware-

ness and encourage exploration of public engagement at the university. The purpose of this article is to describe the group's journey through this process, including reflection on responses from our university community about the workshop. Our hope is to motivate and guide the efforts of groups on other campuses to generate interest and provide socialization opportunities for public engagement.

Socialization of Public Engagement in Higher Education Institutions

Many universities and institutions of higher learning have been working to foster campus environments where public engagement is respected and expected. However, the path to inculcating such an approach across research, teaching, and service is not transparent, nor is there a static template for easy adoption. Sandmann et al. *(2008)* described aspects of universities' work in supporting publicly engaged scholarship. They identified *first-order changes* that institutions routinely make to promote the practice of engaged scholarship, which include creating mission statements, establishing an office for engagement, and developing funding opportunities for faculty; however, they posited that *second-order changes* are decidedly more difficult and opaque and need more attention, as they are more likely to enact change in institutional culture through "reconceptualization or transformation of organizational purposes, roles, rules, relationships, and responsibilities" *(p. 50).* Dividing campuses in a similar manner, Kecskes and Foster *(2013)* refered to engaged scholarship integration in higher education as involving *contextual intervention*, which is specific and local, perhaps reflecting the actions of individual faculty. It precedes *structural intervention*, which "fundamentally alters" *(p. 9)* an institution toward public engagement.

A critical aspect of contextual intervention or second-order changes is socialization. The term *socialization* is used regularly in social sciences such as education and anthropology to describe learning or acquisition related to roles in society. Experiences are drawn on, both formally and informally, to develop beliefs, expectations, and practices. At universities and colleges, we are socialized as faculty, staff, or students for the roles we play at our institution.

In an integrated model for advancing the scholarship of engagement, Sandmann et al. *(2008)* positioned socialization and institutionalization as intersecting axes (see Figure 1). They

described socialization of engaged scholarship as the preparation of faculty, which recognizes "the need to strengthen the pipeline for engaged scholarship or training of doctoral students with knowledge, skills, and orientation for this work" *(p. 57)*. The other axis, institutionalization, reflects how "multiple components of an institution are addressed simultaneously and change processes are guided by an intentional change strategy" *(p. 59)*. This axis is based on large-scale change, but it may include activities that contribute to the shift such as faculty support, rewards, or promotion procedures that are coordinated by an institution to commit to or secure the place of public engagement in its mission. The intersection of these two axes—socialization and institutionalization—is where our working group and the workshop described in this article are situated.

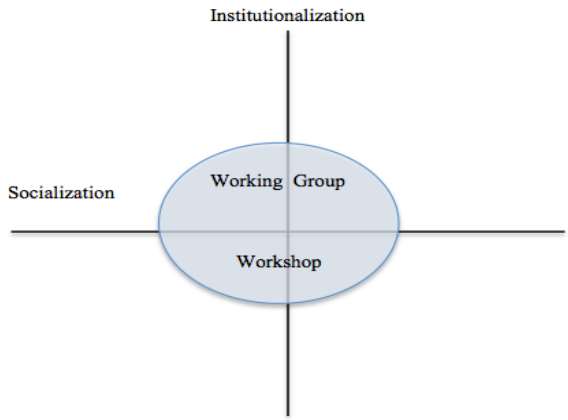

Figure 1. Socialization and institutionalization axes of a model for advancing engaged scholarship. Adapted from "An Integrated Model for Advancing the Scholarship of Engagement: Creating Homes for the Engaged Scholar" by L. Sandmann, J. Saltmarsh, and K. O'Meara, 2008, *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement, 12*(1), p. 56.

Other scholars have highlighted the fundamental role played by faculty groups to support public engagement pursuits. For example, Childers et al. *(2002)* argued that in order to create a culture of engagement, universities must foster "learning communities that support the organizational culture and institutional change" *(p. 20)*. Franz et al. *(2012)* conducted a study of faculty focus groups along with a document review to explore the culture of engagement on a university campus. A major finding from their study was that a campus model encouraging engagement should facilitate

"opportunities for faculty to meet and discuss engagement" *(p. 37)*. As an example of this, Childers et al. *(2002)* facilitated a conference that brought together 254 participants across three universities to discuss learning, discovery, and engagement. They conducted a needs analysis and an on-site evaluation for the event. Respondents reported that the most important themes for campuses to address were faculty issues, outreach culture, funding sources, technology, and developing competencies; they wanted more time for informal sharing. In response, the organization created an online learning community to promote sustained dialogue. Both of these studies point to the benefit and value of university groups formed for the explicit purposes of sharing, socialization, and conversations about publicly engaged scholarship. Such contextual intervention or second-order changes can occur parallel to or as motivation for first-order or structural intervention catalyzing the intersection of socialization and institutionalization. Our working group sought to incorporate these elements in a campus workshop on public engagement.

Our Working Group: Socialization on Campus

To initiate our group, one member brought together faculty that she knew were committed to work involving community partnerships with school-aged children and their families in rural areas of our state. We applied for and received funding and convenient meeting space from a university center that encourages cross-disciplinary collaborations.

As our group began to explore issues of public engagement, it became apparent that we needed to establish a common working definition of publicly engaged scholarship. Having a shared understanding of this term was necessary to guide our work, prioritize activities, and direct our socialization efforts. Our group discussed and established the following working definition of pubic engagement to ground our work:

> Based on the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, we define public engagement as "the collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, and global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity." *(cited by Driscoll, 2008, p. 39)*

This definition is also guided by a belief that we should strive for four foundational characteristics of publicly engaged work: that it (1) is scholarly; (2) cuts across the missions of teaching, research, and service; (3) is motivated by reciprocity and mutual benefit; and (4) embraces the processes and values of civil democracy *(Fitzgerald, Bruns, Sonka, Furco, & Swanson, 2012, p. 13)*. The definition of public engagement reemerged when evaluating our workshop's impact, leading to an important direction for our future work as described later in this article.

During our initial working group meetings, we discussed the successes and challenges of our publicly engaged projects. Specifically, we were interested to hear how each of us engaged with community members where we worked, the difficulties we faced in sustainability and funding, and the attitudes of departmental and collegiate colleagues and administrators toward faculty public engagement. We also spent time reading about and discussing the experiences of immigrant families in rural communities. We chose *Immigrants Raising Citizens: Undocumented Parents and Their Young Children (Yoshikawa, 2011)* as the first book to read together. Next, pairs of group members read a selected book to share with the larger group (selected works included *Maharidge, 2005; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2010; and Valdés, 1996)*. In addition, we invited campus administrators who might be willing to sponsor and extend our work; in these meetings, we explained our projects and discussed concerns about support for public engagement on our campus. By considering answers to questions they posed to us, we deepened our awareness of the institutional side of public engagement, which motivated us to continue to read and talk.

Through these working group meetings and related interactions with invited faculty and administrators, we recognized that our questions about public engagement on campus were not unique to our group. This realization led us to organize a campuswide workshop with the specific purpose of providing a place to share publicly engaged service/scholarship with colleagues and to delve into its unique opportunities and challenges. The workshop sought to extend the socialization from our smaller group to a wider audience of interested colleagues and also to connect our socialization efforts to the institution.

The Workshop

To create a forum for faculty, staff, and graduate students across campus to exhibit, promote, and discuss public engagement, we

planned a 1-day workshop open to the entire campus at no cost to participants. Our working group had received funding and administrative support for the event from the Obermann Center, a site devoted to interdisciplinary collaboration. Additional funding came from the University Office of the Provost, the University Center for Teaching, and the Office of the Vice President for Research and Economic Development.

One month prior to the workshop, the following announcement of the event went out to faculty, staff, and graduate students in e-mail from the offices of the Provost, the VP for student life and the VP for human resources:

> Please plan to join faculty, staff, and graduate students for a workshop to learn about *Public Engagement in Higher Education*. Come to hear more about the ways universities and their faculty, staff, and students are recommitting themselves to their public missions and creating better futures for their local and global communities. The workshop will be held on April 26th from 8:30-1:30 p.m.

To our surprise and delight, 118 students, staff, and faculty preregistered for the 6-hour workshop, and others registered on-site to join the workshop for parts of the day, making a total of about 200 attendees. The diverse group of participants represented all colleges in the university and a cross-section of departments. Attendees included faculty, staff, graduate students, and community members.

The day began with registration and casual conversation followed by opening remarks articulating the essence of our mission in offering this workshop. We expressed the hope that the workshop would

> be the beginning of new relationships and ideas to increase the visibility and effectiveness of the public engagement that is already occurring on our campus and to strengthen our commitment to growing a culture that can sustain these efforts and promote new conversations in our academic community.

Each participant received a workshop packet containing pertinent readings, a description of the working group members, and a copy of the workshop agenda. In addition, we created a website to share resources both before and after the workshop.

Although the attendees and program reflected the socialization aspect of the working group, institutional agents were decidedly present. The president of the university opened with a welcome stressing the importance of publicly engaged faculty, staff, and students and assured participants of the university's strong commitment to public engagement. She urged attendees to be challenged by the day's conversation and affirmed that our campus is experiencing "a wonderful new energy for more publicly engaged teaching and research as well as a growing commitment to service to the people of our community, our state, and our society at large."

Also representing institutional support, the provost concluded the general session by highlighting institutional activities. He stressed that "we need to recognize, promote and advance these areas of the university," describing efforts to secure the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification and a university grant award for projects to better the future of the state as illustrations of the university's commitment to public engagement. He finished by announcing the establishment of the new Office for Outreach and Engagement and the naming of an associate provost for this office.

The keynote address was delivered by a professor and head of the School of Urban and Regional Planning (URP), who described a project that pairs graduate students and faculty with urban communities to tackle development projects. Next was a moderated panel titled "A Cross-Campus Focus on Public Engagement." Panelists from departments across campus, including education, theater arts, computer science, engineering, and public health, discussed the ways they weave public engagement into their teaching, research, and service.

After this panel, participants attended a moderated breakout session on a topic they chose from the following: students' experiences with public engagement, designing assessment for publicly engaged scholarly work, getting started with public engagement, public engagement and the matters of promotion and tenure, or service-learning with business partners.

At a working lunch session, experts with experience in engaged teaching, research, or service joined attendees at round tables to moderate an "ask an expert" discussion and field questions. Topics included public engagement in prisons, archives and public engagement, issues of health and education in rural settings, sustainability and the environment, the arts and public engagement, community empowerment at the homeless shelter, and school readiness. The

workshop ended with a recap of the day and a query regarding interest in future workshops.

Summarizing: Intersections of Socialization and Institutionalization

Through our working group meetings and the public engagement workshop, our group enacted practices supportive of socialization at our institution, perhaps along the lines of contextual intervention *(Kecskes & Foster, 2013)*. Concurrently, structural-level activities were initiated to elevate public engagement at our institution. With the initial announcement at our workshop, the Office of Outreach and Engagement was established on campus. It has formalized initiatives to encourage public engagement, such as creating a valuable interactive website, delivering several community impact grants, and compiling a database of community partners and projects. With strong support from this office, the university applied for and received a Carnegie Community Engagement Classification.

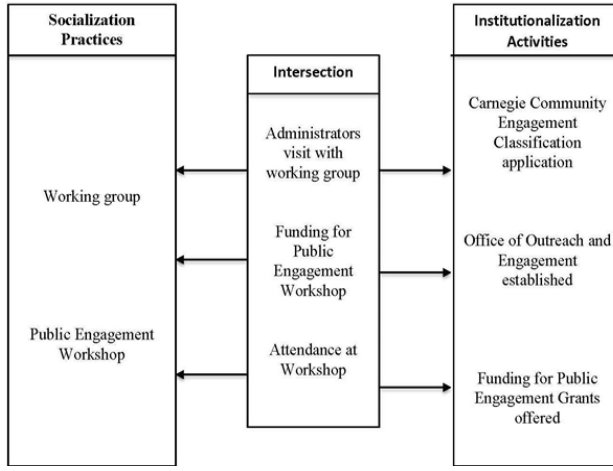

Figure 2. Possible intersections of socialization and institutionalization.

Figure 2 shows how our public engagement practice represents the intersection of the institutionalization and socialization axes in Sandmann et al. *(2008)*. Although we cannot claim a causal relationship between the activities of our group and the institution, the intersection provided a means for bidirectional influences and support, as the figure illustrates.

Finding Our Next Steps

Since the purpose of the workshop was to create a space for public engagement socialization, the group gathered information from attendees to consider impact and to illuminate a path forward. Data were collected through video interviews during the workshop and through an online questionnaire. We explain this follow-up study in terms of definitions and areas of interest from the workshop, which has directed the subsequent steps of our working group.

Definitions as Reflection on Impact and Socialization

Early on, our working group adopted a definition of public engagement to guide our work, as previously described. We decided to return to definition as a format to reflect on our workshop's impact by collecting participants' definitions of public engagement and analyzing these through discourse analysis. Our purpose was not to judge the correctness of definitions but to uncover and highlight compelling themes to guide efforts in socialization with the institution.

Eighteen workshop participants agreed to be recorded on video sharing their definitions for public engagement. Near the end of the workshop, we invited them to respond on camera to the question "What is public engagement?" Nine faculty members, seven graduate students, one staff member, and one community partner participated. Comments ranged in length from one to 12 sentences.

We used qualitative methods *(Gee, 2014; Merriam, 2009)* to analyze the definitions through a lens of discourse analysis. Our goal was to determine the levels of awareness and document the larger themes mentioned by participants. One working group member, along with a graduate student familiar with discourse analysis procedures, began the analysis by reading through all video commentaries and making notes of emergent themes for further review. Gee's *(2014)* tools of inquiry were applied as lenses for understanding language-in-use in particular data. Guided by the workshop purposes that were described earlier, we reviewed the transcripts several times, coding for language features such as adjectives used to describe public engagement, passive/active voice, and pronouns ("we" versus "they").

Examining the responses alongside the working definition of public engagement we have used to guide our work, we were initially

struck by the complexity of enacting a definition that embraces all facets and members of a university campus. Simply said, it is one thing to develop awareness of public engagement, yet quite another to understand what constitutes a good and appropriate fit for all members of a campus community. This can challenge socialization practices that employ a one-size-fits-all approach.

For example, the lives of faculty and graduate students are often shaped by the tenets of scholarship and teaching as they contemplate public engagement. This was revealed in a definition by a graduate student:

> I think for me public engagement is participating in something that is larger than myself. As a student I think it's really easy for me to get wrapped up in the research that I'm doing and the academics and the rigor and sort of get lost in that. And public engagement really is a reminder for me that there is something larger and sort of a bigger reason that I can participate in these things. It's going to mean something more than having lines on my resume.

On the other hand, staff responsibilities may or may not include expectations of research/scholarship. Consequently, staff members' view of public engagement is likely guided by what most campuses define as outreach or service.

The majority of respondents' comments revealed the desire to move toward public engagement by building on democratic principles often at the heart of the public university mission *(Fitzgerald et al., 2012)*. For instance, one faculty member commented,

> Public engagement is a relationship that's established between people in the university community who teach and do research and do service, and the community (people of the community) so that there is reciprocal benefit, mutual benefit, and also something for the greater good.

However, we found in the definitions some conflicting discourse surrounding the notion of "community" in public engagement. Because of the presence of the word *community* in all but one definition, we used Gee's *(2011)* relationship-building task to explore the kinds of relationships that workshop participants had experienced or hoped to create with community partners.

Some workshop participants offered definitions that indicated a hierarchical relationship between university and community. Participants used a number of phrases to describe the part that the university would play in such a relationship:

- Bring knowledge and research to community
- Make communities stronger with better living standards
- Focus on vulnerable segments of community
- Make communities safer and healthier
- Bring knowledge and experiences to community
- Serve the community
- Better the community as a whole
- Develop programs that have an immediate impact
- Sell something we believe in and then sell it to the community

Such phrases indicate that university members enter communities to save, improve, and better those sites. Simply expressed, the university does work on or to a community rather than *with* a community. This perspective may undermine an equally balanced perspective in public engagement.

Conversely, other interview comments reflected a view of the university as an equitable partner in forming relationships *with* a community and engaging community members as partners. Participants used phrases indicating this perspective:

- Work toward complementary relationship with community
- Be in the community and learn from the community
- Achieve equity with community partners
- Identify as member of the community and also as a scholar
- Learn from the community/encouraging participation

One community member's definition of public engagement illuminated the equality in expertise and complementary backgrounds that should characterize this work:

> Well, I'm from the community partner side of things so I guess that I'm just thinking about trying to provide some kind of enriched learning experience for students in the University. As a Rotarian, I think that there's a complementary relationship there. Rotarians have some resources, typically a lot of experience. Young people in

> college have a lot of energy and idealism and you bring the two together and a lot of great things can happen, as much for the students as for the humanitarian service groups.

Overall, our analysis revealed more comments were placed in a category positioning the university in a hierarchical relationship with communities than in one reflecting an equitable relationship. As research suggests, the word *community* can represent a romanticized concept that we return to in times of uncertainty when a shared vision makes a daunting challenge seem possible *(Bortolin, 2011).* Community is "warmly persuasive" *(Creed, 2006)* and seductive *(Williams, 1983)* when used and allows us to gloss over complications of hierarchies, as well as differing values brought about by institutions, systems, and organizations *(White, 2010).*

Applying critical discourse analysis to these definitions revealed that our workshop participants held views that reflected some aspects of our working group's definition, namely that public engagement is about collaboration and should cut across teaching, research, and service. In contrast with our group's definition, the definitions of publicly engaged scholarship also revealed a perception of unidirectionality of benefit (i.e., university members helping community). This finding suggests that the definitions did not fully encompass "reciprocity and mutual benefit" nor the processes and values of civil democracy, revealing the need for further emphasis on the bidirectional nature of public engagement. Our group has continued to explore the theme of community to pursue a balanced view of knowledge in our publicly engaged work.

Participants' Interests in Public Engagement Socialization

Along with close analysis of definitions, we also collected information through a follow-up survey to explore who attended the workshop and what their current projects and future interests were. After the workshop, all participants were sent a brief online survey containing questions related to publicly engaged scholarship. The survey respondents included 30 faculty, staff, and graduate students with wide representation across the university. The surveys were analyzed with descriptive statistics.

The survey revealed that 63% of the respondents reported being involved with engaged scholarship (teaching, research, and/or service), spanning areas from literacy to neuroscience. Many

reported participation in multiple publicly engaged projects. Of the 33 separate projects on which specific information was provided, 61% involved teaching, 70% involved research, and 85% involved service.

Survey participants were asked to select topics that they were interested in learning more about (illustrated in Figure 3). Respondents could select more than one option, and the survey allowed them to write in other topics. The results revealed a preference for learning about the role of public engagement in academic culture (79%), ethical issues related to publicly engaged scholarship (62%), the Carnegie designation as an engaged institution (59%), and getting started as a publicly engaged scholar (45%). In the "other" category, which allowed write-in suggestions, participants listed the following topics:

- promotion and tenure,
- engaged projects at the university,
- human subjects Internal Review Board hurdles,
- assessment of publicly engaged scholarship, and
- connecting undergraduates to engaged projects.

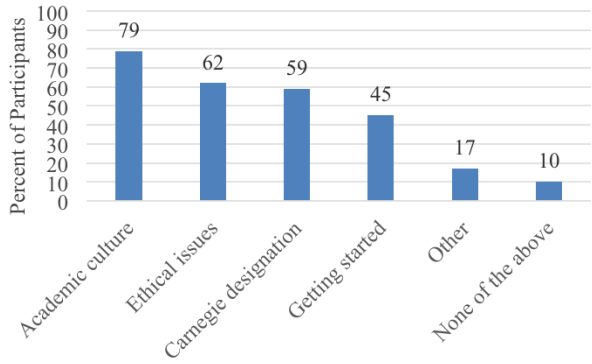

Figure 3. Topics of interest for future workshops.

The results of our questionnaire revealed several key points. First, strong interest exists in public engagement among the members of the university community. However, their ability to turn this interest into action may be hampered by the need for further awareness, resources, and education that are necessary for addressing some of the practical issues of involvement with public engagement (e.g., rigor and publicly engaged scholarship, understanding outcomes, promotion and tenure, ethics).

Addressing these issues through socialization practices and with institutionalization at policy levels can allow members of the university community to engage with communities and receive the recognition that this commitment of time and energy merits.

Next Steps

From the data collected during and after the workshop, we noted an undercurrent of commitment to civil democracy with a need to be more diligent in creating partnerships that are truly bidirectional through encouraging and welcoming community involvement in all stages of project planning, implementation, and evaluation. Bringing a critical lens to our analysis uncovered issues with the perception of the community and university roles in engaged work and thus illuminated an area for further attention at our university and perhaps in the field of public engagement at large. The summer after our workshop, our working group organized a half-day meeting with our community partners. We funded our community partners' visit to campus and over brunch, we joined them in a discussion of what they saw as the benefits and challenges of engagement with the university. Our intention was to give them the floor to talk about partnerships, and their input was invaluable. Although we are still working to understand the implications of the tenets of reciprocity and mutual benefit, this meeting was inspiring and thought-provoking.

This finding is also reflected in a current project of our working group focused on how language and literacy mediate health care for immigrant families. We began this study using a model of community-based participatory research *(Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003)*, which we felt responded to the need for a balanced bidirectional approach to public engagement in research. Following this approach, we met with members of the communities that our group members engage with and collectively arrived at an area of investigation that was a need for the communities and an interest for the faculty in the working group. We applied for and received funding from one of our colleges, and data collection is currently underway.

We have also further developed the intersection between socialization practices and institutionalization. Specifically, the associate provost of the Office for Outreach and Engagement has become a permanent member of the working group. In our monthly meetings, she shares the recent activities of the office and participates in the discussions that we undertake as we explore

our projects and issues of public engagement. Her involvement continues the bidirectional intersection between the socialization and institutionalization of public engagement at our university.

On a final note, our findings from the workshop participants' definitions suggest a need for measures for evaluating outcomes of community-engaged scholarship that go beyond the traditional metrics of published research in academic journals; recognizing measures that elevate the role and voice of community members through outcomes relevant to partners could be a step in structural innovation in higher education. Our group has discussed embarking on work to improve our understanding of and capacity for assessment and evaluation in public engagement.

Starting and Sustaining a Working Group on Public Engagement

Our ongoing experience as a working group has benefited group members professionally and personally. By hosting the workshop, we invited the university community to join our exploration of public engagement. In closing, we suggest several tools that others may find relevant for similar endeavors.

- *Creating venues for information exchange and encouraging institutional structure.* Our workshop revealed campuswide interest in public engagement, which is foundational for further development. One way to build upon this foundation is to foster greater awareness and deeper understanding of public engagement throughout the university. Support for faculty, staff, and students in public engagement may include professional development on ethical issues, initiating engaged projects, and guidance on navigating academic culture while pursuing such work.
- *Supporting and sustaining smaller groups.* Although our institution has supported our group through important "first order" changes, we agree with Childers et al. *(2002)* that learning communities are needed to ballast institutional change toward public engagement. A working group of university colleagues is one manifestation; other possibilities include professional learning communities (PLCs) with community partners. Coming together on a regular basis and having honest conversations about public

engagement projects, practices, and problems will provide unique support and encouragement that the larger institutional structures cannot.

- *Emphasizing balanced partnerships with communities.* As campuses build awareness of public engagement, we should devote careful attention to the language used to persuade, invite, and open collaborations. Understanding the importance of the small words—*with* communities rather than *to* communities *(P. Clayton, personal communication, March 12, 2014)*—seems a good touchstone as we begin to deepen our understandings of public engagement.

During our time together as a working group, we have learned and explored issues in our institution related to public engagement. Scholars in public engagement have developed models and reported on research reflecting that faculty, staff, and students desire and even require venues to share, socialize, and discuss public engagement *(Childers et al., 2002; Franz et al., 2012; Sandmann et al., 2008)*. Our working group was formed for this reason, and the evolution of our work expanded conversations to a larger group through a 1-day workshop. These socialization activities developed an evolved understanding of public engagement within the roles we play in our institution. With this socialization, we believe our present community partnerships—as well as our future ones—can become stronger.

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Engaging the Educators: Facilitating Civic Engagement Through Faculty Development

Sarah Surak and Alexander Pope

Abstract

Incorporating civic engagement into academically rigorous classroom practice requires the retooling of course delivery. In this article, the authors describe an 8-week seminar that acts as a structured, incentivized opportunity for course redesign for Salisbury University (Maryland) faculty who wish to incorporate rigorous and effective civic engagement across the liberal arts curriculum. Lessons learned include the effect of providing space for discussion and pedagogical imagining, the importance of disciplinary literacy and social responsibility, perspectives for dealing with differing faculty expecations of student engagement, strategies for moving beyond roadblocks, and challenges posed by concepts of citizenship and "civic" within the seminar.

Introduction

Civic engagement is an increasingly popular component of teaching, research, and service in higher education. Civic engagement experiences prepare students for active participation in our democracy, promote a sense of community on campus, and help interested faculty to enhance teaching, scholarship, and service. Because of these and other benefits and incentives, faculty may elect to design or redesign courses to include civic engagement as a central component. Translating the idea of civic engagement into successful pedagogical practices, however, requires more than faculty interest in undertaking such efforts. Successful civic engagement activities depend on the ability of interested faculty to provide a structured, authentic, and academically rigorous experience that leverages community assets while also seeking to address community ills. Thoughtful reorganization and rethinking of course delivery is necessary to fully engage students in methods that develop knowledge, skills, and values for democratic participation, and Salisbury University's Civic Engagement Across the Curriculum program (CEAC) seeks to assist faculty in this task.

Salisbury University, a comprehensive public university located on the eastern shore of Maryland, actively encourages faculty to incorporate civic engagement into the classroom experience through these mechanisms. In this article, we describe

a recently initiated effort to assist faculty with the deployment of civic engagement across the liberal arts curriculum through the provision of resources and incentives. Two groups of faculty participated in an 8-week seminar in which they considered the value of and opportunities for utilizing civic engagement as a pedagogical tool. With this new and/or enhanced knowledge, faculty were guided through course redesign and prepared for delivery the following semester.

The efforts at Salisbury University are guided by the American Democracy Project's framing of civic engagement as "working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference" (*Ehrlich, 2000, p. vi)*. This is a heady challenge and a complex undertaking, even for otherwise accomplished faculty.

In a review of literature pertaining to civic engagement in the university context, we link this to the Salisbury University experience and then utilize data collected during the faculty development workshops to present "lessons learned." These include providing space for discussion and pedagogical imagining, promoting disciplinary literacy and social responsibility, dealing with different faculty expectations for student engagement, moving beyond easily identifiable roadblocks, and resolving challenges posed to the key concepts of citizenship and the category of the "civic" within seminar discussion. Our intent in sharing these broad themes is not to suggest methodological strategies or claim wide generalizability; instead, we seek to advance discourse about early-stage efforts to engage faculty in meaningful civic engagement education. Suggestions for future faculty development initiatives encouraging the facilitation of civic engagement activities as a key component of course design are presented.

Situating Critical Civic Engagement Within the University Context

Civic engagement has been and remains a key concern of colleges and universities, often in the form of service-learning. In her review of civic engagement literature, Finley *(2011)* focused on the dominance of service-learning programs in postsecondary education. Such programs follow progressive-era beliefs that learning should be experiential and grounded in authenticity. But as Finley observes, many of the programs that claim to promote civic engagement are deliberatively nonpolitical. Such programs

can help students understand civic life as an academic exercise but do not necessarily help build genuine abilities needed for active democratic citizenship.

Levine *(2014)* suggested that those nonpolitical engagement programs are a result of pressures that institutions of higher education feel from various segments of society. Because of economic and social pressures, education is often treated as little more than "the gateway to professional and personal development" *(Lautzenheiser, Kelly, & Miller, 2011, p. 8)*. An emphasis on career readiness can prioritize a transactional citizenship based on such traits as "being timely and hardworking" *(Lautzenheiser et al., 2011, p. 8)* that has a close relationship to the more duty-oriented approach that Dalton *(2008)* argued typifies conservative views of citizenship. These systems are based on goals for ordered and responsible life and citizenship. Framed positively, this is preparation for working effectively within the system.

This article and the larger institutional effort from which it stems reflect a more critical view of citizenship. We acknowledge broad social inequalities, and we recognize that citizens adopt alternative patterns of engagement relative to their position in and experiences with society. We embrace these realities as a starting point for civic engagement. This approach to civic engagement strives toward a critical civic praxis *(Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007)*. As a site of civic learning, the university offers students an opportunity to consider and act on efforts for social justice.

Through critical civic engagement, the university classroom provides a space to engage course concepts via a focus on social responsibility through forms of civic and political engagement *(Giroux, 2001)*. Following the work of Levine *(2014)*, the initiative detailed in this article is framed by the understanding that colleges and universities need to directly engage in such critical civic education. This article relates one effort to provide effective faculty development in the service of authentic, critical, and politically minded civic engagement experiences.

Salisbury University's Effort: Program Overview of Civic Engagement Across the Curriculum (CEAC)

Salisbury University's Institute for Public Affairs and Civic Engagement (PACE) was founded in 1999 as a nonpartisan organization coordinating civic engagement opportunities, citizenship education, and the cultivation of an informed

democratic citizenship. PACE activities are twofold, encompassing both public affairs and civic engagement. Through forums, events, programs, and projects, PACE interacts with issues of public affairs, the intersection of individual and community interests. PACE's academic efforts are an attempt to inspire, inform, and shape learning to influence public affairs through civic engagement education that "explicitly teaches the knowledge, skills and values believed necessary for democratic citizenship" *(Kahne & Middaugh, 2009, p. 141)*. This article concerns PACE efforts in the latter category. We specifically focus on Civic Engagement Across the Curriculum (CEAC), a program begun in Spring 2014 to engage and support faculty in incorporating civic engagement within the classroom.

Two faculty members, one from the Political Science Department and one from the Department of Teacher Education, facilitate the 8-week seminar. Figure 1 outlines the syllabus for this seminar, which was first offered in Spring 2014, then again in Fall 2014. Future seminars will be offered in each fall semester. Participating faculty commit to attending the entirety of each of the eight 90-minute meetings that run October–November. Faculty participants are expected to complete required readings and assignments before each session. The ultimate product of the seminar is a revised course syllabus reflecting a tightly integrated civic engagement component comprising at least one credit hour of the course.

This civic engagement component is generally referred to as an enhancement. According to state requirements, this enhancement may consist of one or more options in addition to the traditional 3 hours of coursework: increased content and/or reading, research, critical thinking assignments, service-learning or civic engagement assignments, study abroad experiences or cultural experiences, and/or additional hours in class, lab, or studio. According to the State of Maryland COMAR regulations, a 1-hour enhancement utilizing a civic engagement assignment requires 45 additional hours per semester of supervised, documented learning.

Figure 1. Seminar Syllabus

Seminar Overview

This seminar consists of nine 90-minute meetings (3:30–5:00 PM) designed to help faculty integrate civic engagement experiences into their existing or planned courses. We approach this work to advance Salisbury University's *(2014)* mission statement, which states in part, "Our highest purpose is to empower our students with the knowledge, skills, and core values that contribute to active

citizenship, gainful employment, and life-long learning in a democratic society and interdependent world" *("Mission," para. 1)*.

In approaching this lofty goal, we follow the definition of civic engagement set forward by the Institute for Public Affairs and Civic Engagement:

> **Civic engagement** refers to those activities by which individuals become informed participants in their surrounding public and private communities. Civic engagement education "explicitly teaches the knowledge, skills and values believed necessary for democratic citizenship" *(Kahne & Middaugh, 2010, p. 141)*. The approach inspires, informs, and shapes learning activities to impact public affairs. Those activities also deepen understanding of how social, political, and economic systems work and how individuals can work effectively within those systems as they develop sustained habits of active democratic citizenship.

Faculty participating in the seminar are expected to complete all assignments. The ultimate product is a revised course syllabus, reflecting a tightly integrated civic engagement component comprising at least one credit hour of their course. This civic engagement component is generally referred to as an enhancement. CEAC has set particular requirements for the enhancement:

- Academic rigor
- Relation to a pressing social issue
- Interaction between students and community members outside the classroom
- Sharing of enhancement outcomes in a setting beyond the classroom

Other objectives for this seminar series include:

- Differentiate between civic engagement and other forms of community-based learning
- Describe the goals of civic engagement in the university setting
- Review frameworks and theories useful in guiding civic engagement work
- Develop inquiry-based civic engagement assignments and assessment tools

Seminar Schedule

Week	Seminar topic	Session tasks	Assignments
1	Workshop introduction	• Welcome and introduction from the Dean • Seminar timelines and expectations including data collection procedures • Discuss course selection	• Read Parker (2010) • Post copy of existing syllabus to course management page
2	What is civic engagement: Goals for citizens	• Discuss civic identity • Define and delineate civic engagement • Connect civic engagement and the university mission • Share civic engagement frameworks	• Read Finley (2011)
3	Where/why/how can we introduce civic engagement?	• Identifying issues • What is community? • Developing a course timeline	
4	Civic engagement in the university context	• Working within our constraints • Discuss student positionality • Workshopping assignment ideas	• Read Levine (2011)
5	GUEST SPEAKER	• Identifying community partnerships	• Post assignment drafts to My Classes forum and bring hard copy
6	ONLINE	• Review and post enhancement feedback for all seminar participants by 5pm	
7	IRB Concerns Assessing civic engagement	• IRB presentation • Instrumental outcomes and personal transformations	• Read Westheimer & Kahne (2004) • Prepare IRB questions • Bring updated enhancement with suggested readings

8	Workshopping final enhancements	• Reflections and next steps • Seminar evaluation	• Bring copies of revised course description • Bring copies of civic engagement assignment prompt and assessment • Draft IRB (if necessary)
Future	**Submit revised syllabus and accompanying documents**		

Seminar enrollment is on a first come, first serve basis, but preference is given to faculty teaching the course in the following semester for two reasons. First, it increases the likelihood of classroom implementation as it immediately follows the faculty development seminar. Second, faculty may opt in to an assessment program run in conjunction with the CEAC initiative. This initiative, which is beyond the scope of this article, assesses faculty's delivery of the course's civic engagement component and the ultimate impact on student learning. Six to eight faculty members participate in each cohort. In the two cohorts reviewed in this study, disciplinary representation included faculty from art, communications, education, environmental studies, history, and political science.

Through the course of the seminar, faculty move from basic considerations of citizenship and what civic engagement is toward the ultimate creation of their course enhancements. Readings, discussions, and external assignments support faculty exploration and learning. The entire seminar is constructed as a deliberation around one question: How can we engage students in their community?

The seminar engages faculty through theories and methods of civic engagement with three main objectives:

1. The seminar differentiates between civic engagement and other forms of community-based learning in the university setting. This standardization of definition on the university level is a goal of PACE, identifying civic engagement as a rigorous, academic underpinning required in the fourth credit hour enhancement per State of Maryland regulations. This includes connection to the campus mission as well as disciplinary responsibilities and objectives.
2. The seminar reviews frameworks and theories useful in guiding civic engagement assignments. This includes extended discussion about moving students from deficit and/or transactional stances towards more critical readings

of social structures surrounding persistent disciplinary problems. With grounding in theoretical concepts faculty draft, revise, and finalize new or enhanced course assignments.

3. Participants integrate new assignments into the structure of existing courses and prepare assessment tools such as rubrics. The program actively promotes four key requirements for the civic engagement enhancement: academic rigor, relation to a pressing social issue, community-based research, and sharing the final outcomes with community members. The process is collaborative and interdisciplinary, though substantially within the liberal arts curriculum at this point.

CEAC implements three key components to successful civic engagement identified in existing literature. CEAC highlights existing institutional structures, incentivizes faculty delivery of civic engagement programming, and provides the tools and enticements to do so in a rigorous manner. We will briefly explore each of these three components.

Institutional Structures and Scaffolding

Salisbury University is among the many colleges and universities that make explicit mention of civic engagement in key documents such as the mission statement. Bringle and Hatcher *(2004)*, among others, argue that such institution-wide statements can create increased institutional interest in and support for civic engagement efforts. Of course, colleges and universities may engage in civic engagement activities without mentioning them in their mission statements, and the presence of such mission statements does not guarantee that campus members are civically engaged. Generally, however, administration provides indications of institutional priorities. Normalizing civic engagement as a form of knowledge creation that connects research, teaching, and outreach may also provide a platform for a holistic campus effort *(Ostrander, 2004)*. This may occur through institutional support of faculty development initiatives, regardless of codified campus mission statements *(Abes, Jackson, & Jones, 2002)*. That support often begins with direct reference to civic engagement and associated efforts (e.g., citizenship education) in guiding documents.

PACE's civic engagement efforts draw upon the Salisbury University mission and vision statements. The Salisbury University mission states in part, "Our highest purpose is to empower our

students with the knowledge, skills, and core values that contribute to active citizenship, gainful employment, and life-long learning in a democratic society and interdependent world." The University's Values Statement continues this civic theme, stating,

> The core values of Salisbury University are excellence, student centeredness, learning, community, civic engagement, and diversity. We believe these values must be lived and experienced as integral to everyday campus life so that students make the connection between what they learn and how they live. *(Salisbury University, 2014, "Values," para. 1)*

PACE leverages such official campus documents to promote a holistic approach to faculty development. We follow others who have found that this approach can lead to program longevity and increased effectiveness (*Bringle & Hatcher, 2004; Holland, 1999)*.

Providing Tools and Resources

CEAC provides discrete tools and resources for integrating civic engagement experiences. Incorporating civic engagement within the curriculum requires interested faculty equipped with the knowledge and skills to deliver a rigorous academic experience grounded in *authentic* community situations. Authenticity is the keystone for critical civic engagement, but its inclusion can prove challenging. As Trudeau and Kruse *(2014)* stated, "the need to support via faculty preparation and implementation of civic engagement within course designs is perhaps both the simplest and most crucial" *(p. 12)*. Universities must also provide training for faculty to incorporate civic engagement in an academically rigorous manner within the classroom.

Given this need for improving the quality of the course as well as recruiting faculty participation, Abes et al. *(2002)* suggested that "success stories which highlight service-learning's academic rigor should be shared, when feasible, by faculty in the same discipline" *(p. 12)*. Faculty learn well from their peers (*Bringle, Hatcher, Jones, & Plater, 2006)*, and peers often play a key role in encouraging participation in civic-engagement-related approaches *(Abes et al., 2002)*. Building networks within universities to guide less experienced faculty is one possible way to share such information *(Berger & Liss, 2009)*.

CEAC centers on discussion of civic engagement pedagogies and incorporates modeled examples of such pedagogies. For instance, faculty are asked to bring in popular media examples

of civic engagement relevant to their field. This initiates a group discussion of what civic engagement can look like in a given discipline. Such an activity can be directly integrated into a course.

Encouraging Through Enticements and Incentives

CEAC incentivizes faculty participation. A variety of influences such as university mission statements, tenure and promotion, or monetary incentives may encourage faculty to incorporate civic engagement into the classroom setting. Faculty interest is key to encouraging civic engagement incorporation as individual faculty decide how to approach a particular topic within the classroom *(Bringle & Hatcher, 1995)*. No matter what type of support is provided, without faculty interest, civic engagement activities will not develop.

As faculty juggle teaching, research, and service responsibilities, institutional clarity of the value of engaging in a time-consuming redesign of a course may be necessary to encourage such efforts *(Bess, 1998; Milem, Berger, & Dey, 2000)*. Enticements and incentives for participation may provide both encouragement and persuasion regarding the nonmonetary benefits of participating in civic engagement efforts. Teaching civic engagement is often unfamiliar, as faculty may have little to no prior experience of their own *(Bloomgarden & O'Meara, 2007)*. In her findings of local factors that support the facilitation of civic engagement, Ostrander *(2004)* identified faculty needs for "a compelling reason to alter core curriculum to integrate civic engagement and a willingness and a capacity to utilize established knowledge about how students learn" *(p. 84)*. Faculty with little familiarity and knowledge of civic engagement, for example, may fail to see how it is relevant to their course *(Abes et al., 2002)*. University initiatives encouraging civic engagement must consider how to communicate the benefits of participation to faculty.

In a survey of more than 500 faculty members at 29 institutions, Abes et al. *(2002)* found that given the time required for course design, offering incentives such as release time or funding is a necessary component of encouraging course redesign. Interestingly, they also found tenure and promotion concerns to be minimal, making only a slight impact for untenured faculty members working at research universities. Faculty are more interested in participating in civic engagement activities when they think their efforts will be rewarded or aligned with institutional structures *(Bringle et al., 2006)*.

As an incentive, faculty who complete CEAC receive $500 in professional development funding. Successful completion primarily consists of submitting a revised syllabus and civic engagement assignment that meet the criteria of the program. Faculty can use the funds for purchasing materials, traveling to conferences, or other initiatives that may or may not relate to their civic engagement enhancements. This financial incentive seems effective in encouraging faculty to take on this additional task that leads to a more time-consuming form of course delivery.

Educating the Educators: Lessons Learned

There were five key findings or lessons learned from the first two seminars, held in Spring and Fall of 2014. We initiated Civic Engagement Across the Curriculum as a professional development program, not a research intervention. Our foremost intention was—and still is—the delivery of useful experiences to aid faculty in redesigning their courses to incorporate rigorous and effective civic engagement opportunities. However, we also recognized the potential to share our experiences with others interested in introducing civic engagement initiatives at their institutions. We maintained detailed notes during seminar sessions and secured participant consent to analyze submitted work and culminating evaluative surveys. As mentioned, this research agenda extends to the civic engagement courses resulting from the CEAC seminar, including student outcomes, but these are beyond the scope of this article.

The five broad lessons we relate reflect our understanding of the most important points of the seminars. We open each with a representative quote from one or more of the participants that captures the message of the overall lesson. Our intent is to explain the topics in detail, including negative aspects of the seminar that emerged. The lessons are sympathetic and overlapping, with both intended and unintended relationships. For instance, we could likely reduce some faculty concerns by altering the interdisciplinary nature of the seminar.

1. Creating a safe discussion space

> I value the shared community the workshop creates. I found the chance to share the perspectives of faculty in other disciplines and specializations most useful. That dedicated time to workshop ideas with colleagues in different disciplines.

The above quote captures the tripartite benefit of our seminar format. Our primary pedagogical goal was creating a community in a conference room in which faculty from different disciplines and at different career points could openly explore civic engagement praxis. Faculty participants reported that they valued the incentivized opening of a space for discussion of teaching methods and strategies. This is consistent with much of the academic literature describing faculty development initiatives. A common complaint of faculty is the increased time needed to plan and implement civic engagement initiatives that is unrewarded or unacknowledged *(Liss & Liazos, 2009)*. A study by the Pericles Project found, for example, "the most common challenges… involved civic education's demands on time and energy, which are always scarce resources" *(Berger & Liss, 2009, p. 35)*.

CEAC provides a dedicated weekly space for discussion encouraged through incentives. In order to receive the incentive of faculty development monies, faculty must participate in face-to-face and online seminar discussions. In both seminars, faculty noted numerous reasons why they found the space for discussion a beneficial component of the program beyond the monetary benefit of participation. These can be characterized within the following categories:

- Safe space to think about teaching and curriculum design
- Interactions with faculty from diverse perspectives
- Critique and feedback on assignment development

Both authors (who also designed and led the seminars) are early-career faculty and while coordinating the two initial seminars, neither of us held an administrative position. The seminars were attended by tenured and nontenured faculty, but there was little oversight beyond peer review and general requirements outlined in the syllabus. Although we do not know definitively that this absence of administration altered discussions, the group had no reason to filter their work due to an administration presence. Combined with genuine faculty desire to participate in the seminar, that aspect promoted a sense of shared purpose and community.

Abes et al. *(2002)* suggested the importance of intradisciplinary communication regarding successful civic engagement experiences, but we found greater value from interdisciplinary communication. The interdisciplinary groups were not without tension, which we describe later, but participants responded favorably to the chance to work with faculty from other specializations. Readers are familiar

with the vision of "siloes" in academia, and Salisbury University is not immune to this effect. Particularly because civic engagement is inherently multidisciplinary, faculty were clearly pleased to be working with colleagues from other programs, departments, and schools. This format promoted sharing of content knowledge and pedagogical strategies that benefited all participants.

Interdisciplinary discussions also opened opportunities for broaching critical civic engagement. What can seem normal or be hidden from one perspective is often shown to be systemically flawed from another perspective. Each faculty member brought a particular worldview to the group discussions. As participants shared their understanding of society, these differing worldviews enabled a more comprehensive image of the university, our students, our work, and the larger communities we ultimately wish to impact.

Faculty also shared clearly positive reactions to working with colleagues at different points in their careers. As Berger and Liss *(2009)* advised, we attempted to create relational networks within the university. Each semester deliberately included at least one first-year faculty member and at least one full professor, with the remaining participants at various points in their careers. This combination of institutional memory and ideas fresh from graduate school yielded greater diversity when discussing pedagogical efforts and the realities of life at Salisbury University and in the surrounding community.

2. Disciplinary literacy and social responsibility

> Colleague 1: What does civic engagement look like for a philosopher?
>
> Colleague 2: To get students to think about not just what is but what ought.

One of the great benefits of the CEAC structure is the opportunity for faculty to engage in sustained interdisciplinary communication around a central theme. Faculty clearly enjoyed these discussions, which necessarily broadened the group's understanding of civic engagement and even the purposes and methods of university education. Seminar leaders, however, wanted to avoid generating homogeneous, standardized work. To avoid this, we incorporated specific opportunities for the real differences in our group to emerge. These opportunities represent another example of modeling good pedagogy. Identifying and promoting

ideological diversity in the classroom is a key tool for effective civic education *(Hess, 2009)*.

Though we explored shared understandings of civic engagement, faculty were encouraged to work with a definition of civic engagement that is particular to their discipline, as indicated in the quote at the beginning of this section. This definition is framed as what Youniss and Yates *(1997)* have called *social responsibility,* or the responsibility that certain people have to their communities. Faculty are protective of their disciplines and rightfully defensive of their expertise within those disciplines. Framing civic engagement in this way—as a shared societal goal but with disciplinary particularities—allows faculty to maintain their sense of expertise and control. It conveys to faculty that civic engagement is something we all care about, and it is your role, through your discipline, to help prepare citizens in this particular way.

Each discipline brings what educators commonly call a disciplinary literacy to the table. The language, questions, and purposes of the disciplines differ according to the ontology, epistemology, and goals of a particular discipline. Thus, civic engagement demonstrated in a sociology class will differ from that demonstrated in an art class. Sociologists would focus more on investigating and understanding social behaviors, whereas the artists would form presentations that respond to and/or seek to shape responses to events.

3. Different expectations based on course level

> I want my students to conduct participant observations and interviews but their skill level might not be high enough in a 101 level course.

Some of the most interesting conversations also concerned the distinctions in course level and student ability. Faculty expressed real concerns—often framed as a sort of deficit model—that their students were not capable of certain types of thinking, particularly when described in disciplinary terms, as in the above quote. For example, one of our political science colleagues described frequently encountering challenges when trying to elicit thinking about institutional or systemic impediments to change from entry-level students. Deep awareness of such issues came only with greater exposure to political science concepts, which were not available to his introductory students. We detail these and other

impediments in the next section. But here, we want to focus on a beneficial outcome of this discussion.

Thinking about civic engagement in the context of one university class resulted in fairly fatalistic views tightly aligned with what Hollander and Burack *(2008)* termed instrumental outcomes, which they used to represent measurable civic acts such as voter turnout or the number of letters citizens send to their representatives. CEAC faculty were framing civic engagement solely in terms of achieving particular, discrete, measurable ends. They were thinking in terms of midterms and finals. Focusing on the particular course level helped faculty think about their civic engagement enhancement as part of their students' progressive course sequence. The 100-level course lays conceptual foundations and encourages students interested in asking disciplinary questions about their world. Building upon this foundation, a 200-level class could extend that questioning and begin to develop more critical or incisive investigative tools. Courses at the 300 and 400 level would further hone and refine those skills or involve deeper interaction between students and community members.

As mentioned, we value a critical approach to civic engagement. We also recognize, however, that critical civic engagement does not happen immediately. It is not something to be rushed into. Reflection and scaffolding help students develop a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms and structures at play around the issues they care about. Considering civic engagement as part of a larger process, approached over multiple courses, helped faculty accept critical civic engagement as a realistic target.

At the time of this writing, three out of four philosophy faculty have participated in the CEAC seminar. That program is the closest to realizing such a holistic, scaffolded approach to promoting civic engagement within a particular discipline. The ultimate hope is that all programs at Salisbury University can provide their students that same opportunity. Focusing on the process of student growth, what Hollander and Burack *(2008)* referred to as personal transformation, prioritizes a fundamentally different process than the outcome-driven strategy several of our faculty held initially. We believe this personal transformation is the key to unleashing critical civics across the university.

4. Moving beyond concerns and into practice: Roadblocks are easy to identify

> I feel daunted to think about this in my discipline because people come to art with expectations.

Providing space for faculty to share their thinking openly was important, as is evident from the sections above, but the opportunity for honesty also meant faculty were able to air their concerns about incorporating civic engagement into their courses. Though pointing out deficiencies is not a skill reserved for academics, we may be particularly adept at describing, defining, and arguing over complications and other reasons something may not work. The CEAC seminar was no different and in many ways, it opened new opportunities for faculty to voice concerns such as what is and is not appropriate coursework in any class, as the quote for this section illustrates.

We were initially stunned by many of these concerns. Two related concerns were particularly surprising: that our version of civic engagement was presenting a negatively Westernizing mode of thought and that faculty should not ask leading questions of their students. In our private weekly planning meetings, we agreed that any education is colonization of the mind—that is unavoidable. University faculty make moral judgments: Simply designing a course syllabus involves numerous judgments about what is valuable, right, or necessary. We also held firm in our belief that leading questions are necessary if faculty are to promote critical thinking and, ultimately, critical civic engagement.

Other concerns were more predictable, such as concerns that students lacked critical thinking skills but would also notice even slight faculty biases in assigned work. But though we knew to expect many of these concerns, we were still surprised by the amount of time devoted to such discussions. Several of our sessions felt more like opportunities for faculty to vent about their students or pick narrow semantic fights within their particular specializations, rather than the structured discussions we wanted.

Eventually, we decided to make these concerns categorically explicit. We developed a list of concerns voiced with each meeting of the seminar and presented these to the faculty in the form of a PowerPoint slide. We openly acknowledged the roadblocks. We then reviewed some of the big ones dominating our conversations and invited faculty to add any others to the list. The ultimate list was comprehensive and could be taken to cover nearly every aspect of our planned enhancements:

- Time constraints (e.g., single semester)
- Skill sets of students (e.g., critical thinking)
- Colonization of the mind (e.g., Westernized modes of thought)

- Faculty requirements (e.g., time, oversight)
- Types of citizenship (e.g., law-abiding, critical)
- Moral judgments (e.g., "leading" questions)
- Legal barriers (e.g., IRB, citizenship)
- Student interactions (e.g., offending community members)

With the list before us, the group discussed which of the concerns were specifically relevant to civic engagement. Faculty quickly acknowledged that many were concerns about education more generally. Faculty always face time constraints and feel limited by student skills, so we could accept that those were generalized issues applicable to teaching any content at any level. We agreed to move beyond those concerns in the context of our CEAC discussions. CEAC was not designed to help faculty become better overall instructors, but to help faculty design and incorporate civic engagement enhancements. CEAC is also not able to alleviate the increasing pressure of teaching, research, and service in the neoliberal university.

Faculty ultimately identified the final four concerns as most pressing and inextricable to meaningful civic engagement experiences. We dedicated two sessions to discussions of key citizenship constructs, such as the typology offered in Westheimer and Kahne *(2004)*. In much the same way as the necessity of progression through course levels was recognized, the group agreed that a more critical form of citizenship was ultimately desirable but not necessarily possible throughout an entire course. One participant summarized, "You can't be justice-oriented all the time about everything; it's just not practical." This relates to the concern over moral judgments. Though we believe faculty inherently make and impose moral judgments in their teaching, we do not believe we successfully assuaged all faculty concerns in this area. Interestingly, faculty in the first semester were leery of overtly leading students with assignment questions, whereas those in the second semester were genuinely excited by such provocative questions as "What aspect of your community needs a feminist intervention?"

The final two concerns (legal barriers and student interactions) were likewise connected. Legitimate concerns about Institutional Review Board (IRB) and other administrative oversights required careful attention within the structure of such seminars. We included a question and answer session with the chair of the IRB committee so faculty can discuss their planned community

interactions and possible IRB requirements. These discussions invariably raised concerns for how students would handle such community interactions. Some of those concerns were revisions of earlier concerns regarding student skill sets (e.g., conducting accurate observations), but others were more specifically related to civic engagement.

In the most interesting example from the first two seminars, a history colleague worried about her students' treatment of Native Americans in the region. The planned civic engagement enhancement involved students' "developing a plan to help promote a better understanding and appreciation of a tribal nation's history in our class and campus community." There was legitimate concern about how students would treat and present the experiences of such a historically marginalized group. We dedicated several discussions to that concern, ultimately agreeing that careful planning and ongoing feedback remained the best course of action.

5. Challenges of concepts of citizenship and the role for faculty in addressing values in the classroom

> Colleague 1: Do we need to reformat the definition of civic and civil? Does globalization and the state lead to new identifications of citizenship? As we move forward, what does this mean for how we are preparing students for the future?
>
> Colleague 2: This is why we need to inform ourselves of the literature in our discipline so we know how to grapple with this information in the classroom. It is a personal decision of what content we present in the classroom and how we present it. This is not the forum for a broad discussion of the definition of citizenship.

We found faculty participants to have surprisingly diverse definitions of and concerns regarding knowledge, knowledge formation, and citizenship, as the above dialogue between two seminar participants indicates. For one faculty member, this was grounded in a concern about the presentation of Western modes of thought as dominant. She was concerned about the validation of knowledge and experience as leading to a normalized acceptance of a Western mode of thought, "othering" other forms of thought. This concern was rooted in the very terminology often taken for granted, the use of the term "civic" and its connection to citizenship, a decidedly Western construct. The faculty member touched on a point

missing from civic engagement discussions: asking whether we should engage in the political within a Western construct or think more broadly regarding multiple concepts of the role of oneself within one's various forms of community.

The point of context eventually led to a discussion of the role of guiding discussion within the classroom: "There are a variety of ways of knowing and judging the validity of knowledge. How do we bridge the gap between these?" the same faculty member asked. Faculty participants in the seminar provided various responses as to how they present "truth" within the classroom and encourage students to question and critique the material. The diversity of disciplines crafted an intelligent and thoughtful conversation regarding knowledge and truth production, as well as the positionality of professors in teaching. One faculty member was initially bothered by an article discussing moral judgments and value commitments in the classroom. She responded that she did not want this type of discussion in the classroom as it "may open the door to a variety of responses. Students need to be informed before you ask them what they think." The discussion concluded with another participant pointing out the importance of showing students that we all struggle with knowledge and that engagement means questioning our own positionality.

Although concepts of citizenship and the presentation of knowledge were a reccurring concern in the first seminar, the participants of the second seminar did not find this point interesting or problematic. They were more concerned with how to channel students into engaging with the underlying themes and values of the course. One faculty member expressed it this way: "I have a clear vision but I want them to be free. But I want them to do what I want." Faculty then turned to questioning the acceptability of actions students may undertake. One participant commented, "I don't want them to be uncritical but I realize there might be backlash," to which another responded, "I think it is good that our students want to engage in civil disobedience." The appropriateness of student action and the nature of faculty liability was of great concern to the second-seminar participants.

Both sets of conversations illustrate the attention garnered by issues of critical civic engagement. A truly critical civic praxis might enable students to go where they will, identifying social ills and inequalities based on their own experiences and understandings. CEAC faculty took seriously their professional role as intellectual shepherds, wishing to help guide their students through the development and deployment of critical civics.

Overview of Lessons Learned

As with most courses, the CEAC seminar tried to structure conversations around particular topics. And as with most courses, the actual conversations spilled over the planned topics. We believe the fluid movement of conversations across the key lessons described above highlights additional benefits to this type of professional development opportunity.

Faculty were eager to participate in heady considerations of the purpose of social contracts and just as eager to discuss the challenges posed by irregular student attendance. Their ability to simultaneously attend to such disparate concerns is suggestive of the type of critical civic engagement we ultimately wish to promote in the student body.

Critical civic engagement involves acknowledging multiple, potentially contradictory, beliefs. For example, the knowledge that systemic social inequalities are maintained through focused effort of certain parties can coexist with a young person's unwavering belief that *they* can be an effective change agent. In a similar way, participating faculty were able to describe the value that civic engagement experiences would bring to their coursework, their concerns for student success, and their belief that the work could become feasible.

This belief in the inherent need to try in the face of extreme challenges embodies the approach to critical civic engagement that we wish to promote through programs like CEAC. The institutional roots of PACE require this difficult work from all university members. We believe the early lessons explored above suggest the potential of CEAC and similar programs to assist universities as they move toward such goals.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Efforts

Incorporating successful and active civic engagement activities within the classroom requires faculty who are prepared to undertake such a task. CEAC is a new attempt to leverage institutional commitments, incentivize faculty participation, and provide tools to enable thoughtful and academically rigorous engagement situated in a particular context. Monetary incentives were useful, particularly during recruitment, but faculty were most responsive to the time and space that CEAC afforded for course planning. Early results suggest that faculty utilized those opportunities to convene with their colleagues in a dedicated and structured space,

particularly when that space promoted disciplinary and career diversity.

At the time of this writing, five faculty members have delivered revised courses, and four more were slated to do so during the Spring 2015 semester. These civic engagement activities have taken a variety of forms including written reports, formal presentations, and a fascinating three-part debate about animal ethics. We are documenting and analyzing these efforts as part of our ongoing effort to hone the CEAC seminar.

The current focus of our ongoing research project is faculty members' delivery of their designed or redesigned civic engagement assignment. Specifically, we ask: To what extent does participation in a faculty development seminar change faculty's approach to civic engagement? We are currently analyzing data from our first cohort of faculty, who delivered their courses in Fall 2014. This data includes classroom observations, student surveys, and student interviews. In this ongoing project, our overall goal is to use this data to provide the most effective faculty development seminar possible.

These initial results provide a starting point for our continued analysis as well as an overview of a singular effort that we hope will advance discourses of early-state faculty development efforts. We are not suggesting methodological strategies or widely generalizable descriptions of faculty development initiatives; many unknowns remain. We hope that future research will yield greater understanding regarding the role that faculty professional development plays in promoting civic engagement experiences in postsecondary education.

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University–Community Collaboration to Promote Healthy Mothers and Infants: The Relationships and Parenting Support (RAPS) Program

Patricia Hrusa Williams and Linda M. Oravecz

Abstract

Research highlights the vulnerability of Black mothers and their infants, who experience higher rates of stress, preterm birth, low birth weight, and infant mortality than other racial groups. This article describes the development and implementation of the Relationships and Parenting Support (RAPS) Program, a community-based, family-focused stress reduction program for expectant and new mothers and their support partners. Program participants lived in an urban, isolated, African-American community in the mid-Atlantic region of the United States. University faculty and community members worked together to examine the problem of teen pregnancy, neighborhood risks to the well-being of mothers and infants, and programmatic strategies to support families. Qualitative and quantitative data for the RAPS Program suggested benefits to program participants but also challenges in effectively carrying out community-engaged scholarship efforts. Lessons learned in developing and implementing this project are discussed.

Introduction

The scholarship of engagement entails building collaborative, interdisciplinary efforts between academics and communities to work together, learn from one another, and address real-world social problems in mutually beneficial ways *(Boyer, 1996; Maton, 2008; Norris-Tirrell, Lambert-Pennington, & Hyland, 2010).* The goal of this article is to describe the development and implementation of a community-engaged scholarship project designed to address the challenges faced by Black mothers and their infants in an isolated, impoverished inner-city area.

The Relationships and Parenting Support (RAPS) Program is a community-based, family-focused stress reduction program for expectant and new mothers and their support partners. The program grew out of a university–community collaboration designed to strengthen schools and academic outcomes for children and families residing in a geographically isolated, urban,

African-American neighborhood in a large mid-Atlantic city in the United States. The effort became part of a continuum of services to optimize infant health and support early parenting in the community. In this article, we discuss the collaborative process by which university faculty and community members examined the problem of teen pregnancy and neighborhood risks to the well-being of mothers and infants, then developed and implemented programming. Successes and challenges experienced throughout the project will be considered.

A Brief History of the Community–University Partnership

In 2005, a large comprehensive, metropolitan university in the mid-Atlantic region entered into a partnership with a primarily low-income, African-American urban neighborhood. The goal was to assist the community in reaching its full potential despite challenges in the areas of public safety, health, economic development, and education. A particular focus of the collaboration from 2005 to 2009 was on education, assisting schools classified by the state as needing corrective action and facilitating teacher training. In 2009, the scope of the collaboration was expanded, with a call to university academic departments seeking faculty interested in working with the community. A federal grant made limited funds available for developing community-based projects. Faculty interested in developing collaborations were matched with community groups aligned with their expertise by a liaison who resided in the community.

One community group assigned to university faculty was the newly developed Teen Parent Think Tank. Three faculty members from different colleges at the university (education, health professions, and liberal arts) and the deans of two of the colleges (education, health professions) began to work with this group. The Teen Parent Think Tank's collective mission was to develop and coordinate pregnancy-related services to support young pregnant women and their partners and provide postdelivery support to parents and children from birth to age 4. Community members formed the group in response to concerns about high rates of teen pregnancy, the parenting skills of young parents, and increasing rates of domestic violence among young couples. Besides the university representatives, Think Tank membership included several community members, representatives from the hospital, the community health center, the schools, faith-based organizations, a gang diversion program, a local foundation, and a financial

institution. One of the community members worked as part of the university–community collaboration since it originated as part of a community trust that helps to coordinate a variety of different groups to improve life in the community.

This group had a challenging mission, as the community faced multiple risks to the health and well-being of infants, mothers, and new families. This primarily African-American (96%) neighborhood had higher rates of single parenthood (84.5%), families in poverty (38.8%), and teen pregnancy (21.5%) than other areas of the city *(Mid-Atlantic City Data Collaborative, 2006)*. Research highlights the vulnerability of Black mothers and their infants, who experience higher rates of perceived stress, discrimination-related stress, depression, preterm birth, and low birth weight deliveries than other racial groups *(Dominguez, Dunkel-Schetter, Glynn, Hobel, & Sandman, 2008; Giscombé & Lobel, 2005; Hamilton, Martin, & Ventura, 2010)*. Outreach efforts to combat these problems had been marginally effective in the community, with 36.4% of mothers not receiving prenatal care during the first trimester and 8.1% receiving late or no prenatal care *(Mid-Atlantic City Data Collaborative, 2006)*.

Engagement with the Teen Parent Think Tank

During Spring 2009, university representatives attended bimonthly Teen Parent Think Tank meetings. It became evident that although many health and social programs that served pregnant and parenting young women were available to community members, utilization was an issue. These programs could point to successes in assisting young mothers to deliver healthy babies yet acknowledged service gaps, with few programs to support expectant couples, facilitate relationship development, or reduce stress and promote adaptive coping across the transition to parenthood.

The importance of addressing the identified gaps is supported by research suggesting that stress during pregnancy increases the incidence of preterm birth *(Beydoun & Saftlas, 2008)* and unplanned caesarean delivery *(Saunders, Lobel, Veloso, & Meyer, 2006)*. When prenatal stress is combined with a difficult early child-rearing environment, brain development and self-regulatory capacities during childhood may be altered *(Blair, 2010)*. Further, studies have found that unplanned pregnancies, particularly to unmarried parents, may be more vulnerable to stress, increasing their risk of inadequate early prenatal care and premature delivery *(Hohmann-Marriott, 2009)*. Maternal stress in the context of intimate relationships has been shown to adversely affect physical and mental health

(Whisman, 1999), parenting *(Erel & Burman, 1995)*, and child adjustment *(Harden et al., 2000)*.

Since the community had never conducted a comprehensive needs assessment to learn what services would be beneficial or what approaches might be effective, faculty collaborated with the community in undertaking this task. University faculty worked in collaboration with the Teen Parent Think Tank to develop and implement an assessment of the needs of parents and families in the community. Using the funds available, three researchers representing different disciplines (education, community health, and family studies and community development) worked with the Teen Parent Think Tank to develop and lead four focus groups during Summer 2009. Institutional review board (IRB) approval was granted for faculty to conduct the groups. Community members helped to recruit individuals to participate in the focus groups and offered space at their sites for sessions. Focus groups explored the perspectives of adult community members, teen/young mothers and fathers, and adolescent females who had not yet become pregnant. Groups included six adult community members (five female and one male), five adolescent mothers, six adolescent fathers (most with criminal backgrounds or gang ties), and eight childless adolescent females. Participants in all of the groups were African American. Researchers facilitated the focus groups, taking notes and, when possible, directly transcribing participant responses.

Data collected from 25 focus group participants indicated the need for individual and family supports to decrease stress and strengthen supportive relationships. Findings highlighted the challenges faced by those in the community, including a lack of family support, fear and distrust of neighbors, challenges to personal safety, and few programs to develop internal resources to promote resilient functioning. Teens and young parents needed assistance in developing responsibility, restraint, social competence, decision making, and planning skills, areas in line with research on assets that contribute to positive youth development (PYD) in communities *(Benson et al., 2006)*.

Young fathers specifically indicated that they did not have the skills to deal with love, relationships, and unplanned pregnancies. One noted, "Girls always got the 'he says she says' thing around here…. It starts out from puppy love, attraction. Next thing you know she's pregnant." All of the focus group members reported their pregnancies to be unplanned. Research suggests that young, unplanned parenthood presents risks for both the mother and her

child, disrupting the educational and social processes of young women often not ready or mature enough to understand the needs of a young child or their partner, or to manage these challenges (see *Wakschlag & Hans, 2000* for a review). In the focus groups, both young mothers and fathers agreed that they needed help with their relationships in order to make good choices for themselves and their children. The multiple needs of this population suggested that a thoughtful, creative, active, and family-oriented approach to programming was needed.

Focus group findings were presented to the Teen Parent Think Tank and a larger community group for review, comment, and reflection during Fall 2009. The additional feedback they provided added to our understanding of focus group findings. Participants acknowledged community strengths that could be built upon, including a focus on families, the tight-knit nature of the community, and the social support available from mothers and grandmothers. Challenges included few youth programs; high rates of violence and teen pregnancy; and limited or erroneous information transferred within families regarding family planning, healthy relationships, and parenting practices. High rates of violence and teen pregnancy also seemed interrelated. Violence in the community seemed to undermine teens' feelings of safety and security, leading them to look to sexual relationships and parenting as a means to obtain love, support, and safety from loved ones and community members. This is supported by recent research that found teenagers with greater violence exposure, whether as victims or witnesses, may have a desire for early pregnancy or be at risk for repeat pregnancy *(Cornell, Schuetz, & Yoost, 2015).*

The Development of the Relationships and Parenting Support (RAPS) Program

In response to identified community needs, the Relationships and Parenting Support (RAPS) Program was developed. A faculty member involved in conducting the focus groups led the effort to engage interested faculty members within the Department of Family Studies and Community Development. Among those involved in the program's development and implementation were faculty experts on the transition to parenthood, infant development, intimate relationships, domestic violence, community health, art therapy, and research methods. With support from the Teen Parent Think Tank, faculty answered a call for proposals from the local chapter of the March of Dimes for grant funds to (1) reduce the risk of premature birth and (2) implement community programs

that aim to decrease ethnic and racial disparities in birth outcomes. The focus of the grant was on serving teen and young parents in the community. The grant and IRB applications were submitted during late Fall 2009, and both were awarded and approved during early 2010, with the intent that services would commence in Spring 2010.

The program was designed to decrease pregnancy- and relationship-related distress and increase positive health behaviors, including the use of active coping skills. Although programs for couples across the transition to parenthood exist, current limitations necessitated the development of a community-specific strategy for intervention. Dion and Hershey's *(2010)* review of relationship education curriculum used as part of Building Strong Families (BSF) programs (a program that targets new, unmarried parents) highlights several limitations. They stated that most curricula have been designed for middle- and upper-class White, educated couples. Curricula focus almost exclusively on the development of couple skills in the areas of communication, conflict resolution skills, and empathy. Additionally, controlled experimental design research has found that these models do not produce short- or long-term improvements in the quality of couples' relationships, ability to resolve conflicts, or coparenting skills *(Wood, McConnell, Moore, Clarkwest, & Hsueh, 2010; Wood, Moore, Clarkwest, Killewald, & Monahan, 2012).*

With this in mind, RAPS was designed as a group-based program to support unmarried parents by helping them develop parenting, wellness, and relationship skills, individually and dyadically. Since many of the curriculum models used in BSF were developed using research on White, middle- to upper-middle-class families, it is important when working with African-American families to use culturally responsive adaptations, taking an Afrocentric approach *(Thompson, Neighbors, Munday, & Jackson, 1996; Resnicow, Soler, Braithwaite, Ahluwalia, & Butler, 2000).* Such an approach endorses the importance of work and responsibility, respect for elders and authority figures, obligation to kin, and a focus on spirituality/religiosity *(Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990).* Because RAPS acted as a family program, participants were encouraged to bring a support partner such as the baby's father, their current partner, or a friend/relative. This is crucial given the importance of familial support, particularly the role of mothers and grandmothers, in the African-American community *(Mims, 1998; Williams, Auslander, Houston, Krebill, & Haire-Joshu, 2000).*

RAPS was designed to be different from other programs by emphasizing both couple and individual skills to promote stress reduction and facilitate positive coping. It utilized insights from stress reduction interventions for pregnant African-American women that decrease stress by incorporating relaxation skills and meditation into mothers' daily routines *(Vieten & Astin, 2008; Wesley, 2006).* A weakness of traditional stress reduction programs is that they do not take a broader family perspective, neglecting to include partners, fathers, or other family members. In order to bridge these two approaches and meet the community's needs, RAPS needed to include individual coping techniques while emphasizing social support.

Using a strengths-based perspective, the program was developed to provide families with tools to manage stress (daily, life, relationship, and parenting), improve communication, and plan for parenting challenges to encourage mothers and support partners to develop a sense of personal power in the face of individual and community obstacles. Mutual help groups can be empowering in communities, promoting individual well-being and serving as a source of emotional healing and support *(Maton, 2008).* Sessions were developed focusing on (a) understanding stress and stress management techniques; (b) infant development, needs, and parenting strategies; (c) developing healthy relationships and communication strategies; and (d) coping with and understanding feelings and needs. RAPS took a holistic approach to serving parents and their developing family unit.

In developing sessions, free curriculum resources were consulted and adapted based on community feedback, including Cooperative Extension resources such as the University of Tennessee's KidSmart Program and Department of Health and Human Services Achieving Healthy Relationships Program. Free materials would potentially allow community members to adapt or replicate the model after grant funding ended. Each session was designed to begin with a family meal and time for socializing to provide a focus on families and developing helpful connections with peers and community members. Families would assemble support kits to take home at the end of each session to reinforce skills learned in class.

Also key in planning efforts were meetings held with the Teen Parent Think Tank to discuss the best strategy to implement the program. Upon their recommendation, an additional focus group was conducted with former and present teen mothers in the community. This allowed faculty to obtain additional information from

potential program participants regarding the type of help, support, and incentives they believed new mothers need. Practical questions regarding the best ways to reach out to to new moms in the community were also addressed.

Implementation of the RAPS Program

The implementation of the RAPS model began during Summer 2010. Using an engaged-scholarship approach offered many benefits but also presented challenges in building partnerships.

Developing referral channels. It was initially difficult to get the RAPS name and mission out to the community. Agencies are often overwhelmed trying to meet the needs of the families they serve. Faculty worked diligently to make connections with the community and agencies serving families by attending a variety of different events, including a community garden event, a baby shower sponsored by the health center, and public school meetings. Contact was made with over 50 neighborhood and city organizations spanning government, religious, educational, mental health, and social services. The program was also chosen for inclusion in the community's newly created Human Development Zone framework as part of the Babies Born Healthy continuum of services. Additionally, the director of RAPS joined the Human Development Zone Providers Roundtable and engaged in door-to-door outreach regarding the program to residents in the community.

The local community family health center emerged as an important partner, allowing RAPS staff to recruit participants at their OB/GYN clinic and providing space for sessions at their site. Ultimately, 73.1% (n = 38) of the 52 mothers served were recruited for the program through this channel. Additionally, two local service providers from WIC (Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children, a federal assistance program) and a substance abuse treatment agency attended program sessions to learn more about the program model and find ways to enhance their own work.

Family follow-through. A significant challenge was families who registered for the program but did not attend sessions. Retention and follow-through of those enrolled in family support interventions is an ongoing challenge *(Coatsworth, Duncan, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2006; McCurdy, Gannon, & Daro, 2003; Middlemiss & McGuigan, 2005; Wood et al., 2012).* The original grant was designed for two 10-week instances of the program. However, we learned

in the first 6 months that a program lasting more than four to five sessions was difficult to implement, given the high-risk nature of the families recruited. Fifty-two mothers and 29 support partners registered and completed intakes for the RAPS Program. Mothers ranged in age from 16 to 43 years (M = 26), a somewhat older group than initially targeted. Participants were primarily low-income; 90.2% of mothers and 63.3% of fathers of the babies were unemployed. All were receiving state-provided health care assistance. Most mothers were unmarried (92.2%), although 76.5% were in a relationship (72.5% with the father of the baby). The mothers reported that they had been pregnant one to nine times; 58.5% of the pregnancies were unplanned. In previous pregnancies, 21% reported medical problems, 34% had miscarriages, 26% had a premature birth, and 21% had a low birth weight infant. Twenty-five percent of mothers experienced medical complications or problems in the current pregnancy.

Given the challenges of working with a population experiencing multiple risks, changes in the implementation of the program were needed. For community-based scholarship efforts to be effective, it is important that their sponsors respond to community needs and changing circumstances, revising projects as they progress *(Beckman, Penney, & Cockburn, 2011; Berge, Mendenhall, & Doherty, 2009).* In response to community participation and feedback, we moved from offering program sessions eight times per month (twice weekly) to once a week with sessions of longer duration. Fewer sessions seemed to make it easier for participants to access the entire program and lessened the impact of transportation problems as barriers to attendance. It also decreased the cost of the program, allowing us to offer two additional full programs, or a total of four separate programs providing 10 hours of programming each. This permitted us to reach a greater number of expectant and new mothers. However, although there were practical reasons for making this change, service effectiveness may have been compromised, as greater service intensity or higher service dosage is often associated with better outcomes *(Lyons-Ruth & Easterbrooks, 2006).*

Even with these changes, participation remained an issue. Only 34.6% of mothers and 41.4% of support partners received at least 5 hours of program services. Interventions designed to strengthen families across the transition to parenthood often struggle to maintain families. For example, evaluations of Building Strong Families (BSF) programs found only 55% of families attended program sessions, receiving an average of 21 hours of services out of the 30-42 hours offered *(Wood et al., 2012).* Even when services are

home-based, program completion rates hover between 20% and 76% *(McCurdy, Gannon, & Daro, 2003; Middlemiss & McGuigan, 2005).*

In an effort to promote follow-through, reminder calls were made to each family on the day of the session they were scheduled to attend. Participants often lacked a consistent means of contact, with some not having a phone or having only sporadic access to one. We collected multiple numbers and ways participants could be contacted. Additionally, trying to keep the time and location of sessions consistent (for example, Thursday evenings at the Health Center) made it easier for participants to remember.

Families who did not attend sessions were called to find out what kept them from doing so. These calls revealed that transportation issues, conflicts between program times and work or school responsibilities, and child care issues were barriers to program attendance. In response, some program sessions were held on weekends, and participants were allowed to come to the next session of the program to make up meetings that they may have missed. Additionally, toys and activities for children were available in case parents' child care arrangements fell through, as the grant did not allow funds to be used to provide child care.

Becoming part of the family. From an Afrocentric perspective, family boundaries are permeable. There is often shared responsibility for childrearing, with multiple women caring for children in the family *(Mims, 1998).* Program participants reflected the racial and cultural makeup of the community. The majority of women identified themselves as African American (88.5%), and 98.1% identified their family unit (family of orientation or procreation) as African American or biracial (African American and Caucasian). Mothers chose a variety of people in their lives to serve as support partners to attend program sessions. Although 34.6% did not attend with a support partner, 40.4% attended with the baby's father, 11.5% with their own mother, 7.7% with other family members, and 5.8% with a friend.

RAPS participants often brought additional family members and support persons to the program, creating a somewhat unpredictable context in which to implement the program. On average, sessions were attended by six registered participants and four nonregistered participants. Staff tried to be flexible, bringing enough materials and food to accommodate additional attendees. It was important to be proactive, contacting families to remind them about the program and inquiring how many individuals would be attending. This experience speaks to the importance in community

programs of being aware of personal beliefs about how family is defined *(Powell & Cassidy, 2007)* and of utilizing inclusiveness as a foundation on which to build culturally competent programming.

There were also many "repeat customers" to the program. Although RAPS was designed for one-time participation in the program, some families attended several additional sessions after completing the program; this was particularly true for three families. In designing community programs, attention needs to be paid to aftercare activities. Reunion events were held with program graduates to meet their need for further connection.

Benefits and Challenges of the RAPS Experience

Families

Client satisfaction data and participants' qualitative comments indicate benefits for families who participated. Our experience with RAPS reminds us that pregnancy and the postpartum period are powerful times in the lives of new families. One participant stated, "I learned how to deal with our new beginning with our baby, and bettering us." Another said, "[The program] made me… think about my relationship. Go home… see what my spouse think[s] we are doing right and what ways or things we need to change."

Themes expressed by mothers in qualitative feedback suggested that program topics resonated with participants. Eleven participants mentioned that they learned how to manage stress, including how to stay in control, protect themselves, and use relaxation techniques. Eight commented that the program assisted them in relationships with important people in their lives, with six specifically noting that they were more focused on communicating well with their partners. Parenting skills were mentioned by 10 participants, with three stating that they learned about infant sleep patterns and/or types of cries. One mother shared that the program "changed my point of view on certain issues concerning the baby." Quantitative client satisfaction survey data found average scores of 4.7-4.9 on a 5-point scale, further indicating that those who attended sessions found them to be valuable.

Another major theme in mothers' comments centered on the role played by the program in providing support. Fourteen participants mentioned the value of having the opportunity to listen to other moms and how program staff and participants made them feel like a part of a family. Similarly, feedback from support partners focused on a new appreciation of the importance of supporting

the mothers, including "taking her concerns into consideration" and "being an active father." Hence, it appears that the program helped mothers and their support partners begin the process of making positive changes and reconsidering their "internal working models" or representations of individuals and relationships *(Bowlby, 1982; Bretherton, 1985).*

Limited quantitative outcome data made it difficult to illustrate other program effects. Mothers had an average of 11.24 years of education, and 40% had not completed high school or earned a GED. Completing surveys and written documents was a challenge for many. This, combined with inconsistencies in family follow-through, made the evaluation of RAPS a challenge. Although 52 mothers and 29 support partners registered for the project, complete pre- and post-program data was available for only 32 mothers and 14 support partners, despite the staff's best efforts to contact participants and support them in completing assessments.

The Prenatal Distress Questionnaire (PDQ*; Yali & Lobel, 1999)* was used pre- and post-program to examine pregnancy-specific distress. Analyses examining changes in stress for mothers and support partners for the 46 participants with complete data revealed interesting patterns of effects. There was a statistically significant interaction between respondent type and the number of service hours received, $F(2, 39) = 6.230$, $p = .005$. Mothers who used 5 or more hours of services experienced the greatest decline in stress ($M = -.176$), whereas support partners using 5 or more hours of services actually experienced the greatest increase in stress ($M = .151$).

The Couple's Satisfaction Index (CSI*; Funk & Rogge, 2007)* was used to examine mothers' and support partners' level of satisfaction and commitment in their relationship pre- and post-intervention. For the 30 mothers with complete intake data, there was a statistically significant interaction between parity and the number of sessions attended, $F(1, 29) = 7.274$, $p = .012$. For this sample, all mothers reported a decline in relationship satisfaction pre- and post-intervention. However, first-time mothers who attended more than one session experienced less of a decline in their level of relationship satisfaction overall ($M = -1.214$) than first-time mothers who attended one session or fewer ($M = -9.00$). Mothers who were not first-time mothers and attended more than one session experienced less decline than the other two groups ($M = .850$).

Outcome data reported here suggests that the program had different impacts on mothers and support partners depending on parity and service dosage *(Affonso, Liu-Chiang, & Mayberry, 1999; Lyons-Ruth & Easterbrooks, 2006)*. The overall decline in relationship satisfaction for mothers may have occurred because program participants learned about the qualities of a healthy relationship and now looked at their relationships more critically. This same trend has been found in work examining the Building Strong Families (BSF) program *(Wood et al., 2012)*. Hence, although the program helped mothers feel more confident in their ability to meet the stresses and demands of pregnancy and parenthood, it also increased support partners' awareness of challenges, thus causing them to experience more stress than they had before participating in the program.

The Community

Social and community change is a long-term process with "impact as an accumulation of outcomes and ultimately improved community-well-being" *(Beckman, Penney, & Cockburn, 2011, p. 85)*. Through the needs assessment and focus group process, the community was provided with valuable data it could use now and in the future. The program itself helped to fill a void in the community's continuum of services to optimize infant well-being and support families during the transition to parenthood. Incorporating free curriculum materials and encouraging community members to attend sessions were intended to promote the sustainability of the effort in the community.

However, some issues in the implementation of the program— including those in developing referral channels, recruiting and maintaining participants, and evaluating the program—may have been signs that we needed to work more effectively with the community. Our efforts in community-engaged scholarship might have benefited from greater use of the principles and ideology of community-based participatory research (CBPR) in developing and implementing the program, curriculum, and outreach *(Berge, Mendenhall, & Doherty, 2009; Wallerstein & Duran, 2003)*. CBPR brings together professionals, community leaders, and researchers to identify problems, generate solutions, and strategize how to assist and empower communities *(Berge, Mendenhall, & Doherty, 2009)*. We engaged in collaborative activities surrounding needs assessment and developing the model. However, in writing the grant, budgeting, actual implementation of the program, and in evaluating

our efforts, we consulted with the community but did not involve them as equal partners.

Some of our missteps may have roots in our failure to collaboratively define project goals with community members. There may have been differences in the assumptions of faculty and community members about "the benefits to be derived and contributions to be made to the partnership" *(Southerland, Behringer, & Slawson, 2013, p. 909).* Sometimes those in the community did not understand fully how the academic and university environments work or limitations in our role. For example, some community members wanted us to bring program participants to program sessions using our own transportation. One early childhood education provider wanted our grant to sponsor activities such as sessions on parenting toddlers and preschoolers. Another group wanted us to use funds to start a program for teen parents at their local high school, providing child care and other health care services. All of these activities were outside the scope of the grant. Outside funding opportunities often require strict timelines and deliverables; these constraints can be difficult for communities to understand and often do not allow for a more iterative or back-and-forth process in developing and implementing community-based programs *(Berge, Mendenhall, & Doherty, 2009).* The presence of more community members at the table as the grant was being written might have helped with this by making them more aware of limitations and constraints on funding and their responsibilities.

Community-engaged scholarship efforts and CBPR as models can respond to the unique needs of African-American families in communities marginalized due to factors such as poverty or oppressed due to race, as it may empower communities through both the process and outcomes of its core activities *(Maton, 2008).* However, it is noteworthy that although we made extensive efforts to provide culturally competent programming, there were challenges. Research suggests that Afrocentric values, African-centered programs, and racial consciousness promote positive outcomes for adults, adolescents, and children at risk for various negative outcomes *(Resnicow et al., 2000; Thompson et al., 1996).* It was important to include the African American voice in program delivery. However, program leaders were primarily white female professionals, a situation that created possible concerns regarding an imbalance of power among participants. Similarly, for the male participants, a gender imbalance may have existed that could have been avoided with the involvement of a male facilitator. It is also crucial to consider the ability of RAPS personnel to empathize with

participants, creating a warm and engaging environment that may have bridged the cultural differences.

Faculty and the University

For university faculty, partnering with the community was a highly rewarding endeavor. The experience of working with distressed families and conducting applied research provided faculty with rich, real-world examples useful in teaching their courses. It also stimulated faculty scholarship, including projects examining predictors of prenatal stress, relationship education efforts, and program retention in family support programs. Additionally, the project provided undergraduate students with the opportunity to attend and be a part of programming in the field. The opportunity for faculty to work in an interdisciplinary group was also beneficial to those involved and helped in the conceptualization of the project such that it "attend[ed] to the complex, holistic nature of individuals' and families' experiences" *(Berge, Mendenhall, & Doherty, 2009, p. 477).*

Many of the challenges experienced by faculty were similar to those noted by Cutforth *(2013)*, including tensions between community engagement and higher education's demands and reward system. In our experience, developing referral channels and collaborations is a labor-intensive process, though a very personally rewarding one; it is also a core element for effective CBPR work *(Berge, Mendenhall, & Doherty, 2009; Maton, 2008).* There is no substitute for personal, face-to-face contact in developing relationships with potential participants and collaborators. However, the time and effort necessary for this process can present difficulties for faculty who are beginning their academic careers. It is important to note that all of the faculty who worked on this project were nontenured. Balancing faculty demands while making frequent trips off-site for meetings and events in the community was challenging. The change in the frequency and intensity of programming, although implemented for the community's benefit, was also affected by constraints on faculty time.

Even with grant funding, involved faculty were not able to obtain course release time, which can be crucial *(Cutforth, 2013)*, at least in the beginning stages of projects. Hence, most faculty were teaching three or four courses, serving on departmental and university committees, and traveling into the city multiple times a week to recruit participants for the project, meet with local agencies and groups, and offer programs. Community-engaged

scholarship is an iterative process and requires close work with community members to develop goals, generate solutions, collect data, and make changes to intervention approaches and programs in response to information and feedback obtained during the process of working together *(Beckman, Penney, & Cockburn, 2011; Berge, Mendenhall, & Doherty, 2009; Maton, 2008).*

Faculty participants greatly enjoyed becoming a part of the community in which we worked and learning about their context, norms, assets, and experiences. As can happen with community work, there were frustrations. Sometimes few community members attended meetings; at least one program session had no attendees. Community volunteers who offered to provide child care to participants at sessions failed to assist consistently. Obtaining feedback and participation from a broad range of diverse collaborators is key to the success of initiatives *(Beckman, Penney, & Cockburn, 2011; Berge, Mendenhall, & Doherty, 2009).* Hence, it is important to educate the community around issues of academic ownership, limitations in our role, and our own needs for support. Although we had many assets important to engaged scholarship within our project, including community needs, funding opportunities, a core faculty group with an interest and commitment to the project, and a matchmaking process within the community to help make things happen *(Norris-Tirrell, Lambert-Pennington, & Hyland, 2010)*, drawing some boundaries and doing more self-advocacy might have been beneficial for the faculty members.

A final and critical area of concern is program sustainability. The university remains involved in working with the community in a variety of ways, but the future of RAPS as described is less clear. Although continued grant funding was applied for, it was not awarded. Additionally, many faculty involved with developing and implementing the program model have since left the university, detracting from program continuity. This change in personnel has also created intellectual property concerns. Even though many free materials were utilized in implementing program sessions, the overall program model and components are the intellectual property of the faculty members who developed RAPS. However, it is hoped that the community can use some of the materials shared at sessions in future work. It is possible that a "train the trainer" approach, such as teaching community leaders to provide programming, might lead to greater program longevity.

Conclusions

There are multiple benefits to developing relationships with community partners for collaborative inquiry, especially if the relationship has relevance to faculty scholarly interests. Community engagement can reinvigorate faculty; it can serve as a source of new ideas for scholarly projects and can be used to illustrate concepts and trends in the classroom. A project such as the one described here can increase faculty members' interest and knowledge base not only in community partnerships, but in a substitutive scholarly area they would like to pursue. In addition to providing a valuable service to the university and a rich educational experience to students, the project also helped faculty participants generate questions and insights for a variety of research and writing projects. A successful community partnership must provide benefits to both university and community, and there is still much to learn about how to best work to ensure that both partners obtain maximum benefit from the collaboration.

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Book Reviews

Reiter, B., & Oslender, U. (Eds.). (2015). *Bridging scholarship and activism: Reflections from the frontlines of collaborative research.* East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press. 208 pp.

Review by Eric Hartman

What if Engaged, Activist Scholarship Is a Moral Imperative?

It is through immersive, community-engaged research that the authors in this volume arrive at a thoroughgoing commitment to activist scholarship. For Reiter, "having lived and worked under truly precarious conditions in the global South puts into perspective the 'plights' of Northern academics and allows for a reassessment of one's role and position in producing social change" *(p. 13)*. Espinosa recalls her student fieldwork in Cusco, Peru:

> Living for a month or so with a peasant family… working in their coffee fields, meeting at night to help these peasant men and women to read and write, and discussing their problems, eating their food, sleeping in their homes, sharing their stories, their poverty and suffering, all that radically changed me. *(p. 49)*

Several of the contributors lived for extended periods in Black Brazilian communities suffering direct police violence and systematic state terror. As a Jamaican-born African American, Perry chooses to blend in during a 4-hour police raid in the community where she is a researcher. Following that terrifying experience, given the option to leave, she stays. Some time later, she cooperates with neighborhood activists to give a visiting NGO representative a tour of the neighborhood. She was therefore implicated when local drug dealers told the activists that they provided a tour to an undercover police officer. Feeling a very real threat to her physical security from both police and criminal elements, Perry realized, "the very methods that endanger our survival as black researchers are the methods necessary to carry out work in solidarity and advance the improvement of black communities" *(p. 164)*.

Through interviews, conversations, and relationships with Brazilian families who lost loved ones to police raids and "death squad assassinations (as police-related forms of violence)," coupled with her own membership in the Black diaspora, Smith comes to feel the spiritual terror systematically deployed to maintain boundaries of the existing social order. Is engaged, activist scholarship a

moral imperative? Smith addresses this question: "Within activist research, we frequently advocate fighting back as if it were a mere political choice, rather than a life or death reality" *(p. 143)*.

Activist Engagement, Transformational Learning, and Sacred Lives

In my own work cooperating with campuses interested in expanding global, engaged learning opportunities, a faculty member recently approached me. "Have you seen research on transformational learning that relates to graduate and faculty researchers?" she asked. She had, only a year or two before, spent several months in a refugee camp in Zambia, and she was still working to understand how to make sense of what she could—*needed*—to do in terms of responding to the human crisis she witnessed.

Her question was insightful. Much of the research on critical reflection and transformational learning has its roots in adult education and learning theories *(Brookfield, 2009; Kiely, 2004, 2005; Mezirow, 1995)*. Mezirow's work demonstrates how among adults, a disorienting dilemma can trigger profound questioning, leading to realignments in worldview, values, and actions. Yet within the engagement literature, these insights have primarily been applied to undergraduates *(Kiely, 2004, 2005)*. Research concerning effects on graduate student researchers or faculty has been rare *(Warner & Esposito, 2009)*, even in recent years *(Sexsmith & Kiely, 2014; Kiely, 2015)*.

Simultaneously, immersive learning and development activists *(Chambers, 2012; Farmer, Gutiérrez, Griffin, & Weiss Block, 2013)* have written of the power of learning *with* as a key component in advancing policy proposals and reimagining unjust structures. Working with the World Bank and other organizations, Chambers *(2012)* wrote,

> The question is not whether the direct experiential learning of immersions and reality checks can be afforded. It is whether anyone in any organisation committed to the MDGs [millennium development goals], social justice and reducing poverty, can justify not affording and making space for them. *("Why Now?" para. 6)*

Connecting transformational learning research and the work of development activists with engaged faculty experiences is important not only because it may help us better understand

individual faculty meaning making, but also because it may bring us key insights for advancing personal, institutional, and structural transformation.

Indeed, surfacing the potential for "the human element" to emerge through relational knowing may help other social scientists see past their indoctrinations in objectivity to embrace the possibility of systematic research coupled with meaningful connection with the sacred lives involved. Hordge-Freeman, for example, shares that during her research in Brazil, she "instinctively aligned… with a black feminist orientation" but quickly found herself taking a photo of a young black girl in a manner that suggested a "white gaze" and "raised questions about my privilege, my positionality, and the tension between being a researcher and an activist" *(p. 124)*. Being a Black North American did not automatically create opportunities for solidarity with Afro-Brazilians, and Hordge-Freeman realized "my propensity to so easily slip into the more problematic researcher gaze reflected my inculcation in the norms of sociology and a particular social-science tradition that includes the casual dismissal and manipulation of marginalized communities" *(p. 125)*.

Although she quickly recognizes her own responsibility to be continuously self-reflective and critical in monitoring how her academic socialization has conditioned her to interact with marginalized communities, Hordge-Freeman also comes to understand the role her privileged position can play within relationships she has developed with respondents during more than a year in Brazil. An ally and friend, Matheus, is "beaten, arrested, and thrown in jail, as a result of racial profiling and police brutality" *(p. 130)*. Hordge-Freeman soon finds herself serving as a translator between the jailed Matheus's wife, an American business partner, and representatives of the Public Ministries. She speaks with "two administrators at the jail, two lawyers, and a civil rights group in Salvador" *(p. 131)*, in addition to writing a letter on Matheus's behalf. She realizes her essential role: "Part of the reason why I was central to this process is because of the assumption about how my Americanness would potentially help his situation" *(p. 131)*. This is not a naïve assumption, nor is it indicative of an inflated sense of self in this story. The catalytic role of outsiders in rights networks, and in particular the way in which connectedness to Northern activists can bring important pressures to bear on repressive regimes, has been amply documented *(Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999)*. Even in the case of relatively small-scale community–campus partnerships *(Reynolds, 2014)* or international volunteering networks *(Lough & Matthew,*

2014), outsiders' presence and careful advocacy can support local and national advocacy goals and rights diffusion.

The power of transformational learning, as well as the extent to which the authors collected here became willing to put their careers and their lives on the line for the sake of justice, has profound implications for the field of community engagement. One possible concern is that, rather than focusing on transformation, the institutionalization movement has proceeded largely through consideration of faculty incentive structures *(O'Meara & Braskamp, 2005)*, in effect tinkering with the existing system in the hope of getting faculty members "out there and engaged." A second issue relates to the first. If faculty members engage because of small institutional incentives, an institutional mandate, or simply because it is likely to improve their students' learning experiences, are they likely to take the risk of expending the time, effort, and personal bravery necessary to be in relationship with marginalized communities and people? Third, as our country and world become more socioeconomically segregated, are campuses truly engaging with marginalized communities? It is through deep, meaningful relationships with socially distant others—coupled with critical structural analysis—that we grow in understanding of the profound injustices that are part of our existing societies. Fourth, what are the implications if significant time in or with marginalized communities is truly transformative—in a manner that is difficult if not impossible to match through text, analysis, or "safer" forms of engagement? Might there be a discourse and understanding challenge between those who have lived and worked through such experiences and those who have not? And finally, transformational experiences are volatile. People exposed to disorienting dilemmas may grow to reach and advocate for new possibilities, or they may shrink back in fear, seek shelter in stereotypes, and choose not to engage. Are there ways to support faculty and graduate students through their transformational learning experiences?

Learning From and Contributing to the Engaged Learning Movement

The chapter authors and editors identify themselves as Africanists, anthropologists, development scholars, geographers, grassroots activists, and sociologists. Their disciplinary and occupational training rewards focus on whole communities, histories, populations, power, and social structures. They consider structural issues to an extent that is too often overlooked in the engagement literature, and they visit and live in places that most faculty mem-

bers would not take students. Both of these acts are vital in pursuit of justice. Yet these scholars also surface questions that the field of engagement has already begun to address.

With the insightful eye of an outsider-insider, Espinosa identifies unique contributions that may be made by academia because of

> its capacity to protect and encourage critical thinking, to conduct research, and reflect on experience without the urgency and immediacy of activism. This is an important characteristic of the academy that we need to keep in mind as we explore the links between activism and academia. *(p. 54)*

This special location apart from the inescapable urgency and outcomes orientation of our neoliberal world brings to mind Imagining America's support of artists and scholars who stoke the fires of imagination in order to create transformation within higher education and society. Here is one of the many locations in the book where the writers' thinking aligns with efforts under way in community–campus engagement. Espinosa specifically highlights the

> role of imagination in social life as "a positive force that encourages an emancipatory politics of globalization." By expanding the circle of legitimate knowledge to include those outside academia, we should also be redefining the parameters of academic epistemology, the topics we study, and how we do it to better reflect the extreme diversity of perspectives and interests that exist. *(p. 59)*

Espinosa is now an associate professor at Brandeis, but she spent many years as an activist and found that academia following activism was not easy. "You pay a price for being 'out': you lag behind, compared to what your peers have accomplished in the ten years or so that you were 'outside' academia" *(p. 51)*. Several of the authors share these concerns about what constitutes "legitimate research," acceptance within the academy, or strengths specific to higher education's capacities to support creative activism—without any citation of the major engagement associations.

This points to a knowledge mobilization challenge for the community engagement movement within higher education. Insightful

collections of scholarly insights regarding methodically bridging research and activism are available through Campus Compact *(2015)*, Community Campus Partnerships for Health *(2013)*, Imagining America *(2016)*, and the National Collaborative for the Study of University Engagement *(2016)*. Each of these organizations is systematically helpful in addressing many of the challenges named here, yet the authors seem to have experienced their careers without the support of any of these networks.

Considering and Creating More Humane Possibilities

This volume emerged through engaged academics' cooperation with activists who "are looking for partners in their efforts to improve the lives of poor and marginalized communities" *(p. xi)*. Both for applied researchers who wish to better understand their efforts through the insights of earlier social scientists pushing the edge of "legitimate research" and for researchers who aim to engage diverse, potentially decolonizing epistemologies, along with related methods of dissemination, this book is a valuable resource. Perhaps more important, it offers stories of fortitude and hope in which serious social scientists repeatedly opt for humane, community-connected, and justice-serving routes of action over often-easier, career-enhancing options.

If I have any complaint with the book, it is that Section 1 lacks a clear theme and suffers from several of the dangers inherent in the construction of any edited volume. Parts of the section seem rushed, e.g., "While I am not familiar with them, I know there are other collaborative initiatives in areas like health and policy research" *(p. 55)*. Others seem to be included because of academic-celebrity status (Esteva, *pp. 15-30)*, or otherwise indicative of a section looking for a theme. For example, Lewis's interesting chapter on Latin American and Caribbean thinkers of African descent could stand alone as a strong work, but there is a question of fit here. Readers who lack background in Latin American studies or development may find the amount of content from outside the United States challenging, but it is a strength for scholars interested in considering more global perspectives. On the whole, the book presents several profound and meaningful reflections on what it means to be an academic, an activist, and a human being working toward a better tomorrow. A stubbornly hopeful spirit continues to emerge throughout the text, even as it visits and experiences countless instances of blatant, violent oppression.

Escobar explores the relationship between the personal and the collective in activism as history-making. He writes, "The starting point is that the personal also has historical and political dimensions—it is, in short, history-in-person all the way down" *(p. 112)*. Here again, the beauty of imagining—and its central role in activism—comes forward:

> We live at our best when engaged in acts of history-making, meaning by this the ability to engage in the ontological act of disclosing new ways of being, of transforming the ways in which we understand and deal with ourselves and the world. *(p. 117)*

Smith situates her insights powerfully within a reflection on "the fundamental role that the ontological question of the human plays in our ability to marry the theoretical and the practical in our activist research" *(p. 136)*. Historical dehumanization requires us now to engage a deliberate rehumanization and a new understanding of history that helps us "co-identify ourselves with the other" *(p. 136)*.

These are not small ideas. They serve as reminders that the term *transformation* should not be thrown around lightly. To move closer to justice, we must continuously reimagine and re-create our world. We must imagine and understand what it will look like to live in a world where the transcendent dignity of the human person is recognized across all borders, in all communities, despite perceived differences. The activist-scholars collected here have provided us with some insights that should support transformational learning among academics—as part of reconnecting with the clear humanity in marginalized communities and deconstructing the oppressive structures and assumptions in which we find ourselves.

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Breznitz, S. M. (2014). *The fountain of knowledge: The role of universities in economic development.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 200 pp.

Review by James K. Woodell

In *The Fountain of Knowledge: The Role of Universities in Economic Development*, Shiri Breznitz *(2014)* has undertaken a laudable analysis of the factors that lead to success in this domain of university mission fulfillment. She takes a close look at changes in the technology transfer operations at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut and at the University of Cambridge in England in the 1990s and early 2000s. Breznitz finds differences in the ways in which the institutions approached these changes and concomitant differences in the extent to which the changes contributed to economic development in the local biotechnology industry clusters.

Breznitz's reasons for writing this book are born of her intrigue with the idea that universities—beyond preparing students for the world and for work and beyond scientific discovery—are important to the economy. She discovered this link early in her scholarly career, during research on the biotechnology industry in Cambridge, Massachusetts. "Why universities?" asks Breznitz. The idea that universities can be engines of economic and community development should not be as surprising as it is, but we should be grateful for the intellectual curiosity sparked by this kind of surprise, which inspires important investigations like the one undertaken by Breznitz.

In her introduction (Chapter 1), Breznitz outlines the main arguments of the book. First, she posits that how a university approaches technology transfer—and, in particular, changes in its technology transfer operations—makes a difference in its contributions to economic development. She notes, however, that not all types of changes or approaches to change make a positive difference. The economic impact of changes in technology transfer operations, according to Breznitz, boils down to a few factors: how fast the changes happen, whether those changes happen in pieces or more comprehensively and whether the changes are performed in a way that engages external stakeholders (business and industry stakeholders, in particular) or is internally focused.

Through the next four chapters, Breznitz tells the story of the evolution of university technology transfer, starting with broad

context, then focusing on the United States and United Kingdom policy contexts, and ultimately directing her attention to the specific cases of the University of Cambridge and Yale University. In Chapter 2, Breznitz provides a thorough review of the literature on both university technology transfer and organizational change, providing an important synthesis of both external factors (historical policy context and environment of industry relationships) and internal factors (institutional culture and policy and the organization of the technology transfer office) that help to determine a university's success with technology commercialization. Chapter 3 provides an account of the public policy contexts in which the two case study universities reside, describing the history and current state of science funding and technology policy regimes in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Chapters 4 and 5 chronicle technology transfer change at Yale and at Cambridge, respectively, and also assess the success of the two universities' approaches in terms of contributing to economic development; Chapter 6 then provides a cross-case analysis. In these chapters, Breznitz details the differences in university culture, policy, and organization important for undergirding her conclusions related to what makes for successful contributions to economic development through technology transfer. Ultimately, Breznitz found that changes at Yale had a positive influence on the local biotechnology industry, whereas changes at Cambridge did not lead to positive outcomes. External factors differed, but what mattered most were internal factors—what Breznitz calls velocity and intensity. Yale made changes in a relatively short period of time—a few years—across institutional policy and culture and the organization of technology transfer operations. Cambridge's changes happened over a longer period of time and were much more piecemeal. Although the author notes that internal factors were most important, she also notes the significance of inclusion. Yale made changes in collaboration with external stakeholders in the regional business and industry network, and Cambridge made changes independent of such engagement.

I started out skeptical that this book could provide any new insights. I was concerned that the stories of two elite universities might offer few lessons for most institutions' efforts at technology transfer. But the interplay of the kinds of external and internal factors described by Breznitz can be seen at any university, and there are indeed some widely applicable lessons here. The broad influence of the lessons is strengthened, in my view, by the author's approach. First, she looks at process, not just inputs and outputs.

Too many analyses of technology transfer are narrowly focused on what can be delineated and counted rather than on what is actually happening at the institution around technology transfer. Second, Breznitz looks at the link between changes inside the university and the extent to which these are shaped by interactions with stakeholders outside the university. Many studies take for granted that universities are part of "innovation ecosystems" without really exploring what that looks like in practice, or again reducing the role to inputs and outputs. Breznitz's sense of the complexities of intrauniversity organizational dynamics, and the importance of engagement with external stakeholders, turned my skepticism into enthusiasm for her message.

That said, the examination of these complexities is incomplete, in my estimation. Although Breznitz does focus on process, she also packs a lot into the narrative with regard to inputs and outputs, by way of describing the universities' role in and influence on local biotechnology industry clusters. The input/output detail is helpful, but I was left wondering whether it could have been more beneficial to delve deeply into some of the complex interactions between and among university and community contexts, institutional policy and culture, and external stakeholders and internal networks. For example, I found fascinating the impetus for change at the two universities and would have welcomed more discussion of how this influenced the speed of change. At Yale, Breznitz points to the murder of a student on campus, which helped university leaders see a disconnect with the community and which led to a comprehensive plan to change the university's interaction with its city and region, including economic development. At Cambridge, change was fomented by "government pressure" related to research impacts. It was not surprising, then, to find that the change at Yale was fast, comprehensive, and engaged—there was urgency and a crisis of identity. The issue of institutional identity is only hinted at by Breznitz. She describes in detail historical and environmental influences on the institutions, but stops short of an analysis of how the resulting institutional identities played a role in organizational change and the level of engagement with community around that change. I also found the analysis incomplete in its lack of inclusion of participant voices. Breznitz rarely provides direct quotations from her interviews. More of these would have given texture to the author's analyses and would have provided a stronger depiction of the kinds of complexities that Breznitz effectively argues are so important.

It is challenging, however, to explicate the complicated organizational factors that influence university contributions to economic development through technology transfer and commercialization. Although many researchers and policymakers are reducing such analyses to the lowest common denominator and restricting their consideration to readily enumerated factors, Shiri Breznitz presents a refreshing perspective on the less tidy factors of institutional policy, culture, and organization, reminding us that not everything that counts can be counted.

About the Reviewer

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