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From the Editor…

Shannon O. Brooks

The challenge of editing a journal of outreach and community engagement is often the breadth and diversity of the manuscripts submitted. It is a continual process for our editorial team to determine where the boundaries of engaged scholarship currently exist and what scholarship may expand those boundaries in consequential and practical ways. The *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* aims to document the breadth of thought, action, theory, and scholarly practice across the globe, and through the peer review and editorial process, present multifaceted approaches to the scholarship and practice of community engagement. What we are able to publish in each issue represents a fraction of the intriguing and promising work we receive each year. Despite these challenges, the summer issue of *JHEOE*, 26(2), presents a robust cross-section of the diverse voices, global perspectives, and methods of engaged scholarship that are representative of the field at large. As summarized in this note, this issue features a full lineup of research articles, projects with promise, reflective essays, a dissertation overview, and book reviews highlighting publications of note.

Research Articles

This issue's research section encapsulates the breadth and depth of community engagement scholarship by exploring the nature and characteristics of partnerships, community voice, the role of librarians in engaged scholarship, various facets of service-learning's impact on faculty, and a look at the science shop model and its impact on partners and students. Leading off the research section, Janke, Flores, and Edwards present a unique scoping review that examines the representation of community-academic partnerships across seven journals in the community engagement field. The authors provide an overview of scoping reviews as an "emerging research strategy," create an inventory of keywords and characteristics of partnerships within the articles examined, and invite other scholars to contribute to the expansion of this dataset by conducting additional scoping reviews on other topics.

In "Reconfiguring Knowledge Ecosystems: Librarians and Adult Literacy Educators in Knowledge Exchange Work," O'Brien et al. examine the role of librarians and adult literacy workers in knowledge brokering and creation, or put another way, approaches to connecting nonacademic and university audiences. In particular, the authors adapt the K* spectrum model (Shaxson, 2012) to examine the roles and function of librarians and literacy educators through three case studies in British Columbia, Canada. This article is part of a growing body of work published in recent years in *JHEOE* on the impact and importance of librarians and libraries in community engagement work. (See Rowland and Knapp, 2015; Taylor et al., 2019).

A pair of articles on service-learning's impact on faculty and teaching provide yet additional perspectives on the range of engaged scholarship being conducted in various global contexts. First, Camus et al.'s study builds on previous work of faculty perceptions on the impact of service-learning through a phenomenological study with faculty at a Hong Kong university, expanding understanding of the benefits of service-learning for university faculty within an essential Asian context. This study is complemented by "Developing Teaching Competences with Service-Learning Projects," another article featured in this issue examining instructor perceptions of service-learning's impact on practice. Sartor-Harada et al.'s study across ten Latin American countries plus Spain and Portugal provides a unique Ibero-American lens for their mixed method study focused on socioemotional, organizational, and technical teaching competences developed through service-learning practice. Both of these studies conducted provide significant insight on the impact of service-learning on faculty practice and implications for institu-

tions supporting this work through faculty development and policies, while adding new knowledge of service-learning's impact in contexts outside of North America.

The final two articles in this issue's research section investigate the under examined community perspective in the community-university partnership equation. "Community-University Partnership in Service-Learning: Voicing the Community Side" by Compare, Pieri, and Albanesi present findings from a mixed methods study employing semi-structured interviews and questionnaires of 12 community partners who collaborated with a graduate level community psychology service-learning module at the University of Bologna. The authors' findings capture the experiences of community partners in service-learning—an underexplored topic—with a focus on the coeducator role partners may occupy.

Finally, the research section is rounded out with an examination of a science shop operated by the Community Engaged Scholarship Institute at the University of Guelph. Nelson, Schnarr, and Jackson's study seeks to fill a research gap related to the benefits and challenges for student researchers and community partners in studies of science shops. Science shops are a particularly well-regarded and established model for community engaged research in Europe. Significantly, Nelson et al. present the first study of a cocurricular science shop in North America and outline important considerations for future research in this arena.

Projects with Promise

The Projects with Promise section in *JHEOE* highlights early- to mid-stage research projects, or scholarship conducted on projects and programs in their formative stages of development. "Community Engaged Scholarship for Graduate Students: Insights from the CREATE Scholars Program" presents findings from a graduate fellowship program with Black and Indigenous communities that engages graduate students in a range of research, study, and experiential activities in order to develop community engagement and reciprocal partnership competencies. The authors summarize the program design for the CREATE Scholars Program as well reflections by faculty leaders and student participants on the impact of the program, for the benefit of practitioners and scholars who aim to replicate or adapt the program to their institutional context.

Additionally, this section is closed out with a case study of PROSPER, a program in Ohio employing translational research to address substance abuse prevention. Julian, Martin, and Samadin's study was conducted at PROSPER's midpoint and focuses on the the Extension team's role in program delivery using a method called strategic doing, which is designed to encourage strong collaboration amongst partners focused on shared outcomes.

Reflective Essays

Reflective essays are thought provoking pieces that focus on emerging trends or under explored issues in community engagement scholarship. Our first essay in this issue is a historical survey of the lasting impact of the Carnegie Foundation's philanthropy on the University of Alberta's Department of Extension during the Great Depression. Peacock and Thompson critically examine Carnegie's philanthropic work in this context and time period, which provided arts and cultural education to many communities within the province through theater, but also reinforced White settler-colonizer reforms that were often damaging to cultural practices of Indigenous communities. Continuing with a theme of community engagement amongst marginalized populations, Popescu et al.'s study of a student-led initiative at a private U.S. institution provides important and eye-opening considerations for higher education institutions who are seeking to support asylum seekers and refugees on their campuses and in communities.

Finally, Thompson et al.'s, case study of a community engagement partnership from Lurio University in Mozambique examines the intersection of internationalization efforts and community-university partnership strategies. The authors argue that internationalization *through* partnership has many advantages and benefits for higher education.

Dissertation Overview and Book Reviews

This issue also features a dissertation overview, an important but infrequent contribution to JHEOE's pages. This section pub-

lishes summaries of recent dissertations related to outreach and engaged scholarship, and we hope to see more examples in this section in future issues from emerging scholars. In this issue, Jones presents findings from her 2019 dissertation *Effects of Resource Dependency on Decisions by University Public Service Administrators for Service to the State Through Local Government Training*. The purpose of Jones' qualitative study is to examine how resource dependency effects decisions as to whether university public service and outreach units offer local government training. Jones identifies six key findings on external and internal influences illustrated as a "box of influences." This study has potential value to decisionmakers looking to evaluate the potential for new programming for government officials.

Finally, this issue concludes with three book reviews of recent publications with differing research foci. Koval reviews Carlson et al.'s 2018 book *Towards a New Ethnohistory: Community-Engaged Scholarship Among the People of the River.* Winfield critiques *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower: How Universities are Plundering Our Cities* (2021), authored by Davarian L. Baldwin. Finally, Fear discusses O'Connell and Peters' (2021) volume *In the Struggle: Scholars and the Fight Against Industrial Agribusiness in California.*

This issue represents not only the breadth of scholarship and work happening globally in the engagement arena, but also the depth and interconnectedness that charges and advances this scholarship. As we wrap up this issue, I once again offer my thanks to our authors, reviewers, associate editors, editorial board, partners, and the staff of *JHEOE* who make each issue a reality. Thank you for your contributions and for making each issue of *JHEOE* better than the last.

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Community–Academic Partnerships in the Community Engagement Literature: A Scoping Review

Emily Janke, Santos Flores, and Kathleen Edwards

Abstract

This article contributes a novel dataset mapping the partnership literature in the community engagement field and invites scholars of community–academic partnerships in this field to participate in the development of scoping reviews as a way to effectively scan extant literature as they seek to build upon or critique it. This scoping review includes key article-level characteristics regarding the representation of community–academic partnerships within 141 published articles from seven peer-reviewed journals in the community engagement field.

Keywords: scoping review, systematic review, partnerships, community-engagement, scholarship

Community engagement is yet an "emerging field" (Giles, 2019) that has come to present a distinct view and ethos about the role and practice of higher education in and with communities. In the formation of the field, scholars have contributed a new understanding and practice of community-engaged scholarship, most notably community engagement pedagogy and epistemology (Sandmann et al., 2008). Since the launch of the *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* (MJCSL), the first journal in the field, in 1994, nearly a dozen scholarly, peer-reviewed journals have been initiated as a way for scholars to share research and conceptual scholarship about a range of topics related to community engagement.

Community engagement journals advance the "scholarship on the scholarship of engagement" (Sandmann, 2008, p. 99) as they continue to articulate defining aspects of community engagement, including key purposes, practices, processes, and outcomes. Journals in the field publish articles that address many different aspects of community engagement, including pedagogy, epistemology, research methodology and other scholarly approaches, institutional change models, and partnership development and ethics, to name a few.

Commemorating the 20th anniversary of the *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* (JHEOE), the editor of the journal published a book that included previously published articles from JHEOE that had the greatest impact on scholarship and practice. In an effort to frame future-looking conversations by revisiting past scholarship in light of current contexts, the authors of the selected articles were invited to revisit, comment on, refute, or update their earlier writing (Sandmann & Jones, 2019). Judith Ramaley, a three-time president and foundational leader in the institutionalization of community engagement in higher education, shared her view of the first 20 years of scholarship, reflecting on the changes that must yet be addressed by scholars of engagement. Ramaley (2019) called on scholars to reexamine and rearticulate what scholars of the field mean by "community voice" as an aspect of practice and scholarship (p. 257). On the topic of community voice, Ramaley pointed to increased awareness of and attention to issues of social equity and social justice and especially to communities as intellectual spaces. How is knowledge that resides outside the disciplines recognized and integrated into academic scholarship? How are the voices of underrepresented, marginalized, and dis-

enfranchised individuals taken into account when we say that we have included community voice as an aspect of our scholarly process?

The call for continued focus on community engagement partnerships echoes earlier calls. For example, Gelmon et al. (1998) called on the emerging field to develop scholarship that addressed various aspects of partnerships, including

- the challenge of distinguishing service-learning from community-based clinical training experiences,
- community perspectives of the university and partnerships,
- reciprocity and mutuality in community–university relationships,
- social and economic benefits arising from the community–university partnership,
- benefits for community organizations participating in university partnerships, and
- motivations for universities to respond to community perspectives (p. 97).

Our review of the scholarship shows that key aspects of early writings about community engagement partnerships were focused primarily on (a) how to define them differently from other forms of relationships that occur between academic and community-placed or community-focused organizations, (b) the identification of key principles and practices for ethical and effective community-engagement partnerships, and (c) the description of partnership activities and programs as examples from which others could learn.

Other scholars have suggested that there is a paucity of high quality studies that advance the understanding of how and why partnerships work. As Hart et al. (2009) shared of their own experiences looking for articles relevant to establishing community–university partnership services: "It is not that there is a lack of imaginative practical activity. . . . Rather, there is a relative lack of research focused on the processes by which higher education institutions establish community partnerships and how they are sustained" (p. 48). Jones and Lee (2017) found a "lack of attention" to community voice in their review of articles published from 2005 to 2014 in JHEOE (p. 178). The authors wondered whether the paucity of studies on partnerships was unique to the journal itself, or whether this was true across other community engagement journals as well.

The partnerships section editor of the *International Journal of Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement* (IJRSLCE), Alan Bloomgarden (2017), also lamented that the partnership literature was "woefully thin" (p. 21). He called for the development of robust scholarship focused on the where, how, when, and why that community engagement partnerships contribute (or not) to community priorities. Partnerships, he observed, tend to be represented as context or a factor related to student learning and other academic priorities. As a result, readers of the literature tend to get peeks into the nature and structure of partnerships rather than receiving a robust description and assessment of the partnerships themselves and, importantly, the ways in which partnerships serve community-identified priorities.

This article examines and describes a subset of the scholarship of engagement literature: partnerships that occur among academic and community collaborators (herein referred to either as community engagement partnerships or simply partnerships). Our guiding question is "What is the state of the partnership literature in the field of community engagement?" Our goal was to curate the literature in which the partnership served as a key, if not the primary, focus of the article. Therefore, we conducted a scoping review to collect and describe the partnership literature as represented across seven peer-reviewed community engagement journals. The result of this effort is the contribution of (a) a scoping review as an emerging research strategy that can help to advance scholarship in the field of community engagement, (b) a novel dataset of all articles that address community engagement partnerships across seven journals in the field, (c) a catalogue with descriptive statistics of key partnership characteristics of the articles curated, and (d) an invitation to other scholars to advance the scholarship of engagement on partnerships by participating in the expansion of this scoping review, to use scoping review techniques shared in this article to address other topics, or to use the scoping review dataset to ask new research questions.

Types of Reviews

Scoping reviews are relatively new to the cadre of strategies designed to systematically collect and, to varying degrees, synthesize research on a specific topic (Pham et al., 2014). As the name suggests, a scoping review is a strategy to determine the scope, or coverage, of a body of literature. The effect of conducting such a review is the construction of a map of the literature, which can be used to understand the present landscape and as the basis for conducting future analyses and research. Because scoping reviews are new to the field of community engagement—we found only one published scoping review, about defining community engagement, in our search (see Beaulieu et al., 2018)—we orient the reader briefly by comparing scoping reviews to two other likely more familiar types of review: literature reviews and systematic reviews.

Literature Review

The most common approach used to bring relevant knowledge to bear on a topic is the literature review. For many, a literature review is a component of a larger study and serves to situate the study with regard to existing knowledge; it entails looking for articles related to the topic of initial research or inquiry. In this way, it demonstrates that one has considered the ideas of others who have published in the same or a similar area. In their essay written for graduate students about to embark on dissertation research, Boote and Beile (2005) shared the importance of *generativity*, Shulman's (1999) idea that scholarship and research must build on the scholarship of those whose work has come before. A literature review reports the claims made in existing publications while also critically examining the research methods used to make the claims.

A literature review may also be the focus of a publication. An author may seek to present a comprehensive overview of the knowledge of a particular topic, including substantive findings, inquiry frameworks, and methodologies. For example, Dostilio (2017) coordinated the contribution of a comprehensive literature review of community engagement professionals (CEPs) in an effort to establish a "competency model for an emerging field" (book title). Teams of authors thoroughly scanned the literature in the community engagement field to generate a comprehensive list of competencies and personal attributes of CEPs. The findings of the literature review then informed the development of a survey for CEPs to further explore patterns, including gaps, in the literature. As Kowal (2017) wrote of the book, "The value of this extensive work lies in its ability to communicate the dimensions of a vast and varied field" (p. 181). The review of the literature can be used to discern the range and prevalence of ideas within a body of literature, and to synthesize the ideas that shape the collective conversation. In our review across seven journals in the community engagement field, we found no articles offering a comprehensive review of the partnership literature.

Systematic Review

A second type of review commonly used to synthesize the knowledge generated on a topic (particularly in the health professions) is a systematic review. A systematic review is important for understanding the extant body of work related to a particular intervention so that one may understand, for example, whether there is consensus around best practices or the efficacy of the intervention. An example is Drahota et al.'s (2016) article "Community–Academic Partnerships: A Systematic Review of the State of the Literature and Recommendations for Further Research." The team of 10 authors reviewed literature across multiple disciplines and major academic databases (e.g., ProQuest, ERIC, PubMed) to identify the most common influences that facilitate or hinder community–academic partnerships (their term). The authors noted that although "the amount of published literature on collaborative groups has increased dramatically in recent years, it still lacks consensus and systemic review" (p. 167). They sought all systematic evaluations of the collaborative process among partnerships that (a) included at least one academic and at least one community stakeholder, (b) had been peer-reviewed, and (c) were written in English. Unlike a literature review, which is often undertaken by a single scholar and includes only those articles most germane to the study, in this systematic review scholars sorted through the titles and abstracts of 1,332 articles to then complete a full text review of 630 articles in order to find the 50 articles that ultimately met the criteria for inclusion in their study. Their aim was to collate empirical evaluation evidence from

a relatively smaller number of studies pertaining to their focused research question. The team used an a priori protocol, which was updated iteratively during the systematic review, as well as strategies to ensure consensus on the issue of whether they used an objective evaluation method.

Scoping Review

A third type of review, and the method used in this article, is a scoping review. Scoping reviews have also been called "mapping reviews" because they "map the key concepts that underpin a field of research, [additionally they] clarify working definitions, and/or the conceptual boundaries of a topic" (Joanna Briggs Institute [JBI], 2015, 1.1.1). Scoping reviews are most appropriate to address the following six purposes:

- to identify the types of available evidence in a given field,
- to clarify key concepts/definitions in the literature,
- to examine how research is conducted on a certain topic or field,
- to identify key characteristics or factors related to a concept,
- as a precursor to a systematic review, or
- to identify and analyze knowledge gaps (Munn et al., 2018).

First described by Arksey and O'Malley in 2005, scoping reviews have been precisely refined to the point that stepwise protocols for both conducting and writing about scoping reviews have been established (see Peters et al., 2020; Pham et al., 2014; Tricco et al., 2016). The PRISMA-ScR (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Assessments—Scoping Reviews) checklist is one such resource designed to increase consistency of scoping reviews (Tricco et al., 2016).

In this section we have defined three similar yet unique methods for reviewing literature about a topic: literature review, systematic review, and scoping review. The purpose of this effort is to enable readers, through insight into the three methods, to make more informed decisions about what sort of method will best serve their future research at different times. For a deeper description of the defining characteristics of traditional literature reviews, scoping reviews, and systematic reviews, we encourage readers to review Munn et al. (2018).

Because scoping reviews are a new technique and born in the health professions, we found only one scoping review on the topic of community engagement (Beaulieu et al., 2018). The scoping review included 48 articles with the aim of clarifying the definition of *engaged scholarship*. Their results presented an article-level review of the values, principles, and processes of partnerships put forward in the literature. Values included social justice and citizenship, and principles included high-quality scholarship, reciprocity, identified community needs, boundary crossing, and democratization of knowledge. They presented an engaged scholarship schema and defined engaged scholarship

> as a true academic posture, rooted in values of social justice and citizenship, that prompts academics and universities, in their roles of teaching, research, and service to society, to work in ways that will build mutually beneficial and reciprocal bridges between university activity and civil society. ("Engaged Scholarship Schema," para. 1)

Systematic and scoping reviews are common within the health sciences (Pham et al., 2014) but have not yet found their way into the literature of the community engagement field. Through previous publications (e.g., Bringle et al., 2013), scholars have demonstrated great benefit by bringing theory and research from cognate areas to the field of community engagement. Our scoping review about community–academic partnerships may serve as an example of the usefulness of applying new research methods to community engagement topics.

Community Engagement Partnership Scoping Review

This study did not start out as a scoping review, but we ended up conducting one out of necessity. Initially we wanted to develop a dataset consisting of works that would allow us to pursue a specific research question: What types of conflict occur within community engagement partnerships? We wished to bring theories developed in the conflict and peace studies field into the community engagement field as a way to help increase competence and confidence

of community engagement professionals in this area of work (Janke & Dumlao, 2019).

Our first step was to identify articles in the community engagement field that could help readers understand community–academic partnerships, specifically why and how they do and do not work. Our interests were practical. To interrogate the literature in order to identify the presence of conflict and conflict management practices among community engagement partners, we needed to be able to (a) identify and cull partnership studies from the broader community engagement literature, (b) sort the articles according to various partnership types so that we could understand the varied characteristics and contexts of the partnerships, and (c) examine how various levels and aspects of conflict were or were not addressed in the literature. We faced several challenges.

The first challenge was identifying partnerships articles within the community engagement literature. Broadly, we attempted to identify all articles that could tell us how and why partnerships work. Although some articles use the partnership as the unit of analysis or the object of inquiry, more often, partnerships are included in a limited and ancillary way. For example, authors may describe aspects of the partnership, such as whether it was part of a service-learning course or an international service project—as a factor of or in service to other goals, such as student learning and development, completing a research project, or fulfilling an institutional service mission (Bloomgarden, 2017). In such articles, we found that partnerships tended to be described poorly and without important details, and the "lessons learned" tended to be offered in anecdotal ways that were not grounded in theory or connected to extant scholarship.

The second challenge was inconsistency of the information shared about partnerships and the difficulty of comparing "apples to apples'' across different types of partnerships. We wanted to know how conflict relates to the type of partnership. Authors and editors tend to apply the term *partnership* to a wide array of relationships between and among individuals, groups, and organizations as well as in reference to varying types of formal and informal agreements (Bringle et al., 2012; Dumlao & Janke, 2012). Since Cruz and Giles (2000) called for scholars to advance understanding of service-learning partnerships using the partnership itself as the unit of analysis, the body of scholarship related to partnerships has increased, yet this literature has continued treating all partnerships as though they are essentially the same, applying common guidance, expectations, and principles to all. We needed a map so that we could begin to purposefully sample the literature for a focused research project on the subtopic of conflict in community–academic partnerships.

The desire to create a scoping review to then allow for subsequent research studies is consistent with Tricco et al.'s (2016) finding: The three most common reasons for conducting a scoping review were to explore the breadth or extent of the literature, map and summarize the evidence, and inform future research. In pursuing our goal, we learned about the value of scoping reviews in and of themselves—as a way to map the literature in the particular area of partnerships—and also to advance the quality and comprehensiveness of future research that builds upon extant literature. The scoping review is, itself, a contribution to the field.

Therefore, this is not a literature review in which we attempt to synthesize the lessons learned across a selection of articles as the foundation upon which to build an investigation or inquiry; we present a scoping review in which we comprehensively curate and describe key characteristics of articles in which the authors share information or reflection about community–academic partnerships in ways that might help others to understand how, why, or toward what ends community and academic partners engage with each other. The presentation of this scoping review follows the standard PRISMA format. Because our dual purposes of this article are to advance the understanding of how scoping reviews are conducted and to actually conduct a scoping review, we include descriptions of what is expected per the PRISMA-ScR process.

Purpose and Guiding Questions

The purpose of this study was to curate and describe the partnership literature in the community engagement field in order to advance partnership research and practice. Our guiding question was "What is the state of the partnership literature in the field of community engagement?" Our goal was to identify and describe key characteristics of that literature at the article level.

Methodology

A key characteristic of scoping reviews is a thick description of the methods, which aligns with the aim of scoping reviews to be transparent and reproducible. When following best practices, scoping reviews

- are informed by an a priori protocol,
- are systematic and often include exhaustive searching for information,
- aim to be transparent and reproducible,
- include steps to reduce error and increase reliability (such as the inclusion of multiple reviewers), and
- ensure data is extracted and presented in a structured way (Munn et al., 2018).

The methodology for this scoping review was based on the framework outlined by Arksey and O'Malley (2005) and further refined and updated by Peters et al. (2020) in the *JBI Manual for Evidence Synthesis.* Because these two sources come from the health sciences and were focused on health topics, which is true for the majority of scoping reviews (Pham et al., 2014), we also looked to the example of a scoping review of physical education teacher satisfaction provided by Richards et al. (2017). Dr. Michael Hemphill also provided guidance and feedback on our process. This study does not meet criteria for human subjects research, so institutional review board approval was not needed.

Protocol

We developed our protocol through an iterative process wherein the reviewers routinely discussed the goals of the review in order to ensure that we were establishing appropriate and useful criteria for inclusion and exclusion of articles. Figure 1 reflects the process for searching and selecting the works included in this scoping review.

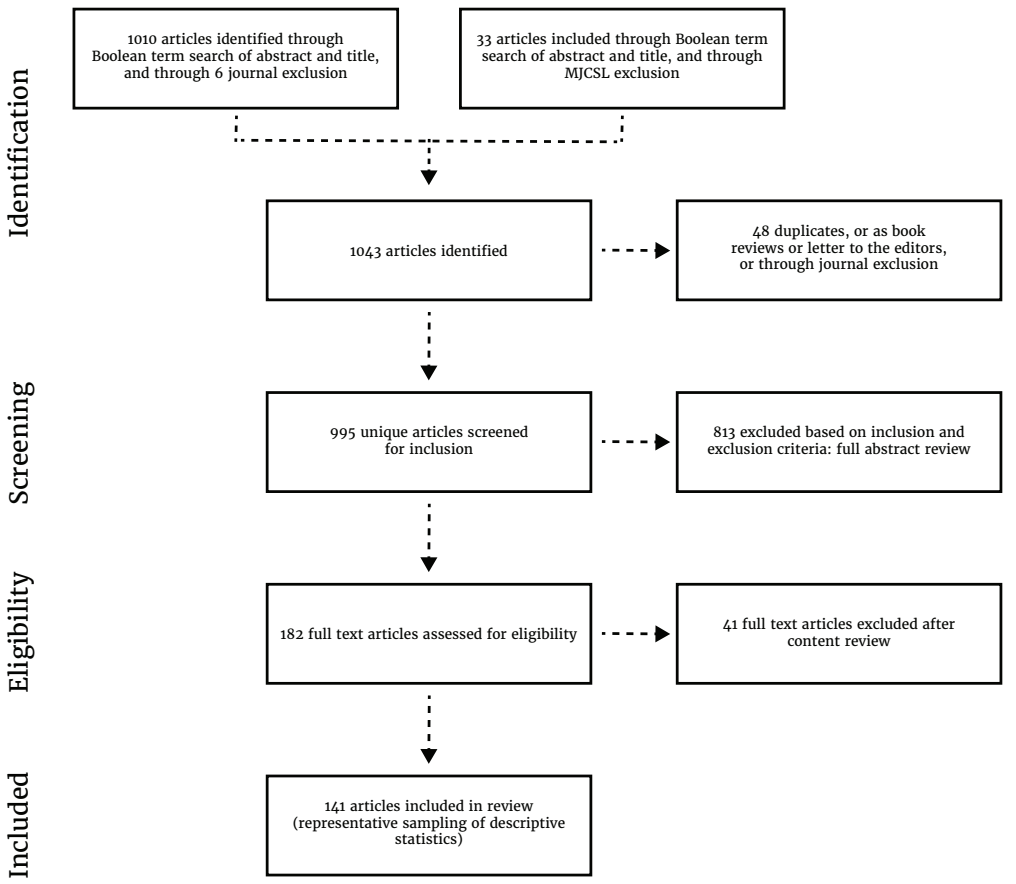

Figure 1. Flowchart of the Review and Data Collection

Identification

We used a three-step search strategy as recommended in all JBI (2015) types of reviews. The first step is an initial limited search of at least four online databases relevant to the topic. Our initial search was conducted in Education Source, ProQuest, Directory of Open Access Journals, and Academic Search Complete.

Though not included in Figure 1, a key takeaway from our pilot process was the importance of narrowing the journals for inclusion, rather than searching more broadly. It is important to balance feasibility with breadth and comprehensiveness of the scoping process, given the volume of articles a search may yield (Levac et al., 2010, pp. 4–8). We ultimately found that it was useful to use two terms—*relationship* and *partnership*—and portions of those terms (e.g., *relat** and *partner**) to identify appropriate articles. Prior to this, we conducted an initial search using the term "partnership" in two databases, which revealed 472,424 articles. We tried again, limiting the keywords to the Boolean terms *partner** and *relat**, which yielded a still massive 7,319 articles. Next, we added the inclusion and exclusion criteria of (a) peer review, (b) no books, and (c) no reports from web searches, which yielded 6,197 articles. Finally, we chose to limit our term search to the title or abstract only, and still, the number was far too large for our team to feasibly sort through. Further, we realized that the terms were too general to be useful for locating the types of partnership studies we were seeking.

Ultimately, we decided to limit our search eligibility to articles in seven journals. Scoping reviews are time and resource intensive because they require researchers, working in teams for intercoder reliability, to read and assess hundreds of abstracts and, later, potentially hundreds of full articles in order to precisely attribute key characteristics. This scoping review, for example, required 995 abstract reviews and 182 full text reviews. This is the first scoping review of its kind in the field and, as such, provides a pilot of sorts. The development of the strategy to curate articles, as well as to characterize and categorize them, undoubtedly will be refined in future iterations. We offer discussion of future considerations further in this article, which may contribute to these refinements.

We sought to include journals that specifically publish on the scholarship of engagement or community-engaged scholarship. These journals were represented at a panel of "leading SLCE [service-learning and community engagement] journals" at the International Conference for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement (2019) and in Campus Compact's *Key Readings on Campus–Community Partnerships* (n.d.). We used the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's (n.d.) definition of community engagement: "The collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity." We limited our selection to journals primarily focused on the topic of community engagement in higher education, as stated in their missions. To provide some diversity of journals to help us in this first effort to establish article-level categories and attributes of the partnership literature, we included one journal that is jointly edited and managed by Australian and American scholars, as well as one that focuses on service-learning in the field of engineering. We acknowledge that other journals also publish the scholarship of community engagement as their primary focus, or as one aspect of a broader mission or field, and encourage future scoping reviews to include articles from these journals. Our scoping review included seven journals:

- *Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement* (Gateways),
- *International Journal of Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement* (IJRSLCE),
- *International Journal for Service Learning in Engineering* (IJSLE),
- *Journal of Higher Education Outreach & Engagement* (JHEOE),
- *Journal of Community Engagement & Scholarship* (JCES),
- *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* (MJCSL), and
- *Partnerships: A Journal of Service Learning & Civic Engagement* (Partnerships).

Limiting to seven journals in the community engagement field served our study well: Ultimately, we were interested in specifically understanding the lessons learned about a certain type of partnership—a community-engaged, community–academic partnership. Researchers of future scoping reviews might choose to widen the number of journals or type of scholarship included; however, it is important to note that scoping review practices have not yet been developed for expressions of knowledge other than peer-reviewed journal articles. Other expressions and modes of knowledge of community engagement partnerships certainly exist in non-peer-reviewed formats as well as in nontextual and nondigitized artifacts.

The second step was to identify the articles within the seven journals. Our search using the root Boolean terms *relat** and *partner** yielded the greatest number of relevant and fewest number of irrelevant articles (we had also tried *relat** OR *partner** to less success and efficiency). We limited the search to the abstracts rather than full text. However, because the search platform used for the *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* does not allow one to search abstracts according to our protocol, we used a collated set of abstracts sent by the journal editor (upon request) and searched that document. Our rationale was that if an article is discussing a community–academic partnership, it would be difficult to convey the focus of that topic in the abstract without also using these root terms. In our search, we included all articles written from the start of the publication until May 2020. Searching the seven journals only, we identified 1,043 articles for review. We removed a further 48 articles that were duplicates, book reviews, or letters to the editor, yielding 995 articles for our next step. For additional information about our methods, please contact the lead author.

Screening

The next step was to screen the 995 articles based on a full abstract review. Two reviewers read through all abstracts to determine whether these articles met our criterion: Does this partnership tell us something about community–academic partnerships? Because we were interested in how partnerships work, we were also interested in only those articles that used the partnership as an area of focus or a unit of analysis. The following questions guided this process: Is there a description of who was involved in the partnership? Is there a description of processes or the results of the partnership work? Based on this manual review of the abstracts, we excluded a further 813 articles.

Eligibility

The final step examined the remaining 182 articles in a full text review. Two authors conducted an initial review of the full text articles and identified 41 that did not meet our initial criteria. There was concordance during this process. Articles that received split decisions or that met only some of the inclusion criteria were discussed to reach consensus with the third reviewer. This process resulted in 141 articles included in this study.

Data Charting

The data extraction process, also referred to as "data charting," was developed and iteratively refined during the full text reviews of the 182 manuscripts by two reviewers and finalized with the inclusion of a third reviewer. They were informed by the types of information one might need to map the literature with regard to the scope of scholarship and the types of evidence used by scholars, as stated in our purpose. We read articles and charted data along eight categories. The authors discussed any discrepancies until they reached consensus. This procedure helped to clarify and refine the definition and description of the categories and characteristics in the codebook (Table 1).

Data Availability

The dataset for this scoping review (Janke, Flores, & Edwards, 2021) is available via CivicLEADS (Civic Learning, Engagement, and Action Data Sharing). The authors encourage others to use, add to, refine, and cite this dataset to advance scholarship of community engagement partnerships, building upon existing scholarship—and contributing their own open scholarship to the field.

Positionality Statements

Sharing the reviewers' positionalities in the context of a scoping review helps to situate the reviewers' perspectives in relation to the aim of the scoping review as well as the parameters and definitions of the categories

Table 1. Codebook

Category	Characteristic	Definition/Description
Source of partnership information	--	Examines whether the ideas about partnerships are presented using a real life and specific example of a partnership, or whether the ideas are independent or separate from any real life and specific partnership identified in the article.
	Actual	The author presents thoughts about partnerships that are based on actual, real life and specific partnerships that are described in the article.
	Idea	The author expresses thoughts about partnerships that are based on ideas, principles, practices, concepts, theories, or other types of abstractions on the topic of partnerships and without presentation of any actual partnership.
Authors' scholarly approach	--	Scholarly approaches used by author(s) to develop the thoughts presented in the article.
	Qualitative	The author collects data (usually nonnumerical) through firsthand experience to address questions about concepts, opinions/perspectives, and experiences. Data are typically gained through interviews, questionnaires, focus groups, participant observation, documents, and artifacts.
	Quantitative	The author collects and analyzes numerical data to quantify a collection and statistically analyze data using a deductive approach to test hypotheses.
	Mixed methods	The research process used in the article included both qualitative and quantitative methods.
	Indigenous or decolonial	The authors (identify as Indigenous and) use approaches that recognize Indigenous communities develop shared ways of knowing guided by how they view the world, themselves, and the connection between the two. Part of Indigenous knowledge, then, is a combination of the reflection of and resistance to colonization in various realms. Those engaging in Indigenous research reflect on who owns, designs, interprets, reports, and ultimately benefits from the research process and products (Smith, 2012).
	Program evaluation	The author presents a systematic method for collecting, analyzing, and using information to answer questions about projects, policies, and programs, particularly about their effectiveness and efficiency.
	Conceptual	The author presents observations and analysis related to abstract concepts or ideas.
	Project or program description	The author provides a thick description of a project or program and does not describe theoretical or conceptual frameworks, methodology, or research methods.
Author's positionality	--	The author's relationship to the partnership (if actually experienced and specifically identified) presented in the article.
	Direct	One or more of the authors is/are involved in the partnership activity described.
	Indirect	None of the authors are involved in the partnership activity described.
	N/A	The article is written as a thought piece in which no actual partnership is described.

Table continues on next page.

Table 1 Continued

Category	Characteristic	Definition/Description
Community partner positionality	--	The community partners' voices are represented by their own contributions to the writing of the article, or by direct quotes of their utterances or writings.
	Coauthor	Community partners are listed as an author of the article.
	Direct quotes	Community partners are directly quoted and cited in the article.
	Not evident	Insufficient information was provided to determine how, if at all, community partners' voices were included, either as coauthors or as directly quoted and cited in the article. Articles that summarized community partner voice in the aggregate, but did not provide direct quotes, are included in this category.
Partner organizational type	--	The types of formal and informal groups and organizations partners represent in their partnership work.
	Nonprofit	An organization that is registered as having not-for-profit status.
	Informal organization	A group of people who have common interests who coordinate activities and networks to achieve shared goals.
	Government	A level of governmental organization is present (e.g., city, county government, planning offices).
	Industry/ Business	A for-profit entity.
	Faith-based	Organization based on religion *or* a religious group, or faith-based organizations that are rooted in a particular faith carrying out programs and services related to that faith.
	Health	Organization focused on the topic of health (e.g., AIDS clinic, hospital).
	International	The partner was international based on the perspective of the author. We did not center the United States to determine whether national/international status.
	Not evident	Organizational type of the partner could not be determined by the reviewers.
Benefit to the academic partner	--	The aspect of the higher education institutional mission achieved through the activity of the partnership described in the article.
	Teaching and learning	Curricular and cocurricular experiences for student learning and development (e.g., service-learning classes, student affairs programs).
	Scholarship	Faculty or staff members' disciplinary research, creative activity, or inquiry work.
	Service	Activities that are done on behalf of the institution that provides some contribution to communities, and which might be reported as how the institution serves the community, beyond providing education to enrolled students and scholarship production by its faculty, staff, and students.
	Not evident	Benefit to the academic partner could not be determined by the reviewers.

Table continues on next page.

Table 1 Continued

Category	Characteristic	Definition/Description
Journals	Gateways	*Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement*
	IJSLE	*International Journal of Service Learning in Engineering*
	IJRSLCE	*International Journal of Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement*
	JCES	*Journal of Community Engagement and Scholarship*
	JHEOE	*Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*
	MJCSL	*Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*
	Partnerships	*Partnerships: A Journal of Service-Learning and Civic Engagement*

developed. Positionality statements are not currently part of the scoping review protocol but a practice inserted by the authors. As we share later, we learned that our different roles and experiences led us to interpret some categories differently. As a result of this discovery, we collectively clarified our parameters and definitions and continued to refine the codebook as a reference tool to ensure we did not drift in our interpretations. The codebook also helps make the analysis transparent and explicit enough to allow others to evaluate and build upon.

Emily Janke is an associate professor in a department of peace and conflict studies and the director of an institute for community and economic engagement located in the division of research and focused on supporting community-engaged scholars and scholarship. She identifies as a white woman, scholar-administrator who uses and contributes to theory, scholarly practice, and administrative strategies to advocate for and support community-engaged scholarship as a valued and rewarded aspect of academic work. Janke serves on the editorial boards and as a reviewer for several of the journals included in this review and is a member of the Carnegie Foundation's Community Engagement Elective Classification National Advisory Committee.

Santos Flores holds an MA in peace and conflict studies and a PhD in kinesiology. He identifies as queer ("politically and poetically" (Wallace, 2021), Latinx, Black-Indigenous feminist, male, activist academic, community member and advocate, peace and conflict studies scholar, capoeira coach, and educator. He is interested in community and youth development, critical theory, cultural studies and practices that enhance social justice mindfulness, embodiment, and critical consciousness. His scholarship concentrates on community and youth development, and he leads multiple community-engaged projects that use popular education, critical consciousness, and critical pedagogy.

Kathleen Edwards has been a community partner, educator, staff member, and student within various community engagement projects, so she tries to draw on those differing perspectives in her current work and scholarship. As a white woman who studies social justice issues, she highly values cocreated and participatory approaches to community engagement work. She approaches research from a critical paradigm and is thus concerned with how community–academic partnerships can disrupt or uphold forms of power, privilege, and oppression.

Descriptive Overview of the Articles

The data charting process provides a descriptive summary of the results that aligns with the objectives and questions of the scoping review. Given the goals of transparency and reproducibility, clarity with regard to the methods used to chart the data is paramount. It is recommended that in determining the categories and characteristics used to describe the articles, reviewers use an iterative process. The codebook in Table 1 provides the reader with the definition and description of the data-charting process—the categories and characteristics used to analyze each article included in this scoping review. Table 2 provides the results of our data charting.

Table 2. Categories and Characteristics of Scoping Review Journal Articles

Category	Characteristic	Total	% of all articles (*N*/141)	*N*/X = Category Totals
		N	%	%
Date published*	2011–2020	98	70	n/a
	2001–2010	40	28	n/a
	1994–2000	3	2	n/a
Source of partnership information*	Actual	114	81	n/a
	Idea	27	19	n/a
Authors' scholarly approach*	Qualitative	74	52	n/a
	Project/program description	29	21	n/a
	Conceptual	19	13	n/a
	Mixed methods	6	4	n/a
	Indigenous or decolonial	6	4	n/a
	Program Evaluation	4	3	n/a
	Quantitative	3	2	n/a
Author's positionality*	Direct	82	58	n/a
	Indirect	49	35	n/a
	N/A, not evident	10	7	n/a
Community partners' voices	Not evident	87	62	n/a
	Yes: Total	54	38	n/a
	—Direct quotes	34	24	n/a
	—Coauthored	20	14	n/a
Partner organizational type[a]	Nonprofit	70	50	24
	K–12 Education	39	28	13
	Government	34	24	12
	Faith-based	30	21	10
	Informal organization	28	20	10
	Not evident	25	18	9
	Industry/Business	22	16	8
	Health	22	16	8
	International	20	14	7
Benefit to academic partner[b]	Teaching and learning	80	57	42
	Scholarship	49	35	26
	Service	47	33	25
	Not evident	15	11	8

Table continues on next page.

Table 2 Continued

Category	Characteristic	Total	% of all articles (*N*/141)	*N*/X = Category Totals
		N	%	%
Journal*	*Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement (1996)*	36	26	n/a
	Journal of Community Engagement and Scholarship (2008)	28	20	n/a
	Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning (1994)	24	17	n/a
	Partnerships: A Journal of Service-Learning and Civic Engagement (2009)	18	13	n/a
	International Journal of Service Learning in Engineering (2006)	15	11	n/a
	International Journal of Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement (2013)	14	10	n/a
	Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement (2008)	6	4	n/a

Note. Some percentages do not total 100 due to rounding. Any category with an asterisk denotes a single-choice decision regarding that characteristic. Otherwise, multiple characteristics could be applied to the category. [a] Partner Organizational Category total = 290, [b] Benefit to Academic Partner Category total = 191

Although a best practice in scoping reviews is to present the findings without additional explanation, we deviate from that recommendation. Our reasoning for this decision is based on one of the aims of the article—to make the process transparent for purposes of learning new methods. We also include future areas of research for each category.

Time Period

How has the volume of scholarship on community engagement partnership changed since the first journals of the field were published? We categorized articles into three time periods: 1994–2000, 2001–2010, and 2011–2020. We selected 1994 as the start for the first time period because it is when the first journal was published. The percentage has grown significantly across time periods, with just three articles (2%) published in the first five years, 40 articles (28%) published between 2001 and 2010, and 98 articles (70%) published from 2011 through May 2020. Analysis across these time periods shows that partnerships have gained increased attention. In this way, it appears that scholars *have*, to some extent, responded to calls for increased attention to partnerships. The increase in partnership studies may be, in part, a result of the emergence of new journals. In the first time period (1994–2000), just two of the seven journals in this scoping review had been launched (MJCSL 1994, JHEOE 1996), four had been added by the end of the second time period (IJSLE 2006, Gateways 2008, JCES 2008, Partnerships 2009), and the final one was added in the third time period (IJRSLCE 2013).

Future research might investigate how the partnership literature has changed over time with regard to topics, scholarly approaches, and authorship. For example, how has partnership scholarship increased relative to other topics? In what ways has theoretical grounding or empirical evidence grown over time? Most of the journals have transitioned from early paywalls to access

articles to an open access model. How, if at all, has moving from print to online, and from subscription to open access, corresponded to changes in the number of articles written on the topic within as well as across journals? For example, moving away from print may have allowed some journals to publish more frequent volumes or greater numbers of articles in each.

Source of Partnership Information

Sometimes authors write about a particular partnership; at other times they write about partnerships more abstractly and without reference to any specific one. The large majority of articles (81%) were based on the author's examination of specific partnerships, whereas approximately a fifth (19%) of the articles were written about the topic of partnerships without referencing any particular partnership. Practically speaking, researchers looking for empirical evidence, or ideas grounded in direct observations, need to be able to cull these articles from ones that are based more relatively on abstraction. Future research might use this dataset as a starting point to select articles for a meta-analysis or metareview of findings developed from studies on partnerships.

Authors' Scholarly Approaches

We examined the approaches authors used to develop a scholarly understanding of the topic presented in the article. The overwhelming majority of articles used qualitative research methods (52%), followed by program or project descriptions (21%), and conceptual inquiry approaches (13%). Very few articles presented mixed methods research (4%), Indigenous or decolonial approaches (4%), program evaluation (3%), and quantitative research (2%).

It is important to note that the authors' scholarly approaches are separate and may be different from the scholarly approaches used by participants who may have been the focus of the study. For example, the author may have used a qualitative case study design to examine the partnership facilitating a service-learning course or a course-based undergraduate research project. So, while the scholarly approach of the faculty member may have been a mixed methods research project, the authors of the article used a qualitative approach in their study of that undergraduate research project.

Although it is best practice for scoping reviews to choose categories that are mutually exclusive (i.e., a study can be coded into only one category), we found that, with regard to scholarly approaches, this was difficult to do in many cases. As we discuss later, the development of this category was challenging given (a) inconsistent definitions of the approaches among scholars generally and (b) the imprecise and sometimes entirely absent discussion of methodological approaches offered by authors. Ultimately, the development of the categories, and the assignment of the articles to the categories in particular, often felt like a subjective effort as we looked for and interpreted methods and strategies based on textual clues rather than explicit statements regarding approach. When authors did name their approach to the research (e.g., "This is a case study about . . ."), we respected that naming even if it did not fit with accepted research definitions. Ultimately, through an iterative process of reading articles and reviewing and revising the characteristics and the descriptions of the characteristics, we selected the seven categories to describe the scholarly approaches used by the authors of the articles included in this review.

Given the challenges of studying partnerships due to the varied nature of the partners, their activities, their purposes, the contexts in which they work, and whether the relationships occurred at an interpersonal or interinstitutional level (Janke, 2012), it is helpful to scan articles to understand the research approaches used so others may build upon and refine these approaches for their own studies. Categorizing by scholarly approaches allows one to map the ways that the authors approached their exploration of partnerships, which is helpful for understanding the types of "evidence" (e.g., qualitative, quantitative) brought to bear on the topic. What, if any, research questions were asked, what methodologies and methods were used, how did the scholar decide who to include in their interviews, what artifacts were used, and what compromises were made, given the challenges? Future research might examine the ways that scholarly approaches tend to align to certain disciplines, partnerships, or expected outcomes for the community engagement activity. Future scoping reviews might chart the methods used within each of the approaches.

Authors' Positionality Relative to the Partnership

In articles in which the author described an actual partnership, we sought to understand the relationship of the authors to that partnership. We asked: To what extent does the literature represent perspectives of those on the "inside" relative to those "outside" the partnership? Over half (58%) of the articles were authored by members of the partnerships; that is, the author appeared to play a partner role in the community–academic partnership described in the article. Approximately one third of the articles (35%) were authored by scholars not involved in the partnership. In some instances (7%), it was not possible to determine the authors' positionality, or the article was written as a thought piece in which no actual partnership was described.

The relationship of an author to their area or focus of study can be framed either as an asset or a limitation depending on a reader's own research paradigm (Glesne, 2016). Having insider status and knowledge may be advantageous in that it allows for access, perspectives, and insights that might not otherwise be available. In Indigenous or decolonial approaches, it is, indeed, an essential requirement, as knowledge is generated and stewarded by and through the relationships of the people holding and sharing the knowledge (Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012). In some views and instances, however, relational closeness can be viewed as a limitation. How does the author's positionality affect what they see and how they view and experience the partnership? What is the level of comfort and trust toward the author by the partners or participants involved in the study? Might they elect to not disclose ideas or issues for the sake of the relationship (or lack thereof) with the author? Depending on the scholarly approach and topic, positionality may matter a great deal. Future research might examine how, if at all, the authors' positionality relative to the partnership corresponds with types of scholarly approaches used, the topics pursued, or the outcomes assessed.

Presence of Community Partners' Voices in the Text

Initial coding revealed different ways that the ideas of community partners (i.e., individuals who are actively contributing to the partnership work, but who do this work outside academic positions) were included in the article. Through an iterative process among the three reviewers, we examined the presence of community partners' voices as represented by their coauthorship of the article, or by direct quotes of their spoken words or writings. The presence of community voice, either via coauthorship or direct quotes, was not evident in approximately 62% of the articles. Approximately 14% of the articles had community partners as coauthors (which may or may not have also included direct quotes from them or other community partners), and 24% of the articles included direct quotes of community partners (and no coauthorship).

Knowing whether an article includes community partner coauthorship can, for example, be helpful for research that seeks to understand the contributions of community partner writing to academic literature. Knowing the extent to which manuscripts include the expressed words of community partners is helpful for those who wish to, for example, use discourse analysis to examine the ways in which community partners express their experiences. Scholars working in community–academic writing teams might review coauthored articles for ideas on how to frame their own research and scholarly writing. Future action research might explore barriers to community coauthorship; investigate rationales for what we term "lack of community presence" in community engagement literature; and advocate for pathways for voices and authorship by those actively contributing to the partnership work, but who perform this work outside academic positions.

Community Partner Organizational Type

Faculty, staff, and students may partner with individuals who represent different types of formal and informal organizations. Organizations have different organizational missions, structures, and cultures that meaningfully affect how their members perform their work. Navigating a partnership with a K–12 school versus an informal community group, for example, can yield significant differences in terms of the partner's expectations for how (e.g., policies), where (e.g., multi- or specific-use spaces and resources), and when (e.g., school day, evening, weekends) to work together. When examining the structures, processes, and findings related to community–academic partnerships, it is important to understand this organizational context.

This scoping review shows the range of community partners' organizational settings. We assigned all organizational types mentioned in an article (see the Appendix for actual counts) and found that across all articles, nonprofits were the most represented type (found in 50% of all articles and 24% of all partner organizational types recorded). Approximately a quarter to a fifth of the articles involved K–12 schools, government, faith-based, informal organization, and businesses/industry. The fewest articles included international and healthcare organizations. Notably, reviewers were unable to assign an organizational type to 25 of the 141 articles (18%) due to lack of specific partnership information provided by the authors. Future research and analyses might explore differences within and among partnerships based on the organizational type of the community partners, or why some organizational types are more represented than others.

Benefit to the Academic Partner

Whether the academic partner is collaborating as a function of their teaching, research, or service roles likely shapes key aspects of their collaborative work, such as their purposes, processes, timelines, and resources, among others. From the perspective of the academic partner, we coded for what aspects of the institutional mission appear to be achieved through the activity of the partnership. The majority of articles (57%) described partnerships in which academic partners were engaging students through a course (teaching and learning), and over a third (33%) appeared to be offering service not connected to teaching or research. Approximately a third (35%) of articles involved the academic partner's research or scholarship activity. Not enough information was evident in approximately 11% of the articles to determine the role of the academic partner in the partnership. Future research might explore the broad range of benefits to the community partner, the methods the university uses to engage in pedagogy and learning, and institutional motivations for service and scholarship.

Analysis: A Discussion of Findings and Process

For many scoping reviews, simple frequency counts of concepts, populations, characteristics, or other fields of data will be all that is required (JBI, 2015). As Peters et al. (2020) noted, "Qualitative content analysis in scoping reviews is generally descriptive in nature and reviewers should not undertake thematic analysis/synthesis" (11.2.8). Thematic analysis may be taken up separately, often guided by a research question, such as "How does the publication record vary according to the journal?" or "In what ways, if at all, are articles that are coauthored by community partners more likely to describe community perspectives of the partnership than those authored by academic partners alone?" Or, even more broadly, "How have research questions and methodologies evolved since the beginning of the publication record in the community engagement field?" However, such analysis of the within-article content is beyond the scope of a scoping review, including this one. The contribution provided by this scoping review is the curation of the broad field of evidence (i.e., the partnership article dataset) and the identification and description of key characteristics of that literature at the article level.

At the same time, there are good reasons to incorporate some analysis in this article, especially related to our experiences of conducting the scoping review. Since scoping reviews represent a methodology new to community engagement, analyzing our process may offer lessons to scholars who will consider this method in their future work, including, we hope, expansion and refinement of this scoping review. In this section we analyze our experience in conducting a scoping review of the community engagement literature, which is, in many ways, quite different from the literature found in the health professions out of which the scoping review protocols have been developed and refined. We discuss the challenges in conducting this scoping review, as well as the opportunities we see for scoping reviews in the community engagement field.

Principles and Values as Core Aspects of Community Engagement Literature

We intended to develop understanding about particular types of community–academic partnerships, ones that would meet the criteria for community engagement, as defined by scholars in the community engagement field. Demarcating community engagement partnerships, as defined by the Carnegie Foundation, from other forms of place-based or community–academic partnerships, such as internships, clinicals, teacher placements, and outreach and

extension relationships, is critical to the further development and future maturation of the community engagement field. To the extent possible, we hoped to limit our review to those relationships meeting the definition of community engagement according to the Carnegie Foundation. This definition is similar to other definitions that describe community engagement not only by who (communities and academic partners), but also according to process (reciprocity) and outcome (mutual benefit; see Saltmarsh et al., 2009). This finding is also evident in the scoping review of conceptions of community engagement conducted by Beaulieu et al. (2018).

However, how does one determine accurately and with confidence that the article they choose to include in their scoping review meets the criteria of a community engagement partnership as defined by the community engagement field? Many institutions and journals use a variety of terms to describe partnerships that might be considered for inclusion. For example, scholars in physical education refer to partnerships that meet our established criteria as "service-bonded inquiry" (Martinek et al., 2012), and other fields use terms such as public scholarship (Colbeck & Wharton-Michael, 2006). One might look beyond the term to identify criteria for identifying articles. According to the Carnegie definition used here, one could look for indicators of reciprocity and mutual benefit among community and academic partners (Janke, Shelton, et al., 2019). However, given the limited information often provided about the process and outcomes of partnerships (let alone the partners themselves!), this does not seem a feasible approach. Further, is it possible—or even appropriate—for a researcher who has no direct knowledge of the partnership to make this determination based on the contents of the written word? How do you make this determination if the process or outcomes are not clearly stated?

In an effort to manage the unwieldy and fraught task of determining whether a single article met this criterion for inclusion (i.e., *community-engaged* community–academic partnerships), we chose to screen articles based on the publication (i.e., journal) rather than to establish criteria at the article level. This decision placed a limitation on our scoping review. As community engagement becomes more accepted as a research methodology or pedagogy, more community engagement articles are likely to be published in disciplinary journals. In fact, we note in the Campus Compact *Key Readings on Campus–Community Partnerships* the inclusion of articles published in journals outside the community engagement field. A strategy to conduct a scoping review of community-engaged community–academic partnership across disciplines remains to be developed.

Variability of Scholarly Approaches and Presentation of Works

Per scoping review protocol, we followed an a priori process in which we identified our guiding question and established a protocol for identifying articles. However, the process for establishing, refining, and finalizing categories and codes was deeply iterative and extended throughout the study. The continuously iterative process was necessary, in part, because of the nuances of the concepts related to community-engaged community–academic partnerships but also because few common conventions exist that enable authors to describe the who, what, where, when, why, and how of community engagement partnerships. Who was involved in the partnership and what were their roles? What groups or organizations were partners acting on behalf of? Where are partnerships occurring and what are the institutional affiliations of the authors? Why or through what work role is the academic partner representing their organization—teaching, research, and/or service? How is the author related to the partnership being described?

Because we were interested in understanding the scope of evidence in the field that has been brought to bear in the literature as it relates to community–academic partnerships, we tried to track the methodology and methods used by the authors of the articles. This proved to be much more challenging than anticipated. The first challenge was that numerous articles did not present a methods section or did not clearly state the methodology guiding the research. Although some articles briefly identified their method—case study, for example—this naming was more colloquial and less about reflecting a trustworthy expression of true case study methods. This finding was reinforced by the absence of a conceptual or theoretical framework in those articles.

In reviewing these articles with no methodological or theoretical discussion, we came

to conclude that we needed to differentiate among subsets of articles: (a) those that describe programs but are not considered to be research (project description), (b) those that ask research questions addressed using qualitative methods (qualitative research), and (c) those that conceptually explore a topic or put forth an argument using existing literature, rather than the author's own analysis of a partnership (conceptual scholarship).

It was not always easy to establish which articles used qualitative research approaches, given the varying and limited descriptions of methodologies and methods used. We used various indicators to make judgments, such as whether an author used certain methods or terms typically reflective of a scholarly approach. For example, qualitative scholarship was judged on the presence of references to a research question, theoretical or conceptual framework, the use of the term "case study," or qualitative methods such as observations, interviews, and document or textual analysis.

A notable subset of the articles was primarily descriptive: The authors intended to share their experience of partnering and sometimes shared lessons learned based on their reflections on their experiences, but they did not attempt to develop generalizable knowledge that could be extended to other partnerships as is the purpose of other forms of research. We labeled these program descriptions.

Ultimately, we felt uneasy about the final decisions made about the characterizations of many articles due to the lack of evidence to support our judgments. In these cases, in which we were very uncertain, we created and used categories that suggested not enough evidence was available, recognizing that a lack of evidence in the written word does not imply its absence in the actual partnership.

Through an iterative process of reviewing the articles and revisiting our guiding question, we modified the labels of our categories and characteristics to best reflect our analyses. For example, we changed the category label from *methodology* to *scholarly approaches* to more accurately recognize the diverse approaches describing and examining partnerships—some of which constituted research, many of which did not. We settled on these final categories: qualitative research, quantitative research, mixed methods research, Indigenous or decolonial scholarship, program evaluation, project description, and conceptual scholarship/inquiry.

Positionality

The positionality of each reviewer became evident in the assumptions we made in both the development of the categories and the characteristics developed. For example, in the first iteration, the first author created the category "type of activity through which the partners are interacting: research, teaching, creative activity, or service." Her scholarship on promotion and tenure and institutional change from a higher education perspective had grounded the idea that the important thing to map was the type of *academic* role through which the *academic* partners were engaged. The second and third authors, having their own community perspectives from their roles as community partners currently or previously, questioned the name and description of the category. They offered that this perspective was slanted entirely toward the role of the academic partners (what "hat" does the academic faculty or staff member wear in the partnership?) but did not include the community partners. We decided to rename the category "benefit to the academic partner" to more accurately name what we were actually mapping in this category. That is, there were no characteristics within the category that described the role through which the community partner was engaged, such as through running programs, services, coordinating volunteers, or some other role.

Other instances in which we observed our positions and/or frames were that we did not include categories for institutional types of the higher education partner, such as whether they represented a public or private institution, were 2- or 4-year institutions, or were located in an urban or rural environment, to name a few. We did not seek to describe the position or rank of the academic partners, and we did not track student roles or engagement, such as coauthors, other than noting whether partnerships were connected to partners' teaching roles. Scholars embedded in land-grant institutions and in outreach and extension offices, or those with economic engagement and community development, or in student affairs units, would have brought their own lenses with regard to what aspects of the partnership literature were most important

to collect.

Positionality is present in any and all scholarship—who we are frames what we look for, what we see, and how we see things. In a number of articles included in this scoping review, it was difficult to determine the presence of community voice, or the relationship of the author to the partnership being described. Clear positionality statements would remedy this omission.

Setting Parameters

We made choices about the sources and types of scholarly products to include in this scoping review based on the goals of the review, and also necessarily shaped by feasibility and capacity of the researchers. Our goal, broadly, was to gain a sense of the community–academic partnership landscape as it relates to what has been published on the topic. Even broader, our goal was to develop a scoping strategy for community engagement literature as a contribution to the field, given that it is among the first of its kind (see also Beaulieu et al., 2018).

This scoping review maps articles from seven journals that were available in English, accessible online, and included in lists of community engagement journals commonly listed or hosted by community engagement associations in the United States. *Gateways* was the only journal that purposefully features studies authored by scholars outside the United States and primarily in Australia (many of the editors and associate editors are from Australian universities, though the journal is hosted in the United States). With only a few exceptions, the articles that include international partnerships depict the perspectives of U.S.-affiliated faculty, staff, and students traveling abroad to work with partners from other countries. In this way, the map we provide is situated within the U.S. perspective of academic partners either partnering with communities also in the United States, or with partners from other countries. There are only a few studies in which the academic partners are from outside the United States working with partners who are also outside the United States, such as in their home country. We would also like to see the inclusion of additional journals that likely have much to offer by way of community engagement partnerships (e.g., *Public, Metropolitan Universities Journal, eJournal of Public Affairs*, and *Journal of Community Engagement and Higher Education*) and which were not included due to the extensive time and resources required for this level of scoping review.

Summary

Scoping reviews are relatively new approaches to mapping the existing literature in a field of interest in terms of the volume, nature, and characteristics of the primary research (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). Scoping reviews are different from other types of reviews, such as more commonly used literature reviews and systematic analyses. Their aim and purpose is to map the body of work available on a topic in a field, whereas a literature review selectively presents the scholarship most relevant to a research question, and a systematic review attempts to distill from extant literature the best available research on a specific question. In this sense, scoping reviews stand alone as important contributions to the field, as well as provide a robust foundation for future research and inquiry.

The information brought to light via a scoping review can be quite evocative even though it is the product of a prescriptive process. The review process wherein researchers identify and map key characteristics of the literature serves as a catalyst to see new ideas and spark new questions. So although analysis of content is limited in a scoping review, it serves as an invitation to imagine new research questions. Ultimately, this scoping review provides not only a view of the scholarly literature on community–academic partnerships, but also important insights and directions for future scoping studies within the field of community engagement.

Sharing existing datasets, such as the compendium of articles that have been identified, catalogued, and categorized according to meaningful attributes (e.g., partner type, activity, voice), can lower the barrier for future scholars who wish to conduct a comprehensive literature review for their research on a particular subtopic within the community–academic partnership literature (e.g., conflict management). A compendium is also invaluable to scholars who do not have access to journals behind paywalls. A scoping review, performed in advance of a systematic review, provides authors with a map of the literature landscape, which allows them to refine their selection of articles for inclusion in their own study. Once

the articles have been fully curated, sorted, and described according to key characteristics, researchers can choose among them to determine relevant articles. Enabling this type of access to article topics is a key contribution of this work.

This scoping review of the community–academic partnership in the community engagement literature is the first of its kind. It provides a transparent description of the methods used to conduct a scoping review as well as key descriptive statistics mapping the breadth and depth of the field along key categories. We identified eight mapping categories, creating a codebook, data displays that show how each article was mapped, and a full reference list of articles included in our scoping review. In reviewing the articles, the team identified many challenges in accurately assessing key characteristics of the scholarship, such as the scholarly approach or methodology the authors were using to study partnerships, as well as the organizational type of the community partners. We believe that this scoping review can serve as encouragement, instruction, and a potential source of data for future scoping reviews and other forms of research.

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Data Availability

Access to the data is available at Harvard Dataverse (Janke, Flores, & Edwards, 2021).

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Reconfiguring Knowledge Ecosystems: Librarians and Adult Literacy Educators in Knowledge Exchange Work

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Abstract

Knowledge exchange, also called knowledge translation, mobilization, or transfer, increasingly factors in university strategic plans and funding agency mandates. The growing emphasis on research that includes community engagement and making research knowledge more accessible and useful for nonacademic constituents often brings in knowledge brokers, whose activities promote sharing of research knowledge among different actors. In this article, we consider how librarians and adult literacy educators engage in this work as professionals uniquely positioned to advance knowledge exchange initiatives. Three initiatives in British Columbia, Canada, involve academic librarians and adult literacy educators engaging in knowledge exchange work in transformative ways. We describe how they are reconfiguring knowledge making, sharing, and use with constituents and bridging nonacademic and university communities. This approach disrupts traditional notions of who produces and consumes knowledge and who is an expert while acknowledging how place-based approaches are essential for advancing knowledge exchange initiatives.

Keywords: knowledge exchange, knowledge brokering, university-community-engagement, academic librarians, literacy educators

Knowledge exchange (KE), the sharing of information between two or more people or groups (Shaxson, 2012, p. 2), has become a central focus in higher education, and is rooted in reciprocity and collaboration amongst university and non-academic constituents (Canadian Mental Health Association, 2008; Nathan et al., 2017). Knowledge brokers are important players in KE. Brokers straddle the space between those who produce and those who consume knowledge and thereby contribute to knowledge flow and uptake (Contandriopoulos et al., 2010). In many ways, librarians and adult literacy educators are knowledge brokers, though for librarians, the terms "information intermediary," "information manager," or "embedded librarian" may come to mind more readily.

The terms "information" and "knowledge" are not always synonymous. Buckland's (1991) classic article, "Information as Thing," distinguishes information as an entity (information-as-knowledge; information-as-thing, e.g., documents, objects) and a process (information-as-process, e.g., "becoming informed"; information processing; p. 352). Information may be further differentiated according to its tangibility. For instance, knowledge is intangible, but it can be represented "in the brain in some tangible, physical way" or in information-as-thing, e.g., a manuscript, image, or artifact (p. 352).

These conceptualizations are important in the current discussion. Librarians and archivists, for example, may be more commonly associated with tangible or material

forms of information: collecting, organizing, and storing documents and records in physical and digital information systems; hence the label "information manager."

These professionals can also act as "information intermediaries" to help people become informed (information-as-process), as well as participate in transforming knowledge in their communities and in the cocreation of meaningful representations of knowledge for their constituents. According to Buckland (1991), doing so may involve considerations of "*how* beliefs change . . . or *which* knowledge is represented".

The work of knowledge brokers in research mobilization efforts involves understanding the publishing landscape and local context, building capacity, facilitating relationships, identifying and addressing knowledge gaps, and teaching people how to locate, evaluate, and use information effectively (Howells, 2006; Lomas, 2007; Mallidou et al., 2018; Meyer, 2010). Thus, the competencies and activities of knowledge brokers and library and literacy professionals are indisputably similar.

Van der Graaf et al. (2018) claimed that the role of information professionals in knowledge exchange "has not been fully recognised and is under-researched" (p. 211). Specifically, they found that information managers involved in public health interventions in the United Kingdom were adept at locating, synthesizing, and contextualizing information, and at presenting it in ways that made it digestible. However, the conflicts between economic and health imperatives created barriers to use of this information in decision making. Van der Graaf et al. observed that information professionals engage in information and relational activities but are challenged to navigate organizational cultures to expedite information uptake and use (Shaxson, 2012), illustrating the complexity of knowledge creation, sharing, and use.

University campuses, government organizations, and geographic, cultural, and language communities are rich intra-acting ecosystems that shape how knowledge is privileged, stored, preserved, and communicated. These ecosystems shape and are influenced by human values and activities, and may be insular or incompatible with each other, as per Van der Graaf et al.'s (2018) example. For instance, "research" may be viewed as an independent or collaborative intellectual pursuit by academic faculty, a measure of productivity by universities (Acord & Harley, 2013), a policy driver by governments (Williamson et al., 2019), or a burden by underrepresented communities (Tuck, 2009).

Librarians and literacy educators have long played key roles in the scholarly communication functions of information access, preservation, curation, and dissemination (Borgman, 2010), but legitimizing knowledge outside the academy is increasingly imperative. Community engagement, knowledge sharing, and open access publishing feature heavily in university strategic plans, funding agency policies, and government directives. There is growing expectation—indeed, a mandate—that university research be accountable to and directly benefit society. Consequently, academic librarians are expanding their roles in scholarly communication in community-based settings. Community-based adult literacy educators are also increasingly involved in university–community collaborations in efforts to generate and legitimize local knowledge.

We argue that these professionals are uniquely positioned not only to span the disparate and often disconnected components of the scholarly communication ecosystem that produce and use knowledge, but also to help reconfigure who is a knowledge creator and expert and to mitigate issues of representation, ethics, reciprocity, literacy, and ownership that limit research participation. In this article, we begin by defining knowledge brokering and articulating its connection to the work of librarians and adult literacy educators. We then present cases of knowledge making, sharing, and use that demonstrate the strengths of librarians and literacy educators in facilitating these activities. Our work is motivated by the desire to build the capacity of community groups and researchers to create, find, evaluate, share, and use research, and to facilitate wider access to and use of scholarly research. In doing so, we locate librarians and adult literacy educators in the "transformative act" of brokering, where "brokered knowledge is knowledge made more robust, more accountable, more usable; knowledge that 'serves locally' at a given time; knowledge that has been de- and reassembled" (Meyer, 2010, pp. 120, 123). Although librarians and literacy educators excel at "de- and re-assembling

knowledge," the real transformation is in the ways communities can be empowered to cocreate, share, and use research.

What Is Knowledge Brokering?

A wide variety of terms are used to describe individuals and organizations "whose job it is to move knowledge around and create connections between researchers and their various audiences" (Meyer, 2010, p. 118). These include consultants, knowledge brokers, technology brokers, intermediaries, and bricoleurs (Howells, 2006), but librarians and literacy educators are seldom referenced explicitly. Meyer describes the one-way transmission of knowledge between researchers and their potential audiences. Lomas (1997) underscores building and maintaining relationships between those who produce and use knowledge as integral to brokering, with the bottom line being "getting research used" (p. 131). These and other definitions distinguish producers—those who generate knowledge—and consumers—those who use and benefit from knowledge (Contandriopoulos et al., 2010). Typically, academic researchers, universities, and publishers are positioned as the "socially legitimate" producers, whereas government, policymakers, professionals, and entrepreneurs are consumers who also enjoy "institutionally and socially sanctioned positions"; intermediaries span these two groups and allow information to move between them (Contandriopoulos et al., 2010, p. 455). Absent in this conceptualization are members of the general public, community organizations, cultural groups, and patients in health care. The producer–intermediary–consumer spectrum conveys implicit assumptions about who makes, shares, and uses knowledge; whose knowledge is privileged; who is an expert or authority; and that research is indeed beneficial.

A more nuanced model is that of Shaxson (2012). Shaxson's K* spectrum identifies several roles and associated categories of activities: informational, relational, and system. Informational activities pertain to information access provision; relational activities encourage people to make sense of and use information; and system activities involve shaping sociotechnical systems by means such as publishing or policy implementation. Shaxson positioned four roles along this informational–relational–system spectrum (Figure 1). Beginning on the left are those that focus on getting information to constituents, either in its current form (intermediaries) or in a more accessible or relevant format (translators). Moving rightward on the spectrum, emphasis shifts toward "the co-production of knowledge, social learning and innovation" (Shaxson, 2012, p. 3). This area involves a deeper understanding of the audience, the information they want, and desired formats (knowledge brokers); innovation brokers recognize the value of knowledge held by communities and engage with them in co-creating knowledge.

The K* spectrum is a useful model for considering the role of librarians and adult literacy educators in knowledge exchange. Libraries are a common site of informational activities where, for example, information intermediaries provide access to print and

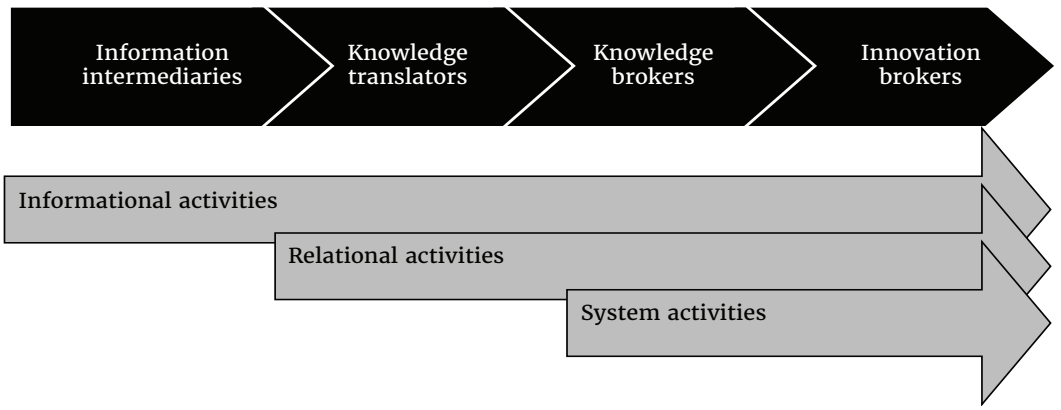

Figure 1. Adaptation of K* Spectrum. Adapted with permission from "Expanding our understanding of K* (KT, KE, KTT, KMb, KB, KM, etc.): A concept paper emerging from the K* conference held in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, April 21–25." by L. Shaxson, 2012, p.13.

digital materials. Literacy educators help translate texts into more accessible formats while also promoting information, reading, writing, and digital literacy skills in their communities (brokering). Librarians and literacy educators also innovate through the development of tools and policies for open education, open access, and open data initiatives, community-focused service provision, and advocacy for digital inclusion.

Although librarians and literacy educators can and do play many roles across the K* spectrum, they may not identify as "knowledge exchange" workers, possibly because they are user- or learner-needs driven and their practices are focused on helping people articulate what they need and supporting them in meeting those needs. This stance differs from one of actively recommending or encouraging uptake of certain messages or types of information, or designing information systems for people without directly asking them what they want to do with such a system (Lankes, 2015). However, the transformation and movement of knowledge are natural outcomes of engaging in service provision, facilitating information access, and providing education and enrichment opportunities. Academic libraries as community spaces are sites of active knowledge exchange where the generation of social capital brings people into contact with each other in the course of daily life (Horrigan, 2018). Meyer (2010) suggested that brokering does not "take place anywhere and everywhere" (p. 119) but is "privileged" to specific spaces (e.g., technology transfer offices). Yet this observation may reflect how knowledge exchange has been formally defined and measured in some settings, such as universities or businesses, rather than its nonoccurrence in other settings, and negates issues of physical and intellectual "safety" required for knowledge creation (Lankes, 2015, p. 48). It highlights the need for place-based approaches to understanding knowledge exchange activities in public and community spaces. Such activities may be informal, tacit, and undocumented, but nevertheless critical to community-based knowledge exchange.

The Importance of Context in Knowledge Exchange Work

Shaxson's spectrum is a useful framework for thinking about the myriad activities and roles in knowledge exchange work. It emphasizes the intersection of knowledge, practice, and policy, and the importance of contextual factors—including geographic, sector and social, cultural, economic, and political environments—on knowledge supply and demand. In recognition of the importance of context, we situate our discussion in cases from our local context of British Columbia, Canada, where we work as academic librarians, university educators, and researchers. Although we are part of different professional and research networks, we are connected through common interests in making research accessible to nonuniversity audiences. This commitment is formalized in the Supporting Transparent and Open Research Engagement and Exchange project (https://storee.ubc.ca/about-storee/), which builds upon and is derived from existing community-based initiatives, including the Making Research Accessible Initiative (MRAi; https://learningexchange.ubc.ca/community-based-research/making-research-accessible-initiative/), a partnership between the University of British Columbia (UBC) Learning Exchange (https://learningexchange.ubc.ca/) and UBC Library's Irving K. Barber Learning Centre (https://ikblc.ubc.ca/initiatives/making-research-accessible/).

The goal of making research accessible to members of marginalized communities that are often the subject of academic research is both complicated and enriched by "top down" and "bottom up" initiatives unfolding in our local communities, at our universities, and at the national level. In our context, many Canadian universities and funding agencies prioritize societal access to research outputs to enhance accountability and relevance, and scholars are encouraged to engage with communities to articulate research priorities and to design studies and interventions (e.g., Government of Canada, 2016; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, 2019a, 2019b; UBC, n.d.). Such top-down mandates lack granularity, however, when it comes to the unique needs, strengths, ways of knowing, and agency of diverse groups, including Indigenous peoples. These groups are, themselves, demanding that research be conducted for and with them, rather than about them; for example, as expressed in *The First Nations Principles of OCAP* (ownership, control, access, and possession; First Nations Information Governance Centre, n.d.) and *Research 101: A Manifesto for Ethical Research in the Downtown Eastside* [of Vancouver] (Boilevin et al., 2019). University

researchers can be caught between funders' and employers' impetus to engage with communities and the reality that research and engagement may be considered unnecessary and unwelcome from the community's viewpoint.

In this context, academia needs to reconfigure research to be more democratic, agentic, and meaningful for people and communities who have traditionally been constructed as research subjects or recipients of knowledge. Thus, we are interested in how librarians and literacy educators participate in the K* spectrum and, more important, how they can transform and disrupt legacy systems related to the conduct, dissemination, and use of research, and how research processes are entangled in issues of literacy, social justice, social inclusion, ownership, ethics, and reciprocity. In the following sections, we illustrate reconfigurations of knowledge making, sharing, and use, highlighting the strengths of librarians and literacy educators in these roles.

Literacy Educators and Research-in-Practice

Our first case is located in literacy education undertaken in the Downtown Eastside (DTES) neighborhood of Vancouver, a community under considerable research surveillance. As of 2017, over 700 research papers related to the DTES community had been published (Boilevin et al., 2019, p. 26). Yet the DTES community does not feel that it has always benefited from this research, as illustrated in reports of repetitive research, limited reciprocity, researcher (rather than community-driven) priorities, and lack of positive impact (Boilevin et al., 2019; Towle & Leahy, 2016). When it comes to research, questions of what has been accomplished and who has benefited are prominent.

Constituents in literacy education programs are often among those who have been marginalized in mainstream research and knowledge systems (Alkenbrack, 2008), resulting in an environment of distrust in research processes. Educators may be uncertain what information might be valued in different communities, given that information is context-dependent and not always integrated into knowledge that can be readily shared or acted upon. Literacy educators, therefore, strive to engage in literacy pedagogies that position constituents as producers of knowledge and that recognize the experiences that learners bring to various texts. They also engage in practitioner inquiry and collaborative research projects to generate and contextualize knowledge close to the settings where information and transformation are most needed (Fenwick & Farrell, 2012; Horsman & Woodrow, 2006).

Literacy Pedagogies

Literacy education supports people to find and make sense of information, but the heart of the work is moving information into understanding and knowledge through critical reading, writing, and discussion. Achieving this outcome calls for experiential and relational pedagogies (Cardinal & Fenichel, 2017) that are diverse in nature but often involve generating knowledge about people's positionalities and relationships to information, making connections between existing schema and new information, and developing learners' confidence in reading different kinds of texts and in viewing themselves as coproducers of knowledge (Auerbach, 2006; Duckworth & Tett, 2019). For example, reading a text about a new research study on the mental health effects of homelessness (a topic that has garnered much research attention in the DTES) can result in frustration that well-established community knowledge around the importance of secure housing is "new" to researchers or policymakers. As community members in the DTES have expressed, "Don't read us the book that we wrote" (Boilevin et al., 2019, p. 16). Engaging with such texts can also prompt people to share traumatic experiences that require skilled, trauma-informed facilitation (Horsman, 2013). Information is entangled in these flows of power and affect, shaping its perceived value and determining its potential for knowledge exchange.

Practitioner Inquiry

Literacy education is anchored in local contexts and information systems, and evidence generated in academic research is often difficult to apply to the real-world lives of learners and education contexts (Horsman & Woodrow, 2006; Niks et al., 2003). The adult literacy movement of research in practice (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009; Horsman & Woodrow, 2006) or practitioner inquiry (Robbins, 2014) addresses this tension by engaging in embedded knowledge-making practices with and for learners. An example of one such practitio-

ner inquiry study is *Improvements . . . No Less Than Heroic* (Alkenbrack, 2007). Alkenbrack, a literacy educator and scholar, works with people trying to stay engaged in literacy learning while contending with substance use difficulties. She documented the ways in which harm reduction methods challenge the abstinence-only approach to working with participants in education settings, and experimented with literacy pedagogies oriented to harm reduction in her teaching context. Alkenbrack describes her process:

> As a practitioner, I also seek out every opportunity to exchange ideas with others in my field and have enormous respect for their experience and wisdom. But for this research project, I was drawn to the [harm reduction] literature, and indeed found it easy to apply to my work in adult literacy. This could be because most of the literature reviewed here is practice-oriented and written by Harm Reduction practitioners, with whom I feel a great affinity. (p. 12)

Practitioner inquiry carried out in this manner is not merely a translation of research findings into local contexts, but also a process for generating new knowledge through practice, experimentation, and reflection.

Collaborative Inquiry

Literacy educators engage in collaborative research with learners to shape and pursue knowledge that is hidden or latent in the community so it can become a trustworthy resource that is mobilized through reading, writing, and storytelling. One example is *Invisible Heroes: Aboriginal Stories from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside* (Bull et al., 2015). *Invisible Heroes* emerged from conversations at the Carnegie Learning Centre about the community leaders who work quietly to lift up fellow community members and build strength and resilience. According to Lucy Alderson, one of the book authors and a facilitator at the Carnegie Learning Centre, there was a desire to

> recognize the significant, invisible work being done by Indigenous community members and their incredible perseverance and resilience, despite the deeply hurtful policies of colonization. We wanted these stories of courage and determination to be the kind of learning materials Indigenous learners would find on our Carnegie Learning Centre shelves, that they might see their lives or their family's lives in this book. As adult educators, we also knew that there was a lot to learn in order to support Indigenous learners and we hoped that this book would improve the context for Indigenous adult learners. We knew that only through a deeply respectful and open-ended process of exploration, supported by Indigenous resource people and Elders, would this knowledge emerge. (L. Alderson, personal communication, June 29, 2020)

Working toward these goals involved engaging in decolonizing methods, honoring Indigenous ways of knowing and researching, undoing stigma, respecting process and ceremony as modes of knowledge generation, and making stories recognizable and accessible within the community. More than a book that documented the lives and work of community leaders, *Invisible Heroes* was also a living resource. Authors presented their work to different audiences, the stories inspired reading and writing activities at the Carnegie Learning Centre and were shared with other community organizations, and some of the invisible heroes (who were not so invisible anymore) assumed new leadership roles in the community.

Making Research Accessible Initiative

The Making Research Accessible initiative (MRAi) is another project connected to the Vancouver DTES community that grew out of conversations about extractive research projects and findings housed behind publisher paywalls (UBC Learning Exchange, 2020). Members of community organizations expressed interest in accessing high-quality research and archiving their own research materials to share with broader audiences in order to promote university–community knowledge exchange. In addition, some community constituents wished to learn more about current projects happening in the DTES, hoping this could lead to more productive research interactions.

In response, the UBC Learning Exchange (UBCLE) initiated a partnership with the UBC Library's Irving K. Barber Learning

Centre (IKBLC) to develop the Downtown Eastside Research Access Portal (DTES RAP). The UBCLE is a nontraditional academic space in Vancouver's DTES that bridges the DTES community and university campus through innovative programming and knowledge exchange activities informed by an asset-based community development philosophy (Towle & Leahy, 2016). The Learning Exchange has been in the DTES community since 1999 and over many years has built strong relationships within the community. The DTES RAP evolved over the course of a 5-year relationship between the UBCLE and UBC Library.

The DTES RAP "provides access to research and research-related materials about Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES) . . . , including academic materials such as scholarly articles and research summaries, as well as materials such as reports, historical documents, and more" (DTES RAP, n.d.). One goal of the DTES RAP is to increase the accessibility and impact of academic research by providing easier online access to information about the DTES. Central to this discussion are the ways in which the DTES RAP creators have considered how research is represented and disseminated using digital platforms, and how the academic librarians involved in the project have needed to both work within and push against entrenched sociotechnical systems.

Reconfiguring Research Dissemination

Research is frequently published in academic books and journals that are not accessible to people outside academic institutions (Piwowar & Priem, 2017). In the early stages of the project, a student librarian was employed and cosupervised by the community engagement librarian in IKBLC and the academic director of the Learning Exchange. Library work included identifying open access scholarly articles and conducting outreach to researchers to expedite the depositing of research items in UBC's open access digital repository, known as cIRcle. Student librarian activities, with guidance from the cIRcle digital repository librarian, included collecting licensing agreements from interdisciplinary faculty doing research in and about the DTES and depositing articles on their behalf, as well as identifying these items as part of the MRAi collection with a geographic location tag: "Downtown-Eastside (Vancouver, B.C.)." During the first 2 years the collection quickly grew from 40 to 300 items archived in UBC's digital repository with support from cIRcle staff and librarians. In 2017, the MRAi, led by UBCLE, also worked with several DTES community organizations to digitize and archive approximately 100 more community-generated items and obtained permissions to archive them in cIRcle.

Through experimentation with UBC Library's infrastructure, different approaches to providing public access to archived materials were tested, including content management systems such as Springshare's Libguides and WordPress. Community consultations with DTES residents and service organizations were conducted to better understand their research culture, information needs, and aspirations for a research portal. Gaps were identified between what the institutional digital repository was primarily intended for—showcasing the intellectual output of UBC and its partners, as well as supporting the teaching, research, and learning activities on campus (https://circle.ubc.ca/about/)—and what people in the community needed: access to alternative and related forms of research, such as clear summaries of research and researchers' contact information. In 2018, the Irving K. Barber Learning Centre provided additional funding and in-kind expertise, enabling UBC Library to lead the discovery, design, and development of a full feature portal and to establish a technical team to support this new phase of the work. This expansion brought additional capacity and expertise to the project, including the systems librarian and the library business support analyst from Digital Initiatives, as well as several designers, developers, and a project manager from Library Information Technology.

Reconfiguring Representation of Research Outputs

In order to provide a better search experience for DTES RAP users and to challenge issues of representation and stigma, the development team created a way for the MRAi to use metadata flexibly and iteratively, freeing the project from requirements to adhere to professional practices and classification schemes such as Library of Congress (LC) or internal Library policies. As one example, a custom topic-based browsable controlled vocabulary was developed to allow the system to better reflect terminology suggested by the community.

This form of accessibility was important, given the anticipated diversity of the portal's audience, which includes community service providers, journalists, social justice activists, and residents, as well as academic faculty researchers, students, and others. For example, the DTES RAP uses the topic "Substance Use" as descriptive metadata instead of the Library of Congress Subject Heading (LCSH) "Substance Abuse," or the more specific "Substance Use Disorders," and the team chose "Housing and Homelessness" over the LCSH's "Homeless Persons" (DTES RAP, n.d.). Many stakeholders, including UBC librarians and technical staff, the MRAi Steering Committee, Learning Exchange staff, and graduate students contributed ideas to the current topic list, which will adapt over time with changing audience needs and the growth of the collection. The act of codesigning topic search terms constitutes a rich KE process in which biases and values embedded in standard classifications are made visible.

Librarians' roles in knowledge exchange in the DTES RAP project unfolded through iterative informational, relational, and systems-related activities that were not set out in advance. Providing access to information through the portal required input from multiple university and DTES community stakeholders. Building and sustaining relationships between people with subject matter expertise and those with lived experience enabled a critical examination of classification as a sociotechnical system that affects community representation and can reinforce stigma. The DTES RAP development process surfaced important questions about who has knowledge, how it is privileged and shared, and the obligations of researchers studying underrepresented communities to ensure their work is accessible to those communities. It also illustrates bottom-up KE, whereby a university initiative was developed in response to community-identified aspirations and challenges around reciprocity and knowledge exchange.

The Community Scholars Project

The Community Scholars Project (CSP) is an initiative that supports people who work in nonprofit organizations in British Columbia to access paywalled and other ebooks and online journals through a dedicated portal (Simon Fraser University Library, 2021). The program was initiated in 2016 at Simon Fraser University, and now operates throughout the province at Vancouver Island University, University of Northern British Columbia, Thompson Rivers University, and the University of British Columbia. The CSP does not seek to mobilize a specific body of knowledge to a well-defined audience; rather, it provides a platform to access publications that are otherwise costly or difficult to access. In this case, we highlight the programming component of the CSP that enhances the sharing and use of scholarly materials by connecting people (to information, to other people) through human-centered design processes that facilitate information use.

Brokering as Connection

Librarians occupy an interesting, liminal position between published knowledge bases, different groups of knowledge creators and consumers, and disciplines. Academic librarians may serve multiple academic departments that require them to develop subject expertise in other disciplines to curate a professional development agenda. As positional outsiders, academic librarians intuitively identify and bring together different pools of knowledge. These skills have served the CSP well.

The CSP coordinators across the five higher education institutions use formal and informal mechanisms to understand the needs, aspirations, and constraints of participants referred to as "community scholars." These activities include coffee visits, phone calls, and the convening of community advisors to provide feedback on the program. Networking activities connect program participants to share concerns or novel ideas, as well as on-campus partners (e.g., community-engaged research groups, public engagement office, knowledge mobilization units) and off-campus communities. Traditionally, academic librarians connect information users to publications in many formats, but to fully support uptake and use in the research cycle, expertise and knowledge acquisition must be recognized as local and dependent upon connecting people to one another. In the context of the CSP, academic librarians convene Journal Club reading groups on topics of interest to multiple community scholars. For example, participants from across multiple organizations come together to connect their own experiences and knowledge with academic publications related to service provision to

older adults, or to women and housing.

Human-Centered Design Processes

Human-centered design is a generative way to conceptualize and add structure to relationships in knowledge exchange work. Human-centered design takes empathy as the first step in the design process, followed by problem definition, then iteration and evaluation of solutions (Dam & Siang, 2018; Thoring & Müller, 2011a, 2011b). This process applies equally to digital and non-digital user experiences, programs, and activities. The design process requires both investigative (research) and generative (brainstorming) skills to understand user contexts. Although librarians have traditionally excelled at the investigative side of things, the creative design components of the discipline have been less recognized and embraced (Clarke, 2019). Adopting human-centered design as a way of working evokes learner-centered literacy (i.e., practitioner inquiry) and codesign of knowledge products, such as the DTES RAP.

As a KE methodology, human-centered design provides opportunity for innovation. Relationships with community scholars help to target work where it is needed and to understand its impact. Community scholars also bring shape and reflection to what can be murky, emergent work. Embedded in human-centered design is an ethos of iteration and versioning—iteration loops that respond to user feedback (Thoring & Müller, 2011b). Performing versioning enables evaluation and modification, encouraging the CSP coordinators to eschew finality and certainty in favor of a developmental mindset. Indeed, using human-centered design as an approach in the CSP is itself an innovation, and was inspired by KE with community scholars at Options Community Services, a local charity. CSP librarians hosted and were among diverse participants (graduate students, community scholars from other organizations, librarians from other library systems) in a board game event created by Options. The event formed part of this community service organization's research and development around enhancing migrant well-being, and inspired process or methodological knowledge (design processes) to be exchanged alongside experiential and research knowledge (about immigrant well-being) in multiple directions.

Facilitation

Centering relationships in our approach to information literacy instruction also serves to support knowledge exchange. Librarianship has been steadily moving away from the deposit model of instruction and toward a constructivist approach, in line with the Association of College and Research Libraries' *Framework for Information Literacy for Higher Education* (2015). Working in traditions of critical pedagogy and critical librarianship allows information professionals to focus on convening and facilitating, rather than demonstrating and telling. Using strategies such as arts-based practices, liberating structures (Kimball, 2012), and world cafés (Brown & Isaacs, 2005), librarians convene conversations that bring together evidence-based and experiential knowledge pools. These techniques can enable cocreation of new knowledge. We also see this side-by-side cocreative facilitation in skillful reference interviews, a common exchange between librarians and patrons to match people with information sources that meet their information needs (Nilsen et al., 2019). Here different domain knowledge, skills, comfort with uncertainty, and mutual questioning can lead in exciting and varied directions.

Discussion

These unique cases reflect adult literacy educators and academic librarians adopting community-oriented, asset-based approaches in their work that reconfigure knowledge making, sharing, and use. Returning to the K* spectrum, the roles of intermediary, translator, broker, and innovator take on new depth through the community-based cases presented in this article and provide insights into why these projects have come about and continue to gain traction. In Table 1, we summarize the ways different roles manifested in each of the case studies, and the kinds of activities associated with these roles.

Each of the case studies demonstrates different informational, relational, and system activities, though they share some similarities. In Case Study 1, the *No Less Than Heroic and Invisible Heroes* projects worked within the local context, celebrated the expertise of community members, and drew upon alternative ways of knowing (in this case, harm reduction and lived experience) to cocreate knowledge with community constituents.

Table 1. Summary of K* Spectrum Roles and Activities in the Case Studies

K* Spectrum Roles	Information Intermediary	Knowledge Translator	Knowledge Broker	Innovation Broker
Case Study 1: Literacy educators and research-in-practice				
Informational activities	Help people locate and make sense of information.	Appreciate learners' context in selecting relevant and relatable texts.	Adopt strategies outside literacy education (e.g., harm reduction) to support learners holistically.	Support learners as knowledge creators (e.g., *Invisible Heroes*) to inspire literacy activities.
Relational activities	Acknowledge power structures and differentials in people's experiences.	Understand learners' positionality to understand how they might view information and its sources, e.g., issues of trust, self-confidence, and expertise.	View lived experience and community-based knowledge as assets. Recognize that information can trigger trauma.	Identify community-based stories and story-tellers. Consider how constituents want to share and preserve their stories (and with whom).
System activities	Access to information.	Local perceptions of credibility and inclusivity.	Involve constituents.	Build capacity, focus on sustainability.
Case Study 2: The DTES Research Access Portal				
Informational activities	Procure research articles and related materials; help authors interpret copyright agreements for self-archiving.	Investigate usability needs of diverse audiences (e.g., academic, nonacademic) and how these differed from institutional repository users.	Critically examine legacy classification systems for their potential to reinforce stigma and bias and create topics based on community-preferred terms.	Engage with community constituents and various stakeholders to evaluate the RAP interface design and list of descriptive topics.
Relational activities	Listen to DTES constituents' perspectives on issues regarding academic research.	Appreciate the needs of diverse audiences (e.g., community service providers, residents) in accessing and sharing research digitally.	Understand systemic biases faced by underrepresented groups and how information systems contribute to and perpetuate them.	Ask for input at key junctures of the process. Move slowly and with intention.
System activities	Support open access publishing and self-archiving.	Improve physical access to and discovery of research materials.	Create iterative and alternative metadata schemes to organize information.	Advocate for slower, more meaningful sharing of research. Focus on sustainable, open access solutions.

Table continues on next page.

Table 1 Continued

K* Spectrum Roles	Information Intermediary	Knowledge Translator	Knowledge Broker	Innovation Broker
Case Study 3: The Community Scholars Project				
Informational activities	Work with publishers to provide access to published materials (behind paywalls).	Organize activities, such as Journal Clubs, to help community scholars (CS) make more meaningful use of published works.	Facilitate networking events to connect community scholars with similar interests.	Participate in events led by community organizations, e.g., Options board game.
Relational activities	Acknowledge gap in community organizers' access to information.	Appreciate that physical access to information may not be sufficient; tailor activities to promote sense making.	Draw upon the expertise and experience of community scholars to allow them to support each other.	Utilize human-centered design processes to assist community scholars in designing programs, activities, etc. to meet client and organizational needs.
System activities	Support open access.	Improve physical access to and discovery of research materials.	Involve constituents.	Build capacity, focus on sustainability.

These projects emphasize that information is more likely to become knowledge when it is shaped and channeled by trusted sources within the community. During the development of the DTES RAP, a mismatch was recognized between the technical requirements for an institutional repository and a community access portal, leading to a consultative, deliberate process of reimagining access to research materials. In addition, librarians sought ways to work with copyright law and scholarly publishing agreements while generating alternative topic vocabulary to legacy classification systems to avoid perpetuating stigma around social issues such as substance use and homelessness. The CSP reflects iterative, creative strategies to foster connections between information professionals, community scholars and their organizations, and academic units beyond the library. These connections enable a deeper, more porous system of knowledge exchange that connects people with resources, including each other.

These three cases highlight how adult literacy educators and librarians played central roles in tangible processes and products of knowledge exchange work: publications produced with and by DTES community members and organizations; the DTES RAP and the partnerships and consultations that informed it; and the Community Scholars Program, with its formal and informal programming and services. These products resulted from long-term efforts, largely in building and maintaining relationships, that allowed the professionals involved to iteratively experiment, problem solve, and evaluate their work. Such process-based initiatives require a commitment not only from the professionals involved, but also from their workplaces to forgo short-term, tangible outputs for longitudinal outcomes and impact. This focus on the long term relates to the system activities highlighted in Table 1. Each of the case studies highlights that access to information is an important component of facilitating knowledge creation, but that this must be viewed as a "two-way proposition": External knowledge is brought to the community, and community-based knowledge is shared within and beyond the community (Lankes, 2015, p. 45). Information and literacy profession-

als drew upon their relational activities to better appreciate constituents' local and personal contexts and how these influenced their perceptions and use of research. Doing so enabled them to make their respective initiatives inclusive, participant-driven, and sustainable.

Librarians and adult literacy educators spanned the roles of intermediary, translator, broker, and innovator—often within the same project—adapting as required for the local context and the readiness of constituents. Guided by core values of access, lifelong learning, service, and social responsibility (American Library Association, 2010), librarians and adult literacy educators are uniquely poised to respond to both top-down and bottom-up forces for change. Working with contextual affordances and constraints, these professionals bring a user-centered orientation and humility to their work that enables the construction of positive, generative relationships, accepts and meets people where they are, and spotlights community needs, priorities, and strengths (Lankes, 2015).

Future Directions

It is useful to note that the formalization of knowledge brokering roles has largely occurred in the health and business sectors (Contandriopoulos et al., 2010; Mallidou et al., 2018). Librarians and literacy educators also work in these sectors, but the terminology associated with knowledge exchange (translation, transfer, mobilization) is not common in North American library and literacy education degree programs. Although knowledge brokers and librarians/literacy educators have significant overlap in requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes (e.g., resourcefulness, integrity, and knowledge of local information ecosystems; Mallidou et al., 2018), librarians and literacy educators do not self-identify as brokers. This may not be problematic given their strong professional identity around service provision and inclusion. It may be detrimental, however, for achieving recognition and further developing skills for the essential roles that librarians and adult literacy educators play in knowledge exchange and the communication of research knowledge.

One direction for achieving this recognition would be to explore where and how knowledge making, sharing, and use occur in library and community education settings. For example, libraries provide maker spaces and labs equipped with production facilities (e.g., video and podcasting equipment). They facilitate access to print and digital information sources, teach people how to use software (e.g., for citation management or word processing) and hardware (e.g., e-readers), educate constituents about publishing processes (e.g., open access, copyright), and show them how to create data visualizations, social media posts, or summaries to share research with wider audiences. Literacy educators experiment with new technologies to create and publish knowledge with people whose life experiences are often overlooked. Community publishing of such stories is a longstanding practice in literacy education that is taking on new life through new technologies, as in digital storytelling (Boschman & Felton, 2020), to circumvent print literacy barriers. The convening of people, technologies, and digital literacy education opens possibilities for more inclusive spaces that build upon storytelling, local knowledge, and community voices. The coevolution of these new literacy and information practices has the potential to reach new audiences.

Another path to pursue is to explore librarian and literacy educator competencies and how these are being enacted in knowledge work, which would enhance formal education and professional development opportunities. Courses taught in library and information science and literacy education programs can be augmented to introduce knowledge exchange concepts and practices, as suggested by Booth (2011). For example, library and information science programs offer courses on scholarly communication that cover topics such as bibliometrics, copyright, intellectual property, and open access. Emerging librarians could examine the informational, relational, and system aspects of each topic, and envision how they can help create and shape local knowledge making, sharing, and use practices; these endeavors can be readily linked to design thinking, which is increasingly used in library information science programs to guide the development of services, programs, and information systems (Clarke, 2019). Professional development opportunities could range from formal (e.g., competencies and standards developed by professional associations) to informal communities of practice, email lists, reading groups, and events for networking, learning, and sharing. The professional development and training of literacy educators can more in-

tentionally include participatory pedagogies, inquiry-based practice, and the potential for new technologies to amplify and share local knowledge. It is also essential that these professionals develop relationships with key constituents within the university who engage in community-based research and knowledge exchange to facilitate university–community connections, as we have seen in the DTES RAP and CSP cases.

Conclusion

The Association of College and Research Libraries defines information literacy as "the set of integrated abilities encompassing the reflective discovery of information, the understanding of how information is produced and valued, and the use of information in creating new knowledge and participating ethically in communities of learning" (2015, Introduction section, para. 5). In outlining their information literacy framework, the ACRL challenges us to remember that authority is constructed and created, and must be questioned in light of "diverse ideas and worldviews." Information has value, and calls upon us to question our "own information privilege" (Authority Is Constructed and Contextual section, para. 4); moreover, research is an inquiry process in which it is imperative to "demonstrate intellectual humility" (Research as Inquiry section, para. 4). Interestingly, dispositions of critical questioning, and recognition of privilege and humility are absent in the listed competencies of knowledge brokers (Mallidou et al., 2018). Librarians and adult literacy educators are uniquely positioned to bring these qualities to knowledge exchange initiatives.

The cases we have described in this article draw attention to the everyday, localized information literacy practices in which librarians and literacy educators engage. These practices open new spaces within scholarship and training to support the growth of knowledge exchange discourses for librarians and adult literacy educators, and enable them to contribute more visibly to understandings of knowledge mobilization within diverse communities, and to question who and what constitutes knowledge "brokering" and expertise. In this way, librarians and adult literacy educators can not only share information resources with a broad array of constituents within and beyond the university campus, but also transform the landscape of knowledge exchange to be more democratic, reciprocal, and meaningful for nonacademic communities.

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Transforming Teaching: Service-Learning's Impact on Faculty

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Abstract

Service-learning has become widespread in universities worldwide, implying an increased number of involved faculty. Many studies document service-learning's impact on students, but only a handful of exploratory studies examine impact on faculty. We offer a focused investigation of positive and negative impacts of service-learning on faculty from an Asian context, based on interviews with 24 faculty members from diverse academic disciplines in a university in Hong Kong. Phenomenological methods are used to summarize the essences of firsthand experiences. Participants' valenced views about service-learning's impact are categorized as dominant positive, mixed, and negative stances. Service-learning contributed to faculty teaching, civic-mindedness, person/values, professional development, and research. Findings suggest that service-learning involvement can benefit more diverse faculty than previously identified. Service-learning is recommended as a strategy for faculty development, and as a means for universities to fulfill their social responsibility and contribute to sustainable development goals outlined by the United Nations.

Keywords: service-learning, faculty, impact, faculty development, university social responsibility

Service-learning is an experiential pedagogy that links academic learning to community needs through organized service and critical reflection. Acknowledged as a high-impact practice (Kuh, 2008), service-learning incorporated in courses and cocurricular programs has become widespread in institutions of higher education across the globe over the past three decades. This expansion implies an increased number of faculty involved in service-learning, and suggests a strong need to understand better how they are impacted by their engagement in service-learning.

Abundant literature now explores service-learning from theoretical, empirical, and practice-oriented angles. Many of these studies examine its impact on students and, overall, present positive findings about its outcomes, academic and professional, civic and personal (Conway et al., 2009; Ngai et al., 2019). Likewise, there are inquiries into how service-learning impacts communities, positive and negative effects alike, often concluding with pointers for more equitable service-learning partnerships and projects (Crabtree, 2008; Cruz & Giles, 2000). A third stakeholder of service-learning are universities themselves. Studies about impact on universities are less common but suffice to show how service-learning poses, on the one hand, a challenge to academic institutions and traditional teaching, and, on the other hand, an opportunity to assume social responsibility and impart civic education as well as real-world training for students (Butin, 2006; Speck, 2001).

At the heart of the university are faculty, its "most costly and valuable resource" (Demb & Wade, 2012, p. 364). For faculty involved in service-learning, the pedagogy often entails a new experience in which they must play the role of "boundary workers"—that is, mediating between higher education and communities (McMillan, 2011). It is reason-

able to suppose that teachers involved in service-learning also receive some impact from it just as students and communities do. As Driscoll noted, "faculty are both influential with, and influenced by, service-learning" (2000, p. 35); Pribbenow similarly commented that in pedagogical innovations like service-learning, "all the players active in the innovation can be affected by the involvement" (2005, p. 35). A recent article by Baecher and Chung (2020) has shown how a service-learning program for teachers can aid their professional development, impacting them personally, critically, and pedagogically. Here, however, we wish to examine the impact of service-learning on those who *teach* service-learning: What are the various ways—positive and negative—that service-learning affects faculty work? Does the experience of teaching service-learning have any impact on the person?

A number of articles address faculty and service-learning; many of them offer recommendations for recruiting more faculty for service-learning, or even advocate better conditions to sustain faculty in service-learning endeavors. These articles examine reasons and characteristics of faculty who engage in service-learning (Antonio et al., 2000; Demb & Wade, 2012; McKay & Rozee, 2004; O'Meara & Niehaus, 2009), factors that deter or motivate faculty to use service-learning (Abes et al., 2002; Banerjee & Hausafus, 2007; Chen, 2015; Darby & Newman, 2014; Ma & Law, 2019; Speck, 2001), and benefits and challenges faculty encounter through involvement in service-learning (Cooper, 2014; Driscoll, 2000; Heffernan, 2001; Kezar & Rhoads, 2001; Losser et al., 2018). Added to these are general explorations of service-learning's impact on different parties (Chupp & Joseph, 2010; Driscoll et al., 1996; Mettetal & Bryant, 2010). Some of these articles and a few others touch on service-learning's impact on faculty (Carracelas-Juncal et al., 2009; Harrison et al., 2014; Pribbenow, 2005). On the whole, these studies have been only exploratory, have limited focus (i.e., impact on faculty work), and study Western contexts. We summarize salient and recurring points found in these studies:

- Service-learning presents itself to faculty as a double-edged sword: Although captivating them with positive outcomes they see in students and communities, it often entails onerous challenges, particularly in terms of time, workload, funding, and support;
- Advocates of service-learning—for whom "the benefits outweigh the costs" (McKay & Rozee, 2004, p. 30)—list faculty gains such as enhancing teaching practice, better connection with students, integrating the three domains of their work (teaching, research, service), and potential to transform their role from expert instructors to engaged co-learners;
- Characteristics of faculty involved in service-learning appear to boil down to (1) student-oriented beliefs or values as educators and (2) some degree of commitment to the community;
- Finally, some academic disciplines are thought to be better disposed toward service-learning than others, in practical, soft, life, or human sciences with social or service orientation—such as health disciplines, social work, and education—more than physical, natural, computing, or engineering sciences, arts, and humanities (Abes et al., 2002; Antonio et al., 2000).

Related to the last point and from a more critical perspective, Butin (2006) has referred to service-learning as a pet pedagogy of the "softest" and "most vocational" disciplines and fields (pp. 479–480), seemingly less compatible with the teaching practices, styles, methods, and assessment procedures of hard sciences. Differing from Butin, Zlotkowski (1998) proposed a faculty development approach, arguing that service-learning can contribute to faculty work by offering faculty members a means to connect and engage with the community in a way that can inform their teaching, practice, and research. Studies attending to faculty experience of service-learning commonly echo Zlotkowski's approach. They point out, for instance, that service-learning helps faculty develop knowledge, skills, and values for engaged scholarship (McMillan, 2011; Peterson, 2009), introduces them to reflective practice (Carracelas-Juncal et al., 2009; cf. Camus et al., 2021), and opens opportunities for interdisciplinary collaborations within and beyond universities (Cooper, 2014; Pribbenow, 2005). Arguably, these matters are beneficial for academics

regardless of discipline.

Our inquiry is situated in this body of literature where service-learning's impact on faculty has been a mere side topic or only tentatively explored. Mostly confined to North American settings and drawn from small sample groups, findings have been inconclusive and hardly generalizable. We believe the topic merits more thorough and detailed investigation, and that more in-depth investigation from a non-Western context may help confirm claims that have been made thus far. It is important to confront both positive and negative impacts on faculty in order to make necessary adjustments for service-learning to be sustainable in higher education. If faculty are able to benefit more from their involvement in service-learning, they will be able to supervise service-learning courses or programs better, and this improvement would redound to better impact on students and communities implicated in service-learning projects.

This article is a focused investigation of service-learning's impact on faculty in an Asian context, particularly Hong Kong. Service-learning was introduced in Hong Kong about two decades ago. It has since become widely adopted in institutions of higher education, and its practice is extending to secondary schools as well (Lau et al., 2022). Nonetheless, research about service-learning in Hong Kong is at an early stage (Shek et al., 2019). We probe into less explored angles by attending to experiences of faculty from different disciplines and with varying initial dispositions toward service-learning. The research is based on in-depth interviews with faculty who teach service-learning in The Hong Kong Polytechnic University (PolyU), where service-learning has been a mandatory, academic credit-bearing requirement of the undergraduate curriculum across disciplines for nearly a decade (Chan et al., 2017). These characteristics of service-learning in the host university bear on the significance of the study in several ways. First, since the majority of the university's departments offer service-learning courses, we were able to gather experiences of service-learning faculty from diverse disciplines of hard and soft sciences alike. Second, implementing service-learning as a mandatory undergraduate requirement necessitated more faculty to teach service-learning than were originally interested. In consequence, faculty we interviewed did not necessarily choose to be involved in service-learning: Some claimed to have no knowledge of nor inclination toward service-learning before being tasked with it in their respective departments. These faculty members offer perspectives about service-learning not contemplated in extant literature, which commonly draws on experiences of faculty who adopt service-learning on their own initiative. Third, the service-learning courses taught by participants of our study were standalone, regular academic courses that were custom designed to meet the service-learning requirement. They were not, in other words, converted from existing courses simply by adding a service-learning component. In this respect, the service-learning experiences of faculty we interviewed can be said to be fuller or more immersive, promising more intensity and detail for a descriptive, qualitative study.

A Phenomenological Inquiry

We were convinced that service-learning's impact on faculty is a theme worth in-depth inquiry and deemed a phenomenological approach suitable for the project. Phenomenology was inaugurated by contemporary German thinker Edmund Husserl in answer to what he saw as tendencies of "cold objectivism" in science and "abstract speculating" in philosophy (Moran, 2000). Phenomenology seeks to ground knowledge of reality on the shared consensus of persons with relevant experience. More a method of knowing than a system of thought, it gives epistemic import to concrete, subjective experiences. Phenomenology rightly takes its name from Greek "what appears" (*phainómenon*) in paying close regard to how things appear to persons with experience. Phenomenology's emphasis on subjective experience helps explain its suitability for "studying affective, emotional, and often intense human experiences" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 28).

As a qualitative method, phenomenology tries to gain insider perspective of a phenomenon—in this case service-learning—by bringing together views of persons with direct, lived experiences of the phenomenon (Groenewald, 2004; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Phenomenology's principal means of data gathering is through in-depth interviews with individuals with relevant experience. Sample sizes are typically small, ranging from three to 25 interviewees, who

should ideally be a heterogenous group to enable the researchers to explore the phenomenon from different perspectives (Creswell, 2013). Essential strategies of phenomenology include (1) bracketing (or "epoche") of researcher prejudices that may distort interpretation of data, (2) immersion in data collected from subjects, (3) channeling efforts toward describing experiences related by subjects while guarding against invasive analysis, interpretation, or imposition of theory, (4) laying out and giving equal weight to collected data ("horizontalization"), and (5) presenting the essence of the experience through a summary of general and unique themes that emerge from the data ("composite description"; Creswell, 2013; Groenewald, 2004; Grossoehme, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

The Researchers and Their Vantage Point

As a first step, we disclose our background and vantage point as the researchers behind the study. We are academic and research staff of the service-learning office of the host university. A large part of our work consists in liaising with and supporting faculty who teach service-learning subjects. Two authors have been teaching service-learning subjects for over a decade; the other two have been directly involved in service-learning in consulting or mentoring capacities. Our firsthand experience of service-learning's effects on students, communities, and ourselves makes us staunch proponents of service-learning—a "prejudice" we are aware of. At the same time, we are not oblivious to the difficulties and challenges faculty face. In fact, we share similar experiences with them and often work with them in the nuts and bolts of service-learning, from finding community partners and sponsors to implementing projects and assessing students. We believe our background contributed to sympathetic reception of experiences related by faculty members participating in the study.

The Research Participants

PolyU is a large, public university where service-learning became mandatory in 2012. Each year, approximately 70 service-learning subjects catering to 4,000 students are offered by over 25 departments. We tried to gather a heterogenous group through purposive sampling by inviting for interview faculty who varied in years of involvement in service-learning and in academic disciplines. We targeted an equal number of participants between those with over 3 years and those with 3 or fewer years of experience, likewise between those from hard and soft sciences following Biglan's (1973) classification of academic disciplines. In view of existing departments in the university and faculty availability, in the end 24 faculty members from 18 departments were interviewed for the study. Table 1 shows the

Table 1. Distribution of Faculty Participating in the Study (N = 24*)

		Hard	Soft
Academic departments		Applied Biology & Chemical Technology; Applied Physics; Building Services Engineering; Biomedical Engineering; Civil & Environmental Engineering; Land Surveying & Geo-Informatics; Industrial & Systems Engineering; Mechanical Engineering	Applied Social Sciences; Chinese & Bilingual Studies; Chinese Culture; English Learning Centre; Nursing; Optometry; Rehabilitation Sciences; Textiles & Clothing; Management & Marketing; Hospitality & Tourism Management
Years of experience in service-learning	≥3	4	8
	<3	4	8

*13 women; 11 men.

distribution of interviewed faculty.

The final distribution of participants is fairly even in terms of years of experience and broadly represents the distribution of faculty across the host institution's discipline areas.

Materials and Methods

The interviews took place between 2017 and 2018, approximately five years after service-learning became mandatory in the host institution. These were in-depth, semistructured, individual interviews lasting 40 to 90 minutes each. To facilitate free expression, the interviews were mostly conducted in the local tongue (Cantonese) and asked broad questions about the topic (cf. Moustakas, 1994). We asked interviewees how service-learning impacts them/their work and followed up their responses to elicit details. The question was pursued until "saturated"; that is, until interviewees had nothing more to add (cf. Groenewald, 2004). When subjects spoke only of positive impact—as often turned out—we prompted for negative impact by asking, "Has service-learning had any negative impact on you/your work?" To better understand the circumstances of each subject, we also inquired about contextual details, such as their work load, the nature and target recipients of service-learning courses they taught, the origin of their involvement in service-learning, challenges they encountered, and whether they felt they received some form of support or recognition for teaching service-learning. Prior permission was obtained from participants to record interviews. Audio-records of the interviews were transcribed into Chinese, then translated into English for non-Chinese-speaking members of the research team. Approval for the research was granted by the university's Human Subjects Ethics Sub-committee (Ref. no. HSEARS20201110007).

Throughout the research process, the researchers immersed themselves in the data through several rounds of listening and relistening to audio recordings, reading and rereading transcripts, initially to get a whole picture of faculty experiences, subsequently to focus on essential points, to verify statements, or to count instances of similar ideas. Horizontalization in this research project took the form of a text-laden spreadsheet where key statements extracted from interviews were presented in 24 vertical columns, one column for each participant. To further organize the data, we placed similar statements in the same row, then assigned appropriate labels for statements in these rows. An untitled row was kept for statements that were too distinctive or too vague to group with other statements. The table thus summarized data as well as stored important details from the interviews. It facilitated the preparation of a composite summary of how service-learning impacts faculty, presented in two complementary charts. The two charts were shared by email with participants as a way of member checking to ensure that these charts captured interviewees' expressed views (cf. Grossoehme, 2014). Since feedback from faculty responding to member checking (11 participants) approved both charts, no further revisions were made.

Results

More Positive Than Negative

The main question interviewees were asked was how service-learning impacts them. The key word "impact" does not carry any positive or negative connotation. Its equivalent term in Chinese Cantonese (*yíng heúng*) is likewise neutral. The valenced responses of participants thus stand out more clearly. Overall, participants tended to describe positive impacts of service-learning on themselves and their work, making it necessary for us to prompt for examples of negative impact in most cases. Such exchanges during the interviews yielded the following results: a good majority (14/24) insisted on positive impacts; a considerable number (9/24) elaborated both positive and negative types of impact; one participant dwelled on negative impacts. We classified these three types of valenced responses as "dominant positive," "mixed," and "negative" stances, respectively. Figure 1 shows the three stances with sample statements.

Dominant Positive Stance

"Participants with dominant positive stance" refers to those who spoke either exclusively or emphatically about positive impacts of service-learning. When prompted for negative impacts, they tended to deny or dismiss these (e.g., "none," "just that," "I don't mind"). In fact, many from this group acknowledged that service-learning courses took up more time and energy than other courses they taught. However, they seemed to manage these well, for instance, through

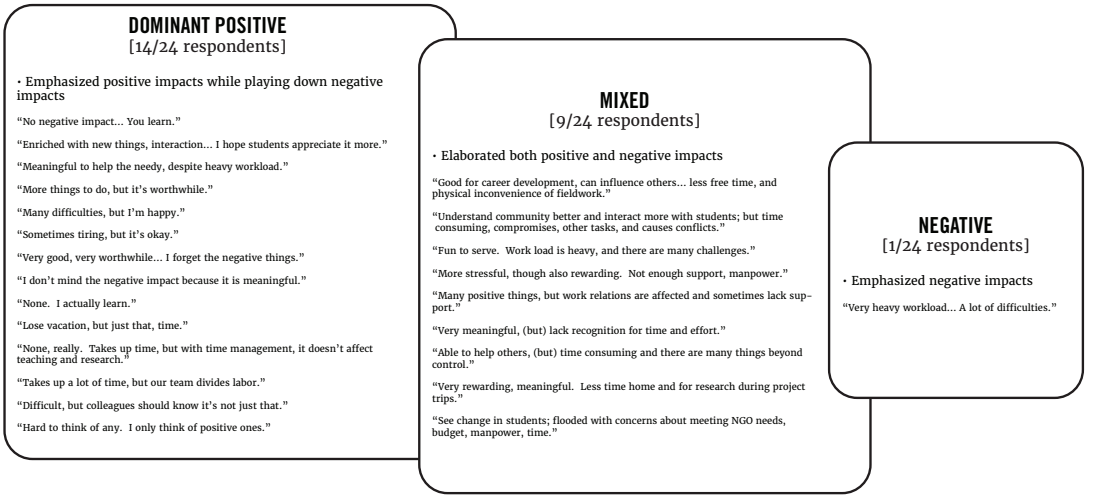

Figure 1. Faculty Stances About Service-Learning's Impact

"time management," "division of labor," or simply by "learning" from experience. Their reasons for valuing service-learning are revealed by words they used to describe service-learning's effect on them as faculty, finding it "enriching," "meaningful," or "worthwhile."

Among participants in this group, it is worth highlighting the experiences of five faculty members—three from soft sciences, two from hard sciences—who were assigned to teach service-learning without prior interest in the task. Further, all claimed to have had little or no experience in volunteering or community service. Precisely for these participants, service-learning constituted a completely new experience, a discovery, as the following statements show:

> The service-learning subject was assigned to me by my department because the one teaching it was retiring. Actually, I study animals, not people! It was challenging to take up this subject in the beginning. However, the more I taught it, the more interested I became. (T7)

> I was asked to teach service-learning. I had no personal reason [to want to do so], and did not have any idea what service-learning was but thought to give it a try. At first I thought it was a burden for students, another requirement they had to fulfill. But later I saw how it helps them change, to think more of and care for others. . . . I want to continue teaching service-learning. (T9)

> I was asked to lend a hand in service-learning, and found that through it I could teach a technique to students which students could use to help others in society. . . . It's fun to serve! I enjoy the process of learning with students, and the experience of using my expertise to help others. (T10)

> I had absolutely no experience in joining community projects. It was only when I started to teach service-learning that I gained that experience. I had to learn little by little. . . . It is worthwhile to teach service-learning, to see changes in the students, to be able to influence them through (my) teaching. (T12)

> I had not been involved in any community project prior to teaching service-learning, although I care for marginalized persons and helped hand out food at church some time. Service-learning entails a lot of coordination and takes up time, but the social impact is a real advantage. Seeing how your field can help society, the contact with society—makes it worthwhile. (T15)

These testimonies are particularly interesting coming from faculty who originally

had little interest in service-learning and community work. They are, in other words, hardly the "type" of service-learning faculty discussed in the literature. The matter suggests that more diverse faculty can thrive in teaching service-learning than those to whom it is supposed to appeal.

Mixed Stance

The smaller group of participants who expressed mixed stance were those who discussed both positive and negative types of impact. In fact, most participants from this group tended to dwell on positive impacts but, with prompting, acknowledged and elaborated negative impacts as well. Like the previous group, participants with mixed stance considered service-learning "meaningful" or "rewarding" for reasons pertaining both to themselves (e.g., career development, drawing closer to students or the community, enjoying serving) and to others (e.g., seeing positive changes, being able to help). Compared to the dominant positive group, however, participants with mixed stance expressed more concern about the time and effort that went into teaching service-learning courses. As they explained, service-learning courses entailed logistics, coordination, and resources, as well as student and project supervision, far more than other subjects they taught. They spoke of service-learning's negative impacts in terms of having "less time," putting up with a "heavy workload," or feeling "stressed." These negative aspects led to secondary effects, such as encroaching on other tasks and commitments, or producing conflicts at work. Two participants from the group also mentioned lack of support or recognition from their departments or students as an adverse effect of service-learning.

To say more about the backgrounds of faculty members with mixed stance: Six are from soft sciences and three from hard sciences; most (6/9) had community or volunteering engagements prior to being involved in service-learning; most (6/9) started teaching service-learning simply because they had been asked to, and the remaining three either proactively offered to teach service-learning or had relevant experiences that left them inclined toward service-learning and considered natural candidates to teach it in their departments. The disparity of backgrounds within the mixed stance group and, likewise, within the dominant positive group suggests that none of the factors that we thought might be important (e.g., academic discipline, community engagement, origin or reason for service-learning involvement, years of experience in teaching service-learning) decisively determined how faculty experienced service-learning's impact.

Negative Stance

Drawbacks of teaching service-learning mentioned by participants in the first two groups seemed, unfortunately, to converge in the experiences related by the participant with negative stance, for whom service-learning meant a "very heavy workload [and] a lot of difficulties." Interestingly, this participant was initially happy to take on the task, having been previously involved in a similar program and years of community service. The participant did acknowledge positive aspects of service-learning experience, such as "learning more about needs, worries and difficulties of students" and seeing desirable "changes in their behavior, capacity for teamwork and communication." However, single-handedly teaching service-learning courses while perceiving little department support proved daunting. We believe the overall negative experience expressed by the faculty member in question deserves as much attention as those of the other groups. It is not difficult to see that under better circumstances the participant could have gained more positive experiences from teaching service-learning.

Types of Impact

During the interviews, participants also shared concrete ways that service-learning impacts them. Figure 2 sums up positive and negative impacts gathered from the interviews.

Positive examples of service-learning's impact on faculty can be classified under five domains: teaching, civic-mindedness, person/values, research, and professional development.

Positive Impacts

Contributions to Teaching. For a large majority of interviewed faculty (20/24), service-learning made a difference in teaching, particularly in helping them to develop more student-centered approaches owing to more frequent and dynamic interactions with students. For example,

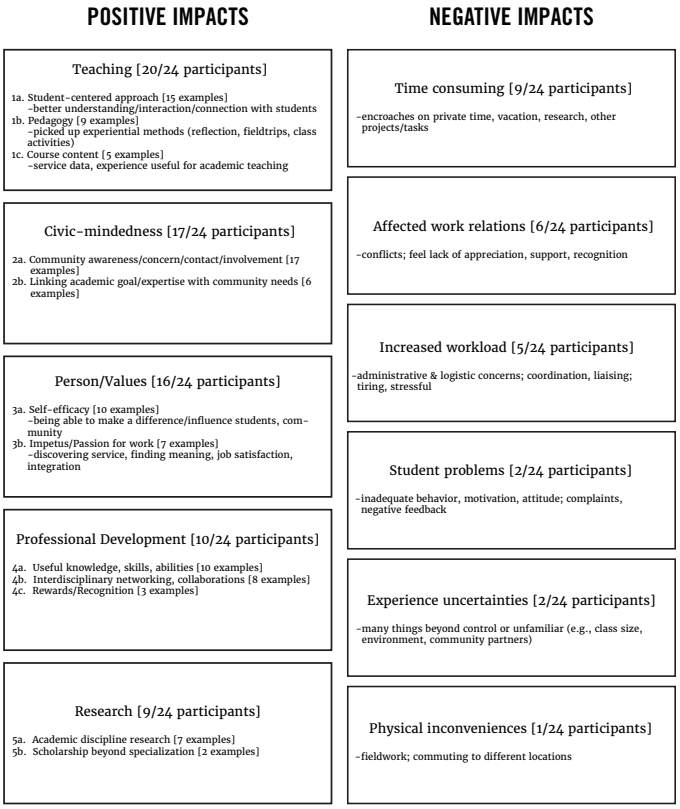

Figure 2. Positive and Negative Impacts of Service-Learning on Faculty

(Service-learning projects) entail more interaction with students. It makes me think of the students, and become more aware of how I communicate with them, manage things, and deal with people. (T12)

In service-learning, you become not just an instructor but also a mentor to students. Because we interact more, I understand them and their learning problems better. I have a more positive view of students from teaching service-learning. I realized that they are not as passive as they seem during lectures. (T13)

Service-learning changed my view of students. They seem passive and quiet in class. But in service-learning, you discover that they can be pro-active and do things you never expected them to do for the sake of service clients—things you don't usually see in campus. (T17)

I understand students better and discover different personalities and backgrounds. I also learned to appreciate and am sometimes impressed by their efforts and creativity in serving. (T20)

Service-learning has made me reflect more on students, on my interaction with them, on how I teach. . . . There's more time for direct communication, they tell you a lot of things, you see each other more, talk more, have deeper conversations during reflective activities. This is all learning for me. (T22)

Another way that service-learning contributed to teaching was by introducing faculty to elements of experiential pedagogy, such as field activities and reflecting on experience.

I learned to use reflection as a teaching method. (T1)

I got exposed to experiential learning, which is so different from book learning. Going out into the community, students understand soci-

> ety more, and learn planning and teamwork in real-world settings. (T13)

> Service-learning made me want to use experiential methods in my other subjects. I now incorporate class activities or field trips in these. (T19)

For a handful of interviewees, service-learning involvement also enhanced the content of discipline subjects they were teaching. Immersing in the community yielded contextualized or up-to-date information that was useful for their classes. As one participant from an engineering field explained, using their expertise to serve the community meant "gaining real life knowledge and examples" (T23). For a language expert, seeing the actual language-learning difficulties of immigrants "gave ideas to develop better teaching tools" (T5). Meanwhile, a participant from health sciences found "data collected from service useful for classes with majors" (T7).

Connecting With Society. Most participants (17/24) also claimed that service-learning contributed to their own civic-mindedness and engagement. Working in communities with community partners and interacting with service clients allowed them to directly witness and comprehend existing problems and needs of various sectors in society, such as senior citizens, migrant groups, low-income families, health patients, and persons with disabilities.

> I would volunteer as a student and have always been concerned for society. Teaching service-learning brought about more involvement and in-depth understanding of elderly clients, our service target. (T3)

> It has helped me understand Hong Kong society better, especially low income sectors. I know more about community environs and can contribute with some of my learning. (T20)

> Service-learning lets students have more contact with the community and learn about others' needs—the same goes for me. (T23)

The examples above are from participants who had some form of community involvement before or besides teaching service-learning. For one faculty member who was "never involved in any volunteering or community project whatsoever," being asked to teach service-learning meant heightened awareness of and engagement in the needs of society:

> Service-learning increased my knowledge of society. Just think, we collaborate with at least nine different community service providers. In the process, we understand actual conditions and service gaps in society, like helping persons with mental disabilities to prepare for old age. Hong Kong has a good health service system and they can count on their families, but their families will not always be around. This is one example of service gaps we are thinking of addressing. (T17)

Other faculty members discovered in service-learning the chance to use their professional knowledge and skills for the benefit of communities, adding, as it were, a new dimension to their academic specialization on top of teaching and research.

> I want to continue teaching service-learning. Making our expertise useful for community clients and seeing their progress is very satisfying. (T5)

> Participating in a free vision screening project in [a developing country] when I was in senior year made me aware of severe eye problems and the need to promote eye care. Now that I oversee a service-learning project for a local community, I came to realize that this need also exists in developed societies. . . . One impact of service-learning on me and my students is being able to contribute to society with our expertise. (T7)

Impact on Person and Values. More fundamental examples of service-learning's impact on faculty touched on personal outlook and values underlying work and life attitude. For a considerable number of participants (10/24), close interactions and tangible outcomes seen in students and communities helped them to appreciate positive influences they could have on

others. Service-learning thus contributed to self-efficacy, as the following examples illustrate:

> Any passionate teacher won't be content with imparting knowledge but would also want students to become good persons. Experiential learning is best for this. I see students change attitudes, take on responsibilities. When they see their teachers go all out in serving, they follow. Lecturing just doesn't "move" students the same way service-learning does. (T6)

> Service-learning is rewarding: you see things your students do for NGOs, and how their work leaves a deep impression on them and changes their attitude. They become more concerned for the environment, some end up doing more volunteer work or taking action. I noticed that my service-learning students have a special regard for me compared to my students in other subjects—perhaps because I inspired some change in them? (T13)

> There are more opportunities to coach students, to develop relationships with them. It makes me happy to see them grow and continue service engagements even after the course is over. (T16)

> I find service-learning very meaningful. Listening to presentations of students' works I realize how much they were able to help others, and this makes me feel that I have made a difference, that I have had an impact on them and the clients we served. (T17)

Another fundamental type of impact was greater impetus or passion for work as academics or educators (7/24). Faculty members who described such experience called to mind tangible outcomes they saw in students and communities that led them to derive more meaning and satisfaction from their work. For some participants, service-learning had the effect of harmonizing different areas of work—teaching, research, and service—or became a way to live up to their values as educators or citizens in a way that produced a sense of alignment between their personal ideals and work, or between their convictions and the university's aims in promoting service-learning pedagogy.

> I find my service-learning subject meaningful. We're able to help the underserved, and students are able to polish their specialization through service. It accords with my objectives as a teacher: to help people, and to train students to teach others. (T5)

> Service-learning has a huge impact on me. It gave a new direction to my teaching. I used to think that teaching was a matter of imparting knowledge and skills, and that teaching and research were hard to combine. With service-learning, I feel like I maximize time, because I am able to teach, research, and contribute to society all at the same time. (T10)

Professional Development and Research. To a lesser extent, service-learning also contributed to professional development and academic research. For professional development, given that service-learning entails more logistics, coordination, and interaction, a number of faculty members (10/24) pointed out that "interpersonal skills," "communication," and "organizational abilities" were put into play and honed through service-learning. Interdisciplinary learning or collaboration was also mentioned by some participants (8/24), who explained that service-learning gave occasion to meet and work with students and colleagues from other departments, as well as with community partners and collaborators from different sectors and fields. Receiving some award or tangible recognition for work was another positive impact of service-learning mentioned by a few participants.

Contributions of service-learning to academic research include publications and research outputs such as conference papers and publications. Among participants with research responsibilities, seven who were mostly from health or social sciences said that their own discipline research benefited or was stimulated by empirical data, experience, or networking gained through service-learning involvement. More expressed interest or intention to link their areas of research with the content or experience of service-learning courses they taught but

felt challenged by time, if not by unfamiliar lines of inquiry. A participant from the humanities, for instance, wanted "to try but found service-learning too different" (T20); another from engineering thought that service-learning was utterly "unrelated to discipline research" in the department (T21). In contrast, at least two participants claimed that service-learning extended their scope of research, one by relating it to a service-oriented field, another by "turning from clinical to educational research" (T4).

Negative Impacts

Time and Workload. Participants also shared assorted negative impacts. A recurring concern was service-learning being "time-consuming" (9/24) to the extent of taking a toll on other work responsibilities or private time. For much the same reasons that service-learning is time-consuming, participants also experienced increased workload and stress (5/24) as negative impacts. It is interesting to note that both aspects of service-learning—being time-consuming and increased workload—were also mentioned by some interviewees with dominant positive stance. The latter, however, did not perceive these as negative impacts but as surmountable challenges or daily grind.

Work Relations. Compared to other academic courses, service-learning requires working more with others, whether a team of subject instructors or assistants or community partners. Service-learning can affect work relations (6/24) by occasioning conflicts with colleagues or collaborators. Relatedly, some faculty felt they lacked support or recognition from their departments and sometimes received negative feedback from students despite the tremendous efforts they put into teaching service-learning courses.

Others. Less cited negative impacts of service-learning on faculty were occasional student-related problems (e.g., lack of motivation, complaints), having to put up with uncertainties (i.e., "many things can happen outside the classroom, things you can't control"—T18), and physical inconveniences associated with fieldwork, such as being exposed to the elements and having to travel to different project sites. Again, these too were mentioned but taken more lightly by participants expressing dominant positive stance.

Discussion

The impact of service-learning on interviewed faculty was generally positive, requiring us to prompt for negative impact in most interviews. Even then, the majority dwelled on positive impact while acknowledging difficulties in teaching service-learning. The matter is particularly interesting when we consider that approximately half of the participants did not have prior interest in service-learning but had merely been tasked with it to meet the demand for service-learning courses as an undergraduate requirement in the host institution. That the result was generally positive while negative impacts were either perceived as ordinary, tolerable challenges or seemed at least tolerable may be attributable in part to the existence of a service-learning office in the host institution that works with faculty in the intricacies of service-learning. A number of sources recommend that universities seeking to boost their social responsibility set up such an office or similar structure to support service-learning faculty (Abes et al., 2002; Antonio et al., 2000; Banerjee & Hausafus, 2007; Chupp & Joseph, 2010; Cooper, 2014).

Teaching is where service-learning made the most impact, in practical terms, by enriching course content with information from community work, by enhancing pedagogy with experiential methods, and, above all, by enabling faculty to develop more student-centered approaches. Service-learning thus promotes a refined approach to learning that brings together pedagogical elements of situatedness, overt instruction, critical framing, and transformed practice (Macleod & Golby, 2003). In this light, service-learning can be said to transform teaching, turning it from a mere "transfer of ideas" to an interpersonal process of assisting mental development that is open to new methods and variegated sources of information.

We saw, besides, examples of positive impact at the more fundamental level of person and values as faculty discovered meaningful contributions they could make to their students and communities and were themselves enriched through synergistic and reciprocal work with students and communities. Related literature often speaks about service-learning's impact on different aspects of faculty work and says little or nothing about how service-learning impacts faculty members themselves. Like

students, faculty too are in the process of maturation as professionals and members of society. Service-learning can be said to transform not only teaching but teachers themselves, by enabling them to find fresh meaning and impetus in their roles as academics, educators, and citizens. As one participant expressed,

> I was originally invited to teach service-learning, and I liked the idea. The more I teach this subject, the more I like it. It's meaningful to witness important changes in students and communities we work with. I used to be only passionate about my research, but working on service-learning projects with students, I realized that I also enjoy being with them. Now I am as passionate about teaching as I am about research. (T19)

Looking at the different types of positive impact as a whole, it is fascinating to note how faculty learning or even transformation through teaching service-learning in a way mirrors student learning or transformation through service-learning. Just as with students, service-learning can contribute to faculty's civic involvement, academic and professional development, and personal growth.

The chief limitations of the study concern the nature and scope of the dataset: It is based on self-reports of a small sample size from a single institution. An important factor to consider when relating our findings to other contexts is that service-learning is institutionalized in the host university of the study. By institutionalizing service-learning, the university recognized service-learning as part of its regular operations and thus had a stake in ensuring the quantity and quality of service-learning activities. On the flip side, institutionalizing service-learning (which, in the host university, came hand in hand with making it an undergraduate requirement) created an urgent need for service-learning teachers from the different departments. Consequently, as mentioned, some faculty were assigned to teach service-learning courses without much choice. In sum, on the one hand, institutionalizing service-learning can enable making various types of resources available to service-learning faculty, such as funding allocation; support for teaching, operations, and research; staff development activities; and a community of practice (Ngai & Chan, 2019; Ngai et al., 2019). Without such institutional support, it is likely that service-learning will be experienced less positively or fruitfully by faculty. On the other hand, more centralized decisions concerning service-learning and its teaching may not fare well in places where faculty are used to having more autonomy over the courses they teach. These contextual details of our research limit the generalizability of our findings. Nevertheless, the concurrences of our findings with literature on the topic may be indicative of applicability to broader contexts.

Our study concurs with literature about service-learning faculty on several points. First and foremost, it is primarily in teaching that academics involved in service-learning experience its benefits, and the greatest motive and reward faculty derive from teaching service-learning comes from what they see in students and communities. On the downside, our study confirms that service-learning has the least impact on research: Notwithstanding possibilities recognized by some participants for relating community-based work and academic research, many understandably felt uncertain about venturing into scholarship that departs from their accustomed themes of inquiry. Participants who did express interest in turning information from service-learning into material for scholarship felt that lack of time constrained developing such research. Those from hard sciences expressed, in addition, difficulty in relating service-learning to their academic research. Further, participants echoed the same drawbacks of service-learning discussed in the literature; in particular, that it is time-consuming and involves much logistics, to the point of being "two to three times more" the workload of other courses by the estimates of faculty we interviewed.

Our study helps confirm these points and offers fresh, qualitative data with lived examples from service-learning faculty. Compared to previous studies, we give a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of how service-learning impacts faculty. Further, interviewing faculty from different disciplines and with varying initial inclinations toward service-learning gives new grounds to second Zlotkowski's (1998) faculty development approach to service-learning. The idea that service-learning is more suitable for soft sciences, or that service-learning practitioners have shared characteristics—student-centeredness and

concern for the community—may relegate service-learning to particular departments or to faculty with particular characteristics. We saw, however, that faculty who experienced positive impacts from service-learning involvement did not have a common denominator. Some were from hard sciences, others from soft sciences. Before teaching service-learning, some were already interested in it or had relevant experiences; others did not. Some were involved in community work; others, hardly or "never." In a special way, it was participants who initially lacked the characteristics of service-learning faculty identified in the literature who were more deeply changed by service-learning involvement. This observation suggests that capacity to teach service-learning can be cultivated, and likewise the attributes associated with faculty who are practitioners of service-learning. In this context, Gibbs and Coffey (2000) called attention to key aspects in training faculty for higher education: nurturing reflective practice, shifting from teacher-centered and content-focused approaches to more student-centered and process-focused approaches, and expanding the repertoire of teaching methods. Teaching service-learning demands precisely these traits and is a valuable opportunity for ongoing teacher development.

Hence, we wish to leverage our findings to make recommendations that seem vital for higher education. The first recommendation is addressed to faculty members: Give service-learning a try. Faculty members, their work, their students, and communities can benefit much from it. Riivari et al. (2020) have shown that pedagogical practices that promote such matters as dialogue, multidisciplinary learning, cooperation, and personal growth can turn the university into a place of meaningful work for both students and faculty. Duly handled and with adequate means and support, service-learning can imbue faculty work with new life and meaning.

On the other hand, study participants' concurring view that service-learning entails far more time and effort than other methodologies cannot be ignored. Notwithstanding overwhelmingly positive views and willingness to put up with increased workload, such a situation extended over time can lead to faculty burnout and, ultimately, make service-learning an unsustainable pursuit in higher education. Our second recommendation is thus an appeal to institutions: Adopt service-learning as a strategy to promote faculty development and to fulfill university social responsibility. This approach would mean channeling adequate resources, manpower, and support for community-based teaching and scholarship. The university is not only a place of learning but also of cultivating engaged citizens, and its social impact is no less important than its research impact. The *Times Higher Education*'s recent adoption of the United Nations' sustainable development goals (SDGs) in its university rankings is a clear recognition of the fact (McPherson & Roll, 2021).

Considering the low impact that service-learning tends to have on faculty research, we address to universities a third recommendation: Encourage or incentivize research that connects to the needs of society at large. There is dire need for higher education to dive into new research agendas related to the SDGs: that is, issues of peace and justice, of public health and poverty eradication, of green environment and sustainable energy—issues that "make the work of universities more relevant to [their] stakeholders" and the public (Skyrme, 2021). The SDGs engage hard and soft sciences alike, and are themes for which different types of service-learning courses and projects can be designed. Faculty and universities seeking more community engagement and social impact may well find in service-learning a powerful means to contribute to the SDGs through teaching and research within the academic disciplines of higher education.

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Declaration of Interest Statement

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

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Developing Teaching Competences With Service-Learning Projects

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Abstract

Service-learning (SL) is an active methodology built onto reciprocal learning that combines social responsibility and academic learning. Changes in students' profiles and the evolving interaction between educational institutions and society have encouraged the use of similar participative methodologies in diverse contexts, including higher education. Although the focus of these projects usually centers on student learning, SL experiences enable a holistic construction of knowledge that also affects instructors. This study analyzes instructors' perceptions on developing teaching competences in SL projects and overcoming difficulties. The current research, based on a mixed paradigm, collected answers to a semistructured questionnaire from university instructors (n = 34) in 12 Ibero-American countries with experience in SL. The results show how instructors rate positively their acquisition of teaching competences (socioemotional, organizational, and technical competences) when organizing SL projects; however, they experience a lack of training in this specific methodology.

Keywords: service-learning, teaching competences, higher education

Service-learning (SL) is, broadly, an experiential education approach built onto the concept of reciprocal learning. Despite calls that go back decades for narrowing the definition—see, for example, Sigmon (1979)—the lack of agreement on its indispensable features has not led to consensus. As Puig et al. (2007, p. 17) pointed out, there is a varied collection of definitions, since their essential features are present in different methodologies, such as civic education, project-based learning, knowledge integration, or community services. These definitions share, however, the view of SL as a pedagogical approach that values learning in collaborative networks.

On the whole, SL projects build upon a participatory goal supported by students. The action must effectively meet the needs of the community and, at the same time, integrate predefined learning objectives. Therefore, SL projects simultaneously commit to community necessities and educational quality. In Sigmon's (1979) words, SL focuses on "those who served and were being served" (pp. 9–10). In this way, SL offers a combined professional and social approach that provides fresh nuances and meanings to academic knowledge and encourages the acquisition of new values such as respect, commitment, and solidarity (Tapia, 2006).

Given these benefits, SL practices have developed extensively within the Latin American context since its early adoption in the 1980s, especially in countries such as Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. Furthermore, values like solidarity with the participating communities have been added to what was initially only a "service," that is, an intervention. "Service-learning" became known as "solidarity service learning." The creation in 2002 of the Latin American Center for Service Learning (CLAYSS, Centro Latinoamericano de Aprendizaje y Servicio Solidario), based in Buenos Aires, was a decisive milestone in the establishment of the methodology in Latin America. In

the European context, the first formal SL initiatives were related to the organization of several forums and conferences, such as the Civic-Educational Forum in Madrid in 2005 or the international conferences in SL for teacher training held in Belgium in 2007 and in Ireland in 2008 (Folgueiras Bertomeu et al., 2013). SL was encouraged in the early 21st century, as it helped address challenges posed by the creation of the European Higher Education Area (Arco et al., 2012; Marquès, 2014).This expansion has shown that, in higher education, the support and participation of institutions are decisive for the success of SL proposals and projects.

Extensive research has been performed to understand the foundations and implications of SL in higher education. Often, the focus of these projects has been on student learning (da Silva & Araújo, 2019; Deeley, 2010; Folgueiras Bertomeu et al., 2013; Rusu et al., 2014), even on reluctant learners (Chan et al., 2019). However, SL builds an overall knowledge that impacts the development of teaching competences just as intensely as it does students' skills acquisition (Rodríguez, 2014). In this sense, universities can invest in the development of civic and social competences of students and teachers to ensure education in life values (Priegue Caamaño & Sotelino Losada, 2016; Torney-Purta et al., 2015). Certainly, research has also tackled task design (Gerholz et al., 2018), the act of teaching, and the necessary teaching competences for making these types of projects happen (Meaney et al., 2008). However, beyond defining the teaching competences that this methodology requires—and there is general agreement on the need for specific competences—little research has been performed on how teachers perceive development of their own competences during SL projects. In this sense, this study pursues two goals: on the one hand, analyzing and describing how teachers perceive their own process of acquisition within the framework of SL projects in higher education; and, on the other, detecting the main difficulties encountered during this process.

Theoretical Framework

The transformation of the informative and communicative scenario (Rodrigues et al., 2018) has permeated educational processes. The contents of this scenario have been transformed into portable, personalized, and participative pieces, with students demanding greater prominence in their education. Therefore, service-learning resurfaces within a socioeducational context characterized by the desire to provide greater agency to students via projects that enable them to acquire knowledge from various areas. SL is thus an active methodological option that encourages the construction of collective knowledge with the creation of a final product that is beneficial for the community.

This relationship between academia and civic development is attached to the paradigm of complexity (Morin, 2007), which considers that education transcends curricular content and must integrate knowledge from various areas. In this respect, SL simultaneously addresses pedagogical and civic development of the involved participants (Tapia, 2006; Zabalza, 2004; Zaitseva et al., 2017). As Furco (2005) stated, SL has the capacity to integrate community and academia and therefore the potential to be key in effective learning. Service-learning seeks to engage individuals in activities that combine community service and academic learning. Since service-learning programs are usually integrated into formal education, the ßservice activity is usually based on the contents of the curriculum being taught (p. 25).

In this way, education becomes a process of committing to a common good with altruistic intention. Proposals must combine projects that are designed to develop suitable dynamics in the host community and likewise foster social responsibility among participants. Thus, participants' work must address the real needs of the context of intervention with the key objective of improving it (Puig et al., 2007).

The profile of the higher educational community has also changed. Currently, institutions cater to a wider range of diverse and multicultural student populations. The development of technology has progressively enabled people to access a university education at different times in their lives. That is, a growing percentage of the population does not pursue their university studies right after graduating from secondary education, as was the rule in earlier decades, but after a period in the job market (Barsky & Dávila, 2002). A growing number of students combine studies and work or simply attend university courses, considering them lifelong continuous education. University students

are now a wider representation of starting ages. In this sense, higher education institutions became ready to welcome this new student population, with their different objectives and expectations (De Miguel, 2005; Schuurman et al., 2016). Academic proposals of SL in higher education respond to the new educational model of universities, which promotes the need to combine academic learning, social responsibility, and training for the general public (Dolgon et al., 2017; Larrán-Jorge & Andrades-Peña, 2015; Rodríguez, 2014; Vallaeys, 2014). Knowledge and skills developed by SL projects respond to the competences established by the Latin American Tuning Project (González et al., 2004), which incorporates civic commitment, sociocultural safeguarding, and environmental preservation as the main bases for improving collaboration between higher education institutions.

These bases have been addressed extensively within SL. For Santos Rego et al. (2018), SL projects are an opportunity for learning in a controlled environment ("for a riskless change"; p. 7), although it requires compromise from universities to address educational challenges, which are not just a few in a connected world, but in a context where in-depth learning will be key in social and individual transformation (p. 7). Social responsibility requires acting for the benefit of society at large, which, in turn, requires training in the emotional aspects of social relations: engagement and compromise, but also empathy and belonging. In this sense, SL projects are "an opportunity to train on a holistic dimension, since they enable us to embrace sensitiveness and emotions, even achieving the same awareness of future graduates as eminently social beings" and therefore go beyond just "preparing students for effective democratic engagement" (Wall et al., 2018, p. 166). Civic engagement favors social repercussion and impact at the community level (Kaye, 2004; Puig et al., 2007). The Latin American Tuning Project defends further benefits for higher education: SL also promotes quality development, effectiveness, and transparency (González et al., 2004). In general, people involved in SL projects see the service as a response to the real needs of a society they have already integrated into—and this applies to teachers as much as to the previously mentioned new university student population. Incidentally, Priegue Caamaño and Sotelino Losada (2016) identified the acquisition of civil–social skills and the development of sensitivity to the needs of the hosting community as the fundamental skills developed by instructors. Therefore, participants emphasize the preservation and restoration of the working environment as a necessary measure in this space of reciprocal collaboration. There is a wide range of possibilities, such as the recovery of cultural heritage, support from educational establishments, collaboration with special needs social groups, or the promotion of awareness campaigns, among others (Gelmon et al., 2018; Puig et al., 2007).

The teaching staff is a key component of effective SL implementation. Marquès (2014) listed "implication and support of teaching staff" as Step 5 of 16 in a proposal for a framework of integration of SL in higher education (pp. 14–15). Undoubtedly, instructors play an active role in SL and thus develop teaching competences. Remarkably, competences are not just a set of knowledge, attitudes, and skills that relate to and enable professional development but also hold a recurrent character with continuous growth; that is, nobody "is" competent forever (Cano, 2008, p. 6). In this regard, SL allows personal growth by addressing a wider purpose: investing an academic, personal, and technical background in the construction of more humane social structures (Villa & Poblete, 2008, p. 12). Navarro et al. (2016) added that a good teacher is capable of reflecting on their own performance and evaluating their level of integration of knowledge, attitudes, and skills to respond to any given pedagogical situation.

Teachers' analysis of their own performance and the identification of the competences acquired in their educational action establish bridges between existing and new knowledge (Bergsmann et al., 2015; Canquiz, 2010). In the case of SL, teachers must be equally aware of the competences they develop as they are of the competences that students could acquire. Therefore, university professors' perception of the competences acquired during SL projects is a decisive aspect of the whole educational process.

Methodology

The current research aims to understand the beliefs of university professors regarding the development of competences, and to identify the difficulties faced during their participation in SL projects. We opted for

a descriptive research design with a mixed and ex post facto approach. In line with the qualitative and quantitative aspects that drive this study, a semistructured questionnaire was chosen for data gathering. The questionnaire included open-ended and closed-ended questions and sought to determine the profile of each of the participating teachers and identify their beliefs about the competences acquired and the difficulties met in the SL project. The questionnaire was therefore designed on a three-dimensional approach: acquired professional competences, population profile, and reported difficulties.

Following the structural basis of the Latin America Tuning Project, the questionnaire initially addressed the following issues: (a) initial training field of lecturers; (b) previous knowledge or training in roles and work distribution of SL projects; (c) competences developed in SL projects; and (d) considerations on social responsibility, civic commitment, and environmental preservation contemplated in implemented SL projects. These indicators helped design a 20-question survey, which has been the main methodological tool. The methodological proposal includes dichotomous closed-ended questions for the most defined topics on the developmental degree of the competences foreseen in SL projects.

The questionnaire content was validated by a professor from the area of teacher training and a professor from the area of research methodology. Both the Portuguese and Spanish versions were pretested. After reviewing and adjusting the design, we sought to define the sample. We proposed an open approach in order to reach an intercultural sample with a wide variety of profiles. This sample would provide contrasting points of view from different professional environments. Therefore, the population was selected on the basis of responses to a post on the LinkedIn social network, which sought teachers who (1) were active in higher education or (b) had participated in a SL project within a university environment.

A post with the survey and the definition of the target population was published in December 2018 on LinkedIn, in Spanish and Portuguese, with the aim of reaching professionals from all Latin American countries, Spain, and Portugal. The online questionnaire was built with Google forms, and it remained open from January to March 2019.

The sample consisted of 34 teaching staff: 23 university professors from Spanish-speaking countries and 11 university professors from Portuguese-speaking countries. Specifically, the research involved professors from Brazil (8), Ecuador (2), Honduras (1), Argentina (6), Peru (2), Paraguay (1), Guatemala (1), Uruguay (4), Colombia (2), Mexico (1), Spain (3), and Portugal (3). Thematic categorization was chosen for the treatment of information and analysis. Content analysis (Bardin, 1991) was applied to identify the respondents' discourse on those competences they believed they had acquired, as well as the difficulties encountered during their participation. Experts came from social science (10 participants, 30% of the total sample), arts and humanities (9, 26%), pure science (9, 26%), and health science (6, 18%).

The research used a hybrid work methodology based on a matrix survey that cross-checked quantitative questions with open questions, enabling more qualitative work in the reading and interpretation of the answers (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). We used Atlas-Ti (Version 8) software for this second stage of content analysis. Quantitative data have been analyzed based on frequencies and percentages. The bottom-up analysis of the answers defines three main categories of competences developed by teachers during the execution of SL projects: technical, socioemotional, and organizational.

Results and Discussion

The acquired competences were defined bottom-up following the responses of the participants. They fell into three categories: socioemotional competences (SC), organizational competences (OC), and technical competences (TC). In addition, each category was divided into further subcategories (see Table 1). The examples in the following subsections demonstrate how each category is interpreted. Participants' statements were originally in Spanish or Portuguese and have been translated by the authors.

If we break down the responses by field of specialization, we notice some differences in the reported competences (see Table 2).

Given the extent of the sample, we cannot talk about significance in diversity, but it is notable that all the respondents in the Social Science group stressed the importance of

Table 1. Reported Competences Acquired by Teaching Staff

Category	SC		OC		TC	
Subcategory	Emotional competences	35%	Support and monitoring projects in general	41%	Development of theoretical–practical knowledge	15%
	Community awareness	12%				
	Empathy	21%	Teamwork and leadership	21%	Specific technical knowledge	26%

Table 2. Reported Competences by Field of Specialization of Teaching Staff

	SC	OC	TC
Social Science (*n* = 10)	**100%**	**70%**	20%
Arts and Humanities (*n* = 9)	67%	44%	56%
Pure Science (*n* = 9)	33%	**78%**	56%
Health Science (*n* = 6)	50%	50%	50%

SC, in comparison to only a third of participants in Pure Science. On the other hand, TC seems to be relevant to a low number of participants in the Social Science field in comparison to other fields. Finally, OC are key in Pure Science and Social Science alike. The results cannot address whether those competences are perceived as unnecessary within the field and therefore not acquired or necessary and thus acquired earlier in the training process.

Socioemotional Competences

Socioemotional competences encompass those that stress the importance of teacher involvement, the need to integrate several agents in the SL project, and interactions and problem-solving through ethical action (Goodman et al., 2015). Some 68% of the participants reported having acquired this type of competence. The following competences stand out in this category.

Emotional Competences

SL project work requires the teacher's involvement in the context and with the participants. Challenging and working with people beyond the classroom is highlighted as an acquired learning outcome by 35% of the participants. Moreover, as initiators of the process, or at least supervisors of a participant, teachers often have to take on the role of coordinators. Not everyone is used to the emotional part of this role.

> Creating the project tests us in every sense, both emotionally, theoretically, and in relation to others. Above all, one learns to overcome uncertainty and to build a shared goal together. (P12)

In addition, teachers confirm that the practical nature of the project triggers a significant change in perception of their direct connections (their own students and children) and a renewed responsibility toward them.

> Preventing our children from becoming easy prey and so ending in the world of crime, in gangs, teenage pregnancy, and so on, since such is the environment in communities like ours. Violence has triggered a change in my vision and attitude toward teenagers in my center. (P3)

Visualizing students as part of the community leads to increasing perception of the situation of that given community.

Community Awareness

Reflecting upon the needs of the community is the starting point for a SL project. For 12% of the participants, the process had modified the way they perceived their communities and realities. Given the effort

to start such a project, participants were already aware of community problems when they started the project but not always of the extent of the problems.

> You think you know the center and the community. But it is not like that. When we started, I was not aware of the struggles my students were going through. When we began to work in the topic of oral hygiene, so many problems arose that it is impossible not to get involved. This was my first Service Learning project and, undoubtedly, the most striking. It moved me so much that, now, my main task is to seek support from institutions that can take part in the projects and contribute, at least a little bit, to this community. (P5)

Teaching staff also concurred in pointing out the high degree of personal satisfaction resulting from their participation in the project. This aspect is directly related to the benefits perceived to have been provided to the community and their institution.

> I think it was very positive, especially because the teachers who participated acquired greater knowledge and awareness about the economic and social situation in rural communities. But also, because we were useful to the community and gained skills for the direct interaction with humble people from our region. (P17)

> One of the benefits that I saw reflected in the community was the project's final product, with the tree planting carried out in conjunction with the families. The rest of the teaching staff became interested with this project, and I'm happy to have participated in this first step. (P26)

In some cases, awareness led to empathy.

Empathy

Contact and involvement with other people's problems can sometimes make us imagine ourselves in somebody else's shoes and understand what others represent (Rockquemore & Harwell Schaffer, 2000). The teaching staff become involved in a proposal and interact with the community through SL, leading to 21% stating that empathy was one of the developed competences in the projects.

> I already had sensitivity and social commitment before participating in this experience, but knowing the situation and the way of life of poor rural communities first hand, my intention of trying to solve their problems was reaffirmed; from then on, I've always tried to do the different works that I've been through, considering the social and economic context my country is living and trying to sensitize the people with whom I have interacted, so that together and from what each person does, we may contribute to the world's transformation. (P16)

Other participants specify changes in attitude derived from their development of empathy and emphasize how academics also become better perceived by the hosting community.

> The approach intends to understand people's perspectives, with mutual learning being a great apprenticeship during the process. (P30)

> I felt like an agent in charge of transforming realities and I felt that the community also envisioned this. (P12)

Organizational Competences (OC)

Organizational competences refer to resource management (i.e., school resources), organization, and coordination (potential of human capital). Planning, organizing, managing, and leading are necessary actions in SL projects. Teaching staff recognize that they have performed organizational tasks within different periods of the project: In fact, 62% of the teaching staff believe they have acquired organizational competences in their experience with SL projects.

General Project Monitoring and Support

Up to 41% of the participants claimed that they developed different competences related to organization and management, like communication.

> Knowledge, organization and

> Pedagogical Guidance in nonconventional environments (Hospital Contexts—Hospital Pedagogy). (P16)

> It has improved my skills in communication, organization, task assessment, teamwork or management. (P4)

> The management, coordination, group guidance, research and the approach of the theoretical framework necessary to sustain the practice and rigor in the organization. All this I developed. (P9)

Teamwork and Leadership

Leadership, as a set of managerial skills to influence a work group, is often different in a SL project than in a classroom. For these skills, 21% of the participants acquired competences related to people management.

> Learning how to work with the communes, which are groups of neighborhoods in my country, understanding that they participate through their leaders, in decisions such as how the money assigned to them by the mayor's office for their projects is to be invested. (P20)

The main challenge (and acquired novel learning) for teaching staff is the involvement of other stakeholders, such as family members and community members, who hold different roles that have a direct impact on the project. Leadership is key. Community involvement stands out as a difference between a common thematic project and a SL project.

> Working with people outside the school demanded much more from me, because they were not in my charge, but simply helped us with the garbage collection process around the school. I had to learn to manage not only the project planning, but the people at all times. (P14)

> What I learned the most was how to manage different groups with the same objective. This is a lesson that I will take to other projects, because it cost me a lot at the beginning, and now I see myself more capable. (P28)

Negotiations of agency and space helped teaching staff develop competences related to teamwork.

> It's just that I had to get involved and direct and think about everyone involved. It went far beyond what I was used to doing in my classroom. Now I feel much more capable of working with groups. (P2)

Technical Competences (TC)

Technical competences are those related to specific knowledge and skills for the development of the SL project. In SL projects, they have an outstanding importance, since new learning is constructed by integrating existing learning (Villa & Poblete, 2008). In our study, 41% of the teachers believed they had developed technical competences during SL projects.

Development of Theoretical–Practical Knowledge

Some participants (15%) highlighted having learned about the specific topics worked on in the projects. They especially emphasized the importance of experiencing practical outcomes of their theoretical knowledge.

> I gained new knowledge, especially in social and nutritional commitment, because not only is the child taught to value what is produced in the community, but also how to promote the production and consumption of natural products to improve our health. In addition, they also teach marketing to children and how to improve the family economy. (P28)

> I learnt about writing linkage projects and how to support agricultural producers, including training and encouraging productivity, topics I did not have personal experience in until the time. (P9)

Specific Technical Knowledge

Other teachers (26%) emphasized some of the technical and pedagogical skills acquired, which are lessons that will facilitate their teacher's work in the future, although these are less related to the project itself.

> The use of technological equipment in municipal tasks is also something brand new for me, since it was required by the subjects I was in charge of. (P7)

> I have acquired competence in learning how to write student reports in a concise and accurate way, respecting students as they are, avoiding projecting myself onto them, and allowing them to be themselves. (P9)

Reported Challenges

Participants identified three main challenges in the implementation of SL projects: first, lack of specific training for the development of SL projects; then, lack of support from their institution; last and to a lesser extent, challenging access to potential communities.

The lack of specific training has been identified as a problem by more than 63% of the participants. Although generally the participation was branded as very positive, and there is wide reporting on developing new competences, participants wished they had had previous access to training.

> If we had received some prior training on how to organize all the phases of the project, we would have finished earlier and with better results. I felt responsible for the stagnation I experienced with my students from nutrition. (P2)

> The lack of training, since there is no school that prepares us as managers for the communities, our development is carried out by personal interest and student integration to an area that attracts the communities, where they can work as part of their social service. The university believes we are prepared to deal with these more organizational aspects, but that is not the case—it was difficult for me. (P21)

Because SL should be of great interest for universities in their role of integrating academic learning for the general population (Larrán-Jorge & Andrades-Peña, 2015), these institutions would be expected to shoulder the burden of promoting and supporting SL projects. However, 57% of the participants reported a lack of institutional support, especially financial or logistical support. Often, participants felt that further support would have encouraged wider intervention.

> Lack of resources for student transportation, sometimes lack of producer collaboration. Lack of technical teaching tutors. (P1)

> The biggest problem was the lack of financial and logistical support on the part of the university to which we belonged. Project logistics and budget were limited, as everything was covered by the students' own economic resources and those of the local farming communities. It took more preparation in terms of teaching materials that could have been designed and brought to the farmers. (P33)

Likewise, working with communities also offers challenges, as mentioned by 10% of participants.

> The contexts of intervention, in some cases, had restrictions of access. (P5)

Given the reported challenges, we could argue that universities had been expected to take over certain organizational aspects, but they did not. Therefore, teaching staff had to develop or felt they had developed OC. Those also would be necessary, to a certain extent, to access novel contexts, another reported challenge.

In general, the answers from the participants point to a greater acquisition of OC and SC. Both closely link to teamwork and project management and to developing empathy with the community (similarly reported as a necessary competence in Priegue Caamaño & Sotelino Losada, 2016). Overall, the acquisition of TC ranks lower in the report. This could be expected if we consider transmitting knowledge as one of the functions of higher education: Participants might believe that they had the theoretical and scientific knowledge covered.

Conclusions

This research aimed to identify the perception of university professors about the acquired competences and the difficulties

found in service-learning projects. The results show a positive vision of acquired competences; participants also reported on institutional support. We now present the resulting conclusions.

First, motivation and conscience about the benefits of applying SL in higher education were common positive results for all the participants. That is, in itself, reassuring and encourages working on or starting similar projects.

Participants also reported having developed socioemotional, organizational, and technical competences and having improved as teachers thanks to their participation in SL projects. We would like to note that this bottom-up categorization seems to be in line with other classifications for competences acquired by SL participants, though probably adapted to a different stage of personal development. That is, Rodriguez (2014) discussed curriculum-related learning, personal development, and social development as key competences; these competences parallel Folgueiras Bertomeu and Martinez Vivot's (2009) classification of learning as conceptual, personal, and civil learning; Priegue Caamaño and Sotelino Losada (2016) discussed the acquisition of academic and personal skills, with the latter encompassing civil learning. In a wider vision, there is content learning and professional/emotional development. The collective responses indicate that for teaching staff, emotional development parallels that of participants; the acquisition of technical competences could be understood as content learning; and organizational competences that go beyond the previous could be understood as specific professional skills. Given teachers' involvement in the design of the proposals, their civic competence is expected to have been high. All in all, divergence on what type of competences had been acquired depending on the field might relate to previous perceptions of what competences are necessary or have already been mastered.

However, participants highlighted the need for specific training in methodology, especially in the educational and organizational aspects. Although teaching staff possess technical knowledge in their specializations, they sometimes lack training in educational methodology to export it to a hands-on project with their students. Pedagogical educational and lifelong training is already a prerequisite for other educational levels, but not all experts in higher education have received training in didactics. Participants perceived a lack of institutional support; such support could extend to include involvement in the analysis of educational needs and the promotion of teaching skills for university staff. In this way, SL projects must be part of the university's educational mission, not just an isolated individual's proposal (as Torres Márquez, 2015 also concluded).

Previous results reflect a widely reported lack of institutional support in similar projects. University social responsibility remains relevant in these types of initiatives, as Ramos-Monge et al. (2019), among others, confirmed. If the institution does not support a formative vision based on civic responsibility and social collaboration, this methodology becomes one of many sporadic individual innovations, limiting the spread of potential benefits to the community. These results indicate that this lack of support is a relevant obstacle during project fulfillment, so stakeholders need to be informed that institutional awareness and access to resource management are required for the projects to generate the expected results.

All in all, participants recognized the lack of specific training for planning and managing SL projects. Therefore, if the university wants to integrate this methodology (and, in general, other innovative methodologies), they must understand that training the staff is crucial. Universities must provide tools and resources that could be difficult for the staff to obtain or develop by themselves.

Incidentally, this training could be developed within a community of practice. A controlled observation of the participants' self-reported efficacy in these competences (before and after the training) could provide valuable input for training design. We envision how some of the acquired competences and educational needs reported in this research might provide guidelines for designing training for teaching staff and other stakeholders. Systematic and in-depth analysis of the statements collected in this research could be a starting point for developing a multi-item scale measuring these competences. Such a tool could enhance the potential for success of future SL projects.

In conclusion, SL projects must be conceived as an institutional proposal beyond the

initial motivation of an individual (teacher or student). In this framework, interventions would be more successful, SL would actually encourage the knowledge transfer integrated in its theoretical and methodological guidelines, and it would benefit all stakeholders: community, students, teaching staff, and the university itself.

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Community–University Partnership in Service-Learning: Voicing the Community Side

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Abstract

Service-learning (SL) activities provide multifarious benefits for students, faculty members, and community members. Although the literature includes considerable research on students' and faculty members' outcomes, it also reports a lack of attention to benefits for community members. This study sought to address this gap, giving voice to community partners of a SL module in Community Psychology. We collected 12 interviews, complemented by a brief questionnaire exploring community partners' understanding of SL, their perception of the mutual gain and reciprocity aspects, their motivations, and their challenges. Results show that open attitudes toward collaboration from faculty members strengthen the partnership; community partners consider the opportunity to be coeducators of students as a motivation for their SL involvement; from the perspective of reciprocity, they also particularly appreciate its generative dimension. Giving voice to community partners offers new and useful insights that can contribute to improving SL community–university partnerships.

Keywords: service-learning, community-university partnership, reciprocity, community organizations

During the last decade, public engagement has been pursued by many institutions. Public engagement can be described as a set of actions intended to promote universities' commitment toward communities through participatory research, teaching, and service activities, which represent ways to implement the third mission of the university (Boffo & Moscati, 2015). The third mission underpins a focus on knowledge exchange and transfer (Cesaroni & Piccaluga, 2016; Rosli & Rossi, 2016) and seeks to generate public value (Bozeman et al., 2015) and societal impact (Fini et al., 2018; Miller et al., 2016). An Italian study on scholars' public engagement (Anzivino et al., 2018) identified two main clusters of public engagement actions: general political engagement (e.g., policy-making activities, publishing scientific articles) and local community engagement (e.g., school activities, public lectures, community activities). In this article, we focus on the latter kind of engagement.

Community engagement can be defined as "a collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (Driscoll, 2008, p.39). The resource exchange is intended to achieve a common benefit, such as improving curriculum, teaching, and learning; preparing educated, engaged citizens; strengthening democratic values and civic responsibility; addressing critical societal issues; and contributing to the public good (Carnegie Foundation, 2020).

According to Thompson (2000), no true community-engaged action succeeds without institutionalization. Higher education institutions need to formally commit to communities, seeking to make community-oriented actions widespread, legitimized, expected, supported, permanent, resilient,

and part of their routine (Kramer, 2000). The introduction of service-learning (SL) into university courses represents one of the actions for community engagement institutionalization (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Martin et al., 2005; Thompson, 2000).

Service-Learning

Service-learning can be defined as

> an innovative pedagogical approach that integrates meaningful community service or engagement into the curriculum and offers students academic credits for the learning that derives from active engagement within community and work on a real-world problem. Reflection and experiential learning strategies underpin the process and the service is linked to the academic discipline. (Aramburuzabala et al., 2019, p. 33)

SL is designed to meet not only the teaching and learning objectives of the university but also the needs identified by the community (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002). In order to promote mutual benefits and be successful, SL needs to tackle four aspects, defined as the four Rs of SL (Butin, 2003):

1. Respect: Students and faculty need to respect the community and its values and recognize other (nonacademic) kinds of knowledge (d'Arlach et al., 2009);
2. Relevance: Activities need to be relevant both for students and communities, and so need to tackle community needs while expanding students' understanding of the world in which they live (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991);
3. Reflexivity: University and community partners should critically reflect on the quality and the diverse components of their relationship. Moreover, reflexivity should always accompany students' journey with fieldwork within SL activities (Jacoby, 2015);
4. Reciprocity: It is one of the foundations of community engagement and consists of recognizing, respecting, and valuing the knowledge, perspective, and resources that each partner brings to the collaboration. In this regard, Dostilio et al. (2012) categorized reciprocity according to three orientations: (a) exchange: the interchange of benefits, resources, or actions; (b) influence: a relational connection that is informed by personal, social, and environmental contexts; and (c) generativity: may involve a transformation of individual ways of knowing and being or of the systems of which the relationship is a part. The collaboration may extend beyond the initial focus as outcomes, ways of knowing, and systems of belonging evolve (pp. 19–20).

Effects of SL on students, faculty members, and community members are multifarious. On students, positive effects of SL concern the acquisition of transferable competencies in both traditional and online experiences (e.g., communication skills, teamwork, critical thinking, and sense of civic responsibility) and academic benefits, such as academic achievements and positive attitudes toward school and learning (Asghar & Rowe, 2017; Bowie & Cassim, 2016; Celio et al., 2011; Compare & Albanesi, 2022; Fullerton et al., 2015; Salam et al., 2017; Salam et al., 2019).

Research on benefits of SL for faculty members suggests that it represents an opportunity to improve research and teaching activities (Able et al., 2014; Darby & Newman, 2014; Farooq, 2018; Phillips et al., 2013) and to promote a sense of self-efficacy among instructors, enhancing teaching ability and instructional productivity while raising awareness about community needs (Kinloch et al., 2015; Stewart, 2012). Furthermore, SL promotes approaches to teaching that enable faculty members to critically think about the applicability of academic theories to real-life problems through the hands-on experiences of their students (Carrington et al., 2015).

According to research, benefits for communities involved in SL projects are various: free consultations (e.g., career, nutrition, business, educational), training, guidance, increased awareness of communities' needs, growth in social and economic capital (e.g., fundraising activities), and many others (Coleman & Danks, 2015; Jarrell et al., 2014; Marshall et al., 2015; Simola, 2009; Weiler et al., 2013).

Community–University Partnership

A community–university partnership (CUP) is "an explicit written or verbal agreement between a community setting . . . and an

academic unit to engage in a common project or common goal, which is mutually beneficial for an extended period" (Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2005, p. 85). CUP is a broad concept that can include community-based research projects, service-learning activities, university–community educational agencies' shared programs, and even community-based training programs (Russell & Flynn, 2001). These collaborations involve different kinds of engagement, operational actions, scopes of activities, and levels of commitments (Strier, 2014).

CUPs are essential to service-learning (Long & Campbell, 2012). Leiderman et al. (2002) emphasized the central role of community partners' perspectives in developing successful CUPs. Furthermore, voicing the thoughts and reflections of community partners allows faculty members to comprehend community partners' motivations and insights about the partnership (Sandy & Holland, 2006), as well as gaining insight into the outcomes of engagement and the community partners' evaluation of them (Hart & Northmore, 2011; Weerts & Sandmann, 2008).

Nevertheless, establishing CUPs may encounter resistance at both the academic and community level. From the perspective of faculty members, a lack of respect for community knowledge, a view of community members as objects of research rather than partners, and an inadequate understanding of the collaboration may occur (Ahmed et al., 2004). For community partners, a lack of communication, negative prior experience, lack of precedent, and the difficulty of abandoning old paradigms can hinder the collaboration (Goldring & Sims, 2005).

Overcoming these barriers is fundamental to enabling the development of positive partnerships. The effectiveness of CUPs is influenced by several elements since it requires the collaboration of people from different sectors to reach a common goal.

Although CUPs do not require equal representation of all stakeholders in all aspects to be acceptable (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002), members should promote and pursue equitability and fairness to prevent distress and misperceptions that may result when one side receives greater (or lesser) benefits. Some elements can sustain a CUP's effectiveness, such as (a) meeting the partnership's set goals, (b) constancy of communication, (c) recognizing the value of the partnership, (d) working toward maintaining partnerships, (e) understanding how community partners perceive the costs and benefits of entering into a community–university partnership, and (f) addressing equity and equality in the partnership and their effect on community partners' perceptions (Leiderman et al., 2002; Worrall, 2007).

When we consider the outcomes related to SL experiences within CUPs, we find that community partners perceive students' activities (e.g., providing mentoring activities, direct services, and spending time with community members) as useful to support organizations to advance their mission while having a direct impact on community members. Moreover, the name recognition of the university brings a positive light to the work of the community-based organizations. Finally, community partners see themselves as coeducators with the university (Budhai, 2013).

Although perspectives of universities on SL teaching, scholarship, and students' learning are well-documented (e.g., Asghar & Rowe, 2017; Bowie & Cassim, 2016; Farooq, 2018; Stewart, 2012), less attention has been devoted to community partners' perspectives (Basinger & Bartholomew, 2006; Bushouse, 2005; Dorado & Giles, 2004; Tryon et al., 2008). There is a general lack of studies that examine the motivations, intentions, and outcomes of SL from the community side (Cruz & Giles, 2000; Matthews, 2019; Schmidt & Robby, 2002; Tryon & Stoecker, 2009), particularly in countries like Italy that do not have a strong tradition of scholarship in SL. The present study seeks to address these gaps and broaden the understanding of CUPs' functioning in the Italian context from the community's perspective.

The Context: Service-Learning at the University of Bologna

The history of SL in Italy is extremely recent. The academic reflection on this methodology at the University of Bologna started in 2015, with the Erasmus+ project Europe Engage. Given the commitment of scholars and the supportive effect of the Europe Engage project, in late 2016 the Department of Psychology started its first pilot experience, developing a SL module for 30 Clinical Psychology master's students. Since that time, SL has continued to grow. To support the SL modules, the university

established community–university partnerships with a number of local social services. The scope of the partnerships grew from one local partner and six SL projects (for one academic module) to 23 local partners and 24 SL projects (for three academic modules) in 5 years.

SL is currently implemented in two master's degree programs within community psychology labs and several baccalaureate degree programs within a transferrable competence course. The academic community psychology's scholars identified SL as a suitable approach to achieve the educational goals of the discipline. Community psychology emphasizes social justice as a core value of the discipline, active participation in promoting social change, and adopting an ecological systemic approach (Evans et al., 2014). It gives special attention to analyzing the role of contextual and systemic factors (including power-related ones) on individuals' trajectories.

Data for this study derive from two SL academic modules that were implemented in the academic year 2019–2020. The modules were offered to 15 School and Community Psychology master's students (a compulsory community lab), and 35 Clinical Psychology master's students (an elective community lab). Both labs offered students 4 ECTS credits and were composed of 10 classroom hours and a minimum of 20 fieldwork hours. Students were divided into 15 projects, designed and coordinated by 12 tutors (or site supervisors). The terms "tutor" and "community partner" are used interchangeably, for in this experience the community partners are also coordinators and practitioners of the local social services.

Activities started in October 2019 and ended in January 2020 with a closing interactive event in which participants presented the results of the SL activities to the community. Given that many community partners worked with young people in (formal and nonformal) education settings, the final interactive event mainly targeted, in addition to practitioners and other community members, high school students, who could benefit from the activities and the solutions university students developed during their SL. The tutors and faculty members met twice before the module (July and September), twice during students' field activities, and once upon completion of the module.

Methods

Participants

The participants were 12 community partners who were involved as tutors of 15 service-learning projects from the Department of Psychology during the 2019–2020 academic year. Tutors were members of organizations located in the same community where a branch of the Psychology Department is based and with which the department had long collaborated. The first time that SL was implemented, the community psychology academic staff proposed that the local welfare service organizations be involved in the SL pilot (as part of an Erasmus+ project). Since then, a regular procedure has been put in place. The community psychology lab academic staff contacted the local community organizations asking if they were interested in formalizing their collaboration within the SL approach. Those who expressed interest received training on SL and were asked to participate in a SL design workshop to prepare a project that could simultaneously meet community needs and contribute to the learning outcomes established for community psychology academic courses. Members of the organizations who participated in the training and the SL design workshop were appointed tutors. The majority were women (n = 7, 58%). Age ranged from 28 to 63 years (M_{age} = 43.6; SD = 10.48). The tutors' professional activities were distributed as follows: 46.7% education (i.e., pre–after school activities, school training); 40% social services (i.e., homeless or foreign services); and 13.3% healthcare (i.e., harm reduction or prevention services). Most tutors had previous SL tutor experience (n = 9, 75%). The rest (n = 3, 25%) experienced SL tutorship for the first time.

Instruments and Procedures

To collect data, semistructured interviews and questionnaires were used. Interviews aimed to investigate tutors' understanding of the SL methodology, their level of satisfaction with their role, the overall perception of the mutual gain and reciprocity aspects, and suggestions on further implementation of the SL experience. For the online survey an adapted version of the end-of-program survey (Shinnamon et al., 1999), originally designed for faculty and here customized and implemented for tutors, was used (Appendix A). The survey

measured the following dimensions.

- Being a tutor: motivations. To grasp the motivations underlying their participation in SL projects, tutors were asked to choose the most relevant responses among eight items (e.g., What are the reasons that led you to collaborate with the university to carry out a Service-Learning project? Curiosity; I wanted to try something new; I wanted to contribute to the professional training of future psychologists; etc.). There was also one open-ended item.
- Being a tutor: relationships. To understand the perceived quality of the relationship between tutors, students, and faculty, six items were used, with a 5-point scale of agreement: 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *completely* (e.g., I felt supported as a tutor by the university faculty; I saw myself as a point of reference to the students).
- Being a tutor: difficulties. To investigate the perceived effort in managing some situations and activities, tutors were asked to rate eight items according to their perceived level of difficulty on a 5-point scale: 1 = *very easy*, 5 = *very difficult* (e.g., Facilitate students' reflection; monitor students' activities in the field). Additionally, tutors were asked to choose the most relevant responses among seven items (e.g., What are the most relevant difficulties you encountered? University time constraints, students' training, etc.). There was also one open-ended item.
- SL effects and benefits. To assess the perceived benefits of SL activities for both community partners and community organizations, tutors were asked to choose the most relevant responses among seven items (e.g., Students' involvement in your organization had an impact on the following: Raised our public profile because of university involvement; students brought new energy to the organization; etc.).
- Additionally, tutors were asked to write about the positive and negative effects of the community–university partnership in two open-ended questions.
- Service-learning. General questions on SL were also included. Participants responded to seven items with a 5-point scale of agreement: 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *completely* (e.g., SL positively contributed to students' education; SL should be implemented in other departments). One open-ended item asked for general thoughts on the experience or suggestions, and a closing item asked their interest in continuing their collaboration with the university (yes/no answers).

Interviews were conducted with the community partners between December 2019 and January 2020. Participants were contacted via emails and phone calls and invited to participate in an interview about their experiences in the service-learning projects. All interviews were conducted face-to-face, except for one phone interview, and lasted approximately one hour.

The online survey was administered in January 2020 to all tutors. Tutors were given the link to fill out the survey at the end of the interview, as we wanted to provide tutors with an anonymous instrument to add some final reflections on their general feelings about the activities. One respondent forgot to submit the answers at the end of the survey. Unfortunately, due to the anonymous nature of the survey, it was impossible to trace the missing participant.

Analysis

Quantitative Data Analysis

Descriptive analyses were conducted on the questionnaires' data: Mean values, frequencies, and SDs were measured for each dimension. Pearson's correlation was also computed. The free-form text segments were converted into quantitative data through a quantitizing process (Sandelowski et al., 2009). Each response was pasted into a blank spreadsheet. Three categories were identified from the responses to the survey questions and assigned to columns of the spreadsheet: positive aspects, negative aspects, and implementation. After we read all the responses, subcategories were recorded and each segment coded, linking each response with categories and subcategories.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Interviews were recorded, with the tutors' consent, and then transcribed verbatim to allow for analysis. Qualitative data were encoded for thematic analysis using a template approach, as outlined by Crabtree and Miller (1999). This process required the application of codes to organize the corpus for subsequent in-depth analysis. In this study, the template was generated a priori, following the research questions. Four main themes were outlined for the code manual: SL perceptions, tutorship experience, reciprocity, and further implementation of the experience.

Two coauthors read the transcriptions of the interviews independently, testing the applicability of the predefined codes to the raw text. Although initial comparison of the results showed no need for recoding, different sections of text had, in some cases, been assigned different codes. Therefore, reflective sessions seeking to clarify the in-depth meaning of the raw text were conducted to resolve all discrepancies. The in-depth analysis outlined the existence of two additional themes. The first emergent theme is inherent to the relationship between the faculty and the tutors (i.e., the quality of the relationship and its maintenance). The second one builds on the effect of continuity on the partnership quality (i.e., improvement of activities, gaining experience, deepening SL as a teaching methodology). Upon completing the categorizing of the transcribed interviews, specific themes were outlined.

Results

The results section presents tutors' perspectives using quantitative and then qualitative data, with quotes from the interviews providing a more accurate understanding of participants' experiences. The Discussion section integrates findings and elaborates on them.

Quantitative Results: Descriptive Statistics

Being a Tutor: Motivations

As the frequencies reported in Table 1 show, the main motivations indicated by participants were "positive prior experiences with students" (88.9%) and "want a connection with the university" (80%). Other reasons included "curiosity" (62.5%), the "need for further resources" (66.7%), and "contribute to the training of future psychologists" (60%). A minority also listed "reflection on my work" (44.4%), "try something new" (37.5%), and "encouraged by my colleagues" (37.5%).

Being a Tutor: Relationships

High mean values, reported in Table 2, indicate a positive perception of the relationship between tutors and students, as well as between tutors and faculty.

Being a Tutor: Difficulties

As shown in Table 3, the mean values concerning the level of difficulty perceived by tutors are relatively low. Items (e.g., evaluate students) that involve tutorship activi-

Table 1. Frequencies of Tutors' Motivations

	N	%
Positive prior experiences with students	8	88.9
I wanted a connection with the university	8	80.0
Need for further resources	6	66.7
Curiosity	5	62.5
I wanted to contribute to the training of future psychologists	6	60.0
I was looking for a way to reflect on my work	4	44.4
I wanted to try something new	3	37.5
I have been encouraged by my colleagues	3	37.5

Note. *N* = number of respondents; % = percentage of answers.

Table 2. Mean Values of the Quality of Tutors' Relationships	
Range 1–5 (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *completely*)	M(SD)
I was able to develop a good relationship with the students in the SL course.	4.91 (0.30)
I was able to develop a good relationship with the university staff.	4.91 (0.30)
Because of this experience, I am more interested in developing an extended partnership with the university.	4.82 (0.41)
I felt valued as a tutor by the university.	4.55 (0.52)
I felt supported as a tutor by the university.	4.45 (0.69)
I saw myself as a point of reference to the students.	4.36 (0.51)

Note. M = mean value; SD = standard deviation.

Table 3. Mean Values of the Level of Difficulty Perceived by Tutors	
Range: 1–5 (1 = *very easy*; 5 = *very difficult*)	M(SD)
Share with students confidential information regarding users	2.64 (0.67)
Evaluate students	2.27 (0.65)
Create and structure the activities	2.27 (0.65)
Participate in the presentation of activities/project for students	2.27 (0.65)
Participate in monitoring meetings	2.27 (0.79)
Facilitate students' reflection	2.18 (0.87)
Participate in the closing event of the activities	2.09 (0.83)
Monitor students' activities in the field	2.09 (0.83)

Note. M = mean value; SD = standard deviation.

ties that are common for different kinds of experiences (e.g., internship, volunteerism) have lower SD values. Conversely, items linked to "participatory activities" that are specific to SL experiences (e.g., facilitate students' reflection) have higher SD values.

More than half of the participants (60%) rated students' training and orientation as the most relevant aspect to tackle, whereas 50% of tutors reported the human, physical, and economic resources needed to carry out the SL activities as being a major critical point (Table 4).

SL Effects and Benefits

Participants indicated that the main benefit of the collaboration (Table 5) was the new energy brought by students to the organization (100%), followed by the chance to network with other community agencies (70%). Additionally, more than half of the participants indicated the benefits of raising their public profile because of university involvement (60%) and the increased awareness of working procedures and approaches (54.5%). The ranking of perceived benefits and effects of the CUP suggests that organizations value students' contribution to the creation of new ways of knowing and doing (cf. *influence reciprocity*, Dostilio et al., 2012) and the possibility to create new networking opportunities (cf. *generative reciprocity*, Dostilio et al., 2012).

More than 80% of participants (n = 9) answered the question on the positive effects of the CUP. As frequencies in Table 6 show, more than half of the respondents (55%) identified the exchange of resources (cf. *exchange reciprocity*, Dostilio et al., 2012) as one of the most relevant positive effects of the CUP. Only 36% of participants (n = 4) answered the question regarding the negative effects of CUP. All the respondents (n = 4, 100%) identified time commitment as the most demanding challenge.

Table 4. Frequencies of the Most Relevant Difficulties Experienced by Tutors

	N	%
Training/orienting students	6	60.0
Human, physical, and economic resources needed (used)	5	50.0
Time constraints of the academic world	4	40.0
Time devoted to students' supervision	3	30.0
Supervision of students	1	10.0
Communication with university faculty	0	0.0

Note. N = number of respondents; % = percentage of answers.

Table 5. Frequencies of SL Effects and Benefits Reported by Tutors

	N	%
Students brought new energy to the organization	11	100.0
Facilitated networking with other community agencies	7	70.0
Raised our public profile because of university involvement	6	60.0
Increased awareness of working procedures and approaches	6	54.5
Facilitated our access to academic resources	1	11.1
Saved me and my organization money, thanks to the presence of additional staff	1	10.0
Made me more aware of some of my prejudices	1	10.0

Note. N = number of respondents; % = percentage of answers.

Table 6. Frequencies of the Positive and Negative Effects of the CUP

	N	%
Positive effects of CUP		
Collaboration with students	2	22.0
New points of view	2	22.0
Training of future professionals	1	11.0
Professional enrichment	1	11.0
Networking enrichment	1	11.0
Exchange of resources	5	55.0
Negative effects of CUP		
Time commitment	4	100.0

Note. N = number of respondents; % = percentage of answers.

Service-Learning: The Learning Dimension

High mean values, reported in Table 7, suggest that tutors consider SL useful not only for students but also for community organizations.

Almost half of the participants (45%; *n* = 5) answered the open-ended question on the SL implementation (Table 8). Sixty percent of respondents (*n* = 3) suggested "additional time" (meaning more hours devoted by students to service) as one of the ameliorative actions for CUP implementation. Other suggestions were related to "SL implementation in other departments" (20%), "partnership's formal recognition" (20%), and "maintenance of closing interactive events" (20%).

On the final item (Would you be interested in continuing your collaboration with the university?), all participants answered positively (Yes, *n* = 11, 100%).

Quantitative Results: Correlational Analysis

Correlations, reported in Table 9, suggest that the perceived usefulness of SL for students' education supports the belief that SL should be implemented within more courses (*r* = 0.624) and the intent to develop extended CUPs (*r* = 0.624). Course goals' clarity is highly correlated with "positive prior experiences with students" (*r* = 1.000) and negatively with the idea that SL saved the organization money (*r* = -1.000). The item "positive prior experiences with students" negatively correlates with the belief that SL saved the organization money (*r* = -1.000). The belief that the community benefited from SL activities is positively correlated with the idea that the SL program made the university more aware of the community's needs (*r* = 0.694).

The feeling of being valued as tutors by the university positively correlates with the perception of being a point of reference to the students (*r* = 0.690). The perceived support from the university negatively correlates with the difficulty of supervising and monitoring students' activities (*r* = -0.745; *r* = -0.604). The interest in the development of extended CUPs negatively correlates both with access to academic resources (*r* = -1.000) and the difficulty of participating in monitoring meetings (*r* = -0.772). The motivation "I wanted a connection with the university" positively correlates with the creation of good relationships with the university staff (*r* = 0.667). The item also positively correlates with willingness to contribute to the training of future psychologists (*r* = 0.756) and negatively correlates with the difficulty of devoting time to students' supervision (*r* = -1.000).

Overall, quantitative results depict positive perspectives on the SL experience and suggest that the presence of healthy

Table 7. Mean Values of Tutors' Perception of Service-Learning

	M(SD)
SL should be implemented into more classes and programs at the university.	4.82 (0.41)
The goals of the course were clear to me.	4.82 (0.41)
SL students have been able to accomplish their assignment in my organization.	4.73 (0.47)
SL positively contributed to students' education.	4.64 (0.51)
SL experience helped students to see how the subject matter they learn in the classroom can be applied in everyday life.	4.45 (0.52)
The community served by our organization benefited from the activities of the SL students.	4.45 (0.93)
Participation in the SL program made the university more aware of the needs in the community.	4.09 (0.70)

Note. M = mean value; SD = standard deviation.

Table 8. Frequencies of Suggestions Concerning Service-Learning Implementation

Needs for CUPs implementation	*N*	%
Partnership's formal recognition	1	20.0
Maintenance of closing interactive events	1	20.0
SL implementation in other departments	1	20.0
Additional time	3	60.0

Note. N = number of respondents; % = percentage of answers.

CUPs can act as a multiplier, boosting the networking capacity of involved organizations. Reciprocity is the core gear of the CUP mechanism; it represents major benefits even when respondents are asked to answer open-ended questions (see Table 6). In this regard, correlations suggest that tutors are aware that reciprocity is not equal to economic gain (e.g., course goals' clarity and positive prior experience with students negatively correlate with the belief that SL saved the organization money), but it means something different. Moreover, tutors established positive relationships with students and faculty members as reported in Table 2, and these relationships seem to be a protective factor to cope with the commitment that SL entails, as low rates in Table 3 and the correlations between the perceived support from the university and the difficulty of supervising and monitoring students suggest. Finally, quantitative results also suggest that SL is beneficial for higher education institutions according to community partners' perspectives. SL makes the university more aware of community needs while gaining "coeducators" who can contribute to the training of future practitioners.

Qualitative Results

Service-Learning as an Opportunity

Participants frequently defined SL as an opportunity at different levels.

An opportunity for the organization, in terms of professional enrichment and innovation of practice. SL is perceived as an encounter between different perspectives that enables revitalization and confrontation. Moreover, they appreciated being coeducators of the students by introducing them to the organizations' mission and letting them experience a different role within the community.

> For us, SL is an opportunity to share our work with other people, and to educate them. It is also a great opportunity for me to share and discuss my activities with other people, students represent an outlook on what I am doing, since they give me continuous feedback, either positive or negative. (I_3)

An opportunity for students, in terms of gaining experience through practice in real-world contexts, learning what the field has to offer in terms of resources and occupational opportunities.

> SL is a great opportunity for university students, that can learn about realities in the field, experiencing what they can potentially do in their future job. Training students to tackle the world of work is a university's duty, so this is a very good thing. (I_5)

An opportunity for community members to engage in different roles and establish different relationships.

> We realized that these informal moments [with university students doing SL] enable our kids [the users] to disclose a bit more about themselves. Therefore, for us, they [the informal moments with university students] become a tool to understand our kids' competencies that, usually, in a wider classroom-context, do not emerge. (I_4)

Tutorship Experience

Participants described the SL tutorship as a valuable experience that offered opportunities to learn something new (e.g., updated knowledge and renewed practices). Among experienced participants, positive outcomes

Table 9. Correlation Values

Items	1	3	4	6	7	8	10	11	12	13	14	16
SL positively contributed to students' education.	1											
SL should be implemented into more classes and programs at the university.	**.624***											
The goals of the course were clear to me.	.134	1										
The community served by our organization benefited from the activities of the SL students.	.386	-.289	1									
Participation in the SL program made the university more aware of the needs in the community.	.386	-.289	**.694***									
I felt valued as a tutor by the university.	.069	.043	-.149	1								
I felt supported as a tutor by the university.	-.341	-.033	-.042	**.633***	1							
I was able to develop a good relationship with the university staff.	-.239	-.149	-.194	.346	.219	1						
I saw myself as a point of reference to the students.	.179	-.134	.251	**.690***	.341	.239						
Because of this experience, I am more interested in developing an extended partnership with the university.	**.624***	.389	-.024	.516	-.033	-.149	1					
Positive prior experiences with students.	-.250	**1****	-.205	-.250	-.250	-.125	-.125	1				
I wanted a connection with the university.	.102	-.250	-.271	.102	.102	**.667***	-.250	-.189	1			
I wanted to contribute to the training of future psychologists.	-.089	**-.272**	-.089	.167	.609	.408	-.272	-.250	**.756***	1		
Difficult to supervise students.	.218	.111	-.145	-.408	**-.745***	.111	.111	[a]	[a]	-.408	1	
Difficult to devote time to students' supervision.	-.048	.218	.190	-.356	-.488	-.509	.218	.189	**-1****	**-.802****	.509	
SL saved me and my organization money, thanks to the presence of additional staff.	.218	**-1****	.218	.272	.248	.111	.111	**-1****	.189	.272	-.111	1
Facilitated our access to academic resources.	-.500	.125	-.125	-.395	.287	.125	**-1****	.143	.218	.316	-.125	-.125
Difficult to participate in the monitoring meetings.	-.481	-.143	.087	-.399	-.067	.115	**-.772****	**.693***	.192	.152	-.062	**-.681***
Difficult to monitor students' activities.	.325	.351	-.187	-.356	**-.604***	.036	.054	.555	.371	-.147	**.762***	-.441

Note. *The correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).
**The correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).
[a] Calculation impossible to perform because one of the variables is constant.

were linked to the tutor role. They were pleased with the experience and expressed satisfaction with the tasks accomplished and the quality of communication. Moreover, a sense of group cohesion emerged: The tutor explicitly referred to his/her relationship with the students as a team.

> Everything was good in both projects. Students were very helpful, and we had great communication. This doesn't mean that they liked or understood what I was doing all the time, but I'm at ease with describing us as a team. I have learned something from this experience. (I_3)

In contrast, inexperienced SL tutors struggled to carry out and to coordinate the activities as they had never filled this role before.

> It was tough because it was my first time as an activities coordinator. I mean, it happens to have volunteers to coordinate in my work. However, structuring and thinking of meaningful experiences for and with students was pretty complex, to be honest. (I_5)

The correspondence between students' interests and organizations' goals, their resourcefulness, and their academic preparation made "easy and natural" the welcoming process from the very beginning.

> I think that there has been a connection from the very beginning, a sort of imprinting. Students were very engaged; they had their own interests, and my projects met these interests. (I_3)

All participants expressed their satisfaction with being part of the CUP as tutors, and some as coeducators.

> I'm satisfied since there has been a positive collaboration between the SL student and us operators, the volunteers' group, and the spectators [citizens who took part in the initiatives of the organization]. Especially, I'm happy that the student was able to engage with three levels of interaction. (I_12)

In participants' experience, tutorship can't be a random, informal experience. It needs commitment and specific skills (e.g., time and project management) to be meaningful and useful for both communities and academics. A tutor offers some insights on what is needed from the organization side to work with the projects/students most productively.

> To be a tutor in a SL project, you need various competencies, such as knowing how to manage time, how to design projects and activities. I do not think that in every organizational reality there are spaces or sets of activities that can be uprooted, packaged, and proposed randomly to people. (I_11)

Reciprocity

Participants offered several examples of different orientations regarding the concept of reciprocity (Dostilio et al., 2012). At the exchange level, tutors indicated that SL offers the ability to increase the number of services offered, reaching more users or delivering more specific activities (e.g., qualitative and quantitative research).

> Being honest, some of the activities were possible thanks to SL students. We accepted more clients [for our educative after school program] knowing that they would be here this year. (I_6)

At the influence level, interviewees identified the ability to blend the acquired knowledge and experience that derives from SL activities with the know-how of the organization.

> Last year, SL students defined an observational grid [that I adopted in my work routine] and then gave me detailed feedback on my work. They surveyed teachers and I never did that before. Teachers' answers were very interesting and helped me to reflect on my practices. I keep in mind everything I've learned, even now that I'm once again by myself in the classrooms. But now I have a satchel of new knowledge, that I tested with the SL students, and I can work differently. (I_2)

At the generative level, respondents identified SL with the ability to innovate practices

and shared the perception that SL experience allows the emergence of a new culture that supports the work of community partners and the university.

> This kind of collaboration allows on-site training for university students and to scaffold a virtuous circle between research and practice, that mutually nurtures each side, university and civil society. Together we create culture. (I_3)

Further Implementation of the Experience

Participants proposed several actions to improve future SL experiences. One suggestion was to mix students from different programs to bring different competencies within the activities.

> Next year, I would like to mix Clinical Psychology students and School and Community Psychology students within the same project. I think that it'd help them to integrate different competencies. (I_8)

> I think that involving other departments would represent a further step. It would be interesting to have SL teams composed of psychology students, engineering students, and architecture students to create multidisciplinary groups. (I_8)

Other participants suggested implementing SL experiences in other cities.

> It would be nice to have SL not only in this city but also in other campus branches giving other regions the possibility to benefit from SL activities. (I_7)

Additional time and longer time spans were reported by respondents as one of the major changes needed to guarantee an improvement of SL activities for both communities and students.

> Maybe, there is little time for students to deeply understand the organization and the inner sense of our activities. Being here for a longer time could let them be more confident in our classroom activities, raising their efficacy. (I_2)

Participants that were new to SL suggested providing tutors additional training to better tackle the activities.

> A few hours workshop to improve our competencies of how to manage projects and time, monitor and communicate results, would be useful. I think that if we knew more about how to coordinate these aspects, it'd be a win–win. (I_11)

Faculty

Throughout the in-depth analysis, two additional transversal themes emerged. The first one is inherent to the role of faculty in SL activities. Participants underlined positive interactions with faculty members, who were described as available, reliable, competent, and a point of reference.

> I remember that in my first experience I did not know exactly what SL was, so I trusted the faculty, that collaborated with us several times. I trusted her when she told me that it would have been an added value for my organization, and it was. (I_12)

Effects of Continuity

The second theme to emerge is the effect of continuity. Being engaged in long-term CUPs helps partners improve their activities, gain experience, and deepen the understanding of the SL process.

> Over the years, SL helped us to review our work practices and to improve them. (I_9);

> Over the years, I feel like it is easier for me to tackle the tutorship activities since I experienced many situations. (I_10)

Discussion

This study aimed to broaden the understanding of SL community–university partnerships by giving voice to the community partners' perspective on the SL experience. Community partners were asked about their understanding of the SL process, their motivations, and the challenges they have encountered. Moreover, they were asked to share reflections on the pros and cons of the CUP from their perspective as collaborators on the implementation of the SL modules in the academic year 2019–2020.

To gather data, we used interviews and a brief anonymous questionnaire. Interviews are a good option for exploring the participants' experiences. However, the anonymous questionnaire was intended to provide them a more secure opportunity to express doubts, worries, and negative feelings about their experience without fear of judgment or compromising the CUP. The first result of the study is that the experience of these community partners in SL was positive and valuable and that one of the most relevant difficulties that community partners experienced was related to time management, in particular participating in the activities that required them to move out of their organization. They rated difficulties overall low and did not report any negative experience. SL experience in community partners' perspective is qualified by positive relationships between the different actors involved, which contributes to making tutors feel valued and recognized as a point of reference. The positive, respectful relationship that community partners had with the faculty members and that they established with students contributed to the experience of being coeducators.

Seeing themselves as coeducators with the university (cf. Budhai, 2013) is a significant, although challenging, experience that motivates and supports continuous engagement in the CUP. That the community partners express an appreciation of their role in the education of students and see this role as one of the motivations for their involvement in the CUP, is significant. It moves beyond the dichotomy of "service" and "learning" spheres in this work and is a tangible manifestation of reciprocity and a deeper level of collaboration.

The coeducator relationship requires new patterns and norms of interaction between faculty and community partners. Participants used the interviews to critically reflect on the quality and the diverse components of their relationship with faculty. It became clear from their words that faculty members play a relevant role in the construction of a positive image of tutors' accountability and professionalism. Introducing tutors to students in a way that identifies the tutors' knowledge and their competencies potentially strengthens the extrinsic tutors' self-efficacy. This is a concrete expression of respect (d'Arlach et al., 2009) and relevance (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991), two of the Rs identified by Butin (2003) to make SL successful. Indeed, being valued and being supported have been reported as key elements needed to maintain a vital experiential learning environment. Support from faculty seems particularly relevant, especially when community partners have to engage for the first time in activities that are typical of SL (e.g., facilitate students' reflection) yet less common than the more typical work with students (i.e., internship). Tutoring students is not a joke. It is the most challenging aspect of SL, according to our participants, because it requires offering students a relevant and significant experience and asks for many capacities from the tutor's side. However, it is worth the effort. Tutors agree that SL contributes to students' education, offering them the chance to apply their knowledge while serving the community. They care about the firsthand (unique) knowledge they can offer to students, allowing them to dig into their specific realities. However, they also recognize that students' activities advance the organization's mission while directly impacting community members. The SL relationship between faculty and tutors thus needs more conceptualization and structure, as the roles are interrelated and the expectations for mutual learning are elevated. The idea that community partners might directly contribute to student learning, and that faculty might directly contribute to effective service delivery, requires the construction of new and more interpenetrable organizational systems and relationships, as the role of each of the actors in the process has evolved.

Participants acknowledge deriving many other advantages (motives and consequences at the same time) from SL: the opportunity to increase their social capital (i.e., expanding their network; Coleman & Danks, 2015) and grow their reputational capital, as working with the university brings a positive light to the work of the community-based organization. Participants constantly presented examples of how this experience had a positive impact on their professional lives and their organizations. Improved working practices, greater ease of innovation, and meaningful new perspectives are reported by community partners as outcomes of SL experiences. Benefits for students are also recognized, in terms of transferable skills and capacity to apply theories to real-life problems (Carrington et al., 2015). Based on the benefits that participants acknowledge, they are in favor of expanding SL in more

campuses and departments, implicitly supporting the idea of SL institutionalization.

Is SL all about mutual gain then? Yes and no. As Dostilio et al. (2012) pointed out, we need to have a more nuanced understanding of the concept of mutual gain. We need to have a more sophisticated understanding of reciprocity. For some of the tutors, particularly those who seized being coeducators of students as an opportunity, reciprocity is understood in more sophisticated ways (as influence and generative processes). Continuity plays an important role, as it helps tutors refine (from one year to another) the objectives of the SL experiences they offer and strengthen their learning and the learning of the students. Continuity offers faculty and community partners the concrete opportunity to engage in a continuous reflective process that goes on over the years.

Taken as a whole, our results contribute to a better understanding of the experiences of community partners while focusing on the importance of the coeducator role for partners, clarifying the major benefits they believe can derive from participating in these projects and articulating the different forms of reciprocity that occur.

Findings also allow us to understand how the four Rs are defined according to the community partners' perspective: (a) *respect* represents the baseline condition that allows building meaningful relationships with faculty (and with students). The quality of relationships, tangible benefits, intangible rewards, and the different domains of (b) *reciprocity* are the objects of community partners' (c) *reflection*, a timely process that can contribute to the decisions to "keep going" with SL or not. (d) *Relevance* is also part of the process of reflection: The CUP is formally renewed each semester, and community organizations decide to be partners, assessing their capacity to make a proposal that is relevant for the university, the students, and the community they work with. When an organization says, "No, this semester I cannot host students," it is usually because they fear they cannot offer a meaningful experience to students, given specific contingencies (e.g., lack of time to engage with students, other institutional tasks, etc.).

Limitations and Future Research

Different authors acknowledge the paucity of research on community partners' perspectives on SL. This shortcoming is especially evident in countries that have only recently adopted SL in higher education. Giving voice to a group of community partners involved in SL modules, offered by an Italian university that recently introduced SL in its curriculum, represents a contribution toward filling this gap.

Service-learning experiences can help the community grow, improving responsible leadership, transferring knowledge to innovate practices, and strengthening community partnerships (Stark, 2017), and our findings reflect this. Foreseeing dedicated moments to involve the SL community partners, to highlight their perspective, and to capture their narratives can elicit virtuous exchange within the CUP that, in turn, can reinforce the meaning of the SL experience.

We are aware that our results are based on a small group of participants, even if they represent the entire "population" of those who were involved as partners in the SL modules of the first semester. Given our small numbers, the statistical power of certain analyses (e.g., correlations) is weak, and our results can't be generalized. Nevertheless, they can offer some interesting insights for further validation with larger samples, in different universities and in countries with different SL practices.

Our results (both qualitative and quantitative) showed that CUP thrives on the caring attitude of faculty toward community partners, and the recognition of their needs, competence, and tacit knowledge. These attitudes contribute to the development of the four Rs, providing empirical support to Butin's model, looking at it from the community partners' perspective. Some improvements in this sense can be imagined. Based on the integration of qualitative and quantitative data, a more structured questionnaire could be developed, including the themes that emerged from the interviews (continuity, coeducational role) and more specific questions on the reciprocity dimensions of the SL CUPs. In this regard, other instruments from different research fields to measure the quality of collaboration in partnerships (Cicognani et al., 2020) or evaluate the community impact (Meringolo et al., 2019) can be included and adapted.

Such instruments, after further testing and validation with larger samples, could

be helpful to monitor community partners' perception of SL CUPs over time and to continuously improve the partnership process based on the community partners' insights and experiences. Having more effective tools to monitor and improve the partnership process, and to clarify the unique contributions of a SL CUP, can, in the long run, help higher education institutions make community-engaged SL a more effective and recognized manifestation of higher education's third mission (Kramer, 2000).

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Appendix A1. Community Partners Survey

I. We would like to gain your perspective about the service-learning experience that you joined as a community partner.

Please indicate your level of agreement with each of the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Service-learning positively contributed to students' education	O	O	O	O	O
2. Service-learning experience helped students to see how the subject matter they learn in the classroom can be applied in everyday life	O	O	O	O	O
3. Service-learning should be implemented into more classes and programs at the university	O	O	O	O	O
4. The goals of the course were clear to me	O	O	O	O	O
5. Service-learning students have been able to accomplish their assignment in my organization	O	O	O	O	O
6. The community served by our organization benefited from the activities of the service-learning students	O	O	O	O	O
7. Participation in the service-learning program made the university more aware of the needs in the community	O	O	O	O	O
8. I felt valued as a tutor by the university	O	O	O	O	O
9. I felt supported as a tutor by the university	O	O	O	O	O
10. I was able to develop a good relationship with the students in the SL course	O	O	O	O	O
11. I was able to develop a good relationship with the university staff	O	O	O	O	O
12. I saw myself as a point of reference to the students	O	O	O	O	O
13. Because of this experience, I am more interested in developing an extended partnership with the university	O	O	O	O	O

II. The next section is related to the tutor's role and related responsibilities.

Please indicate the level of difficulty of the following activities.

	Very easy	Easy	Neutral	Difficult	Very difficult
14. Evaluate students	O	O	O	O	O
15. Create and structure the activities	O	O	O	O	O
16. Facilitate students' reflection	O	O	O	O	O
17. Participate in the presentation of activities/projects for students	O	O	O	O	O
18. Participate in the monitoring meetings	O	O	O	O	O
19. Participate in the closing event of the activities	O	O	O	O	O
20. Monitor students' activities on the field	O	O	O	O	O
21. Share with students confidential information regarding users	O	O	O	O	O

III. The next section is related to the motivations that pushed you to join the service-learning community–university partnership.

Please indicate only the statements that are closer to your experience.

	No	Yes
22. I wanted to try something new	O	O
23. Positive prior experiences with students	O	O
24. Curiosity	O	O
25. Need for further resources	O	O
26. I was looking for a way to reflect on my work	O	O
27. I wanted a connection with the university	O	O
28. I have been encouraged by my colleagues	O	O
29. I wanted to contribute to the training of future psychologists	O	O
30. Other (please specify)	O	O

IV. The next section is related to the difficulties that you may have encountered along with the service-learning experience.

Please indicate only the statements that are closer to your experience.

	No	Yes
31. Time constraints of the academic world	O	O
32. Supervision of students	O	O
33. Training/orienting students	O	O
34. Communication with university faculty	O	O
35. Time devoted to students' supervision	O	O
36. Human, physical, and economic resources needed (used)	O	O
37. Other (please specify)		

V. Next section is related to the potential effects produced by hosting students into your organization.

Please indicate only the statements that are closer to your experience.

	No	Yes
38. SL saved me and my organization money, thanks to the presence of additional staff	O	O
39. Students brought new energy to the organization	O	O
40. Raised our public profile because of university involvement	O	O
41. Increased awareness of working procedures and approaches	O	O
42. Facilitated our access to academic resources	O	O
43. Facilitated networking with other community agencies	O	O
44. Made me more aware of some of my prejudices	O	O
45. Other (please specify)	O	O

VI. Next section is dedicated to a deeper reflection on the effects (either positive or negative) that were produced by the community–university partnership.	
Please use this space to report positive effects.	Please use this space to report negative effects.
VII. Please use this space to share any further consideration on the Service-Learning experience.	
VIII. Final section	

	No	**Yes**
Would you be interested in continuing your collaboration with the university?	O	O

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The Impacts of Science Shops for Community Partners and Students: A Case Study of a Cocurricular Canadian Model

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Abstract

Since 2009, the Community Engaged Scholarship Institute at the University of Guelph has operated a science shop (the Research Shop) where it carries out high-impact community-engaged scholarship by training and employing graduate students to conduct community-engaged research as a cocurricular activity. This study investigates the first 9 years of the program to determine its impacts on community partners and students. Findings suggest that the benefits experienced by both stakeholder groups are similar to those identified in existing literature on community-engaged research and science shops, with some additional findings unique to this model. This study also found multiple challenges that are not well documented in existing literature. Overall, the research found that both community partners and students experienced distinct benefits, alongside challenges that could be addressed. Further research is needed to contribute to the overall field of science shops, specifically in relation to the benefits and challenges experienced in different models.

Keywords: science shop, community-engaged research, students, community partners, community-engaged scholarship

In recent decades, community-engaged research (CER) has gained traction as a way to bridge the gap between community and university, offering mutual benefits to those involved. In CER, researchers offer community partners their expertise in research and evaluation and often facilitate access to the broader institution (Alcantara et al., 2015). In turn, community partners bring valuable knowledge of real-world issues to the research and ensure the results will be effective within community settings (Ross et al., 2010). Approaches to CER vary among institutions and models and exist along a continuum that ranges from consultation with community partners to research that is fully participatory and/or community led (Key et al., 2019). Science shops are one model of CER that responds to community research questions by involving a broad range of stakeholders (Living Knowledge Network, n.d.). Research on science shops has demonstrated that they are an effective and impactful model of CER; however, much less is known about their specific impacts on their main stakeholder groups (community partners and students), especially in North America. Using a case study of the Research Shop (RS), a cocurricular science shop at the University of Guelph, this study provides evidence of the unique but mutual benefits experienced by community partners and student researchers engaged in this specific model of CER. It also presents a range of challenges that may emerge and must be navigated by both stakeholder groups. Together, these benefits and challenges begin to provide a more nuanced picture of the experience of those working with science shops as well as those engaged in CER activities more broadly.

Background

CER offers high impact outcomes to both

community partners and researchers (Alcantara et al., 2015; Andersen, 2017; Israel et al., 1998; O'Connor et al., 2011). Community partners, faced with both shrinking budgets and demands for higher accountability, are often required to undertake research that supports their programming (Strand et al., 2003). CER partnerships can help to remove some of the pressures faced by community organizations and "can be an important resource for those who are working to improve the quality of life for disadvantaged people in our communities" (Strand et al., 2003, p. 18). Community partners may also increase their organizational capacity, as engagement in CER projects can increase their knowledge of current practices, policies, and literature in their program areas. This increased knowledge can enhance the work they do by informing changes to their programs and/or using the research results in funding applications (Alcantara et al., 2015; Strand et al., 2003; Tryon & Ross, 2012). Strand et al. (2003) found that these partnerships can increase community organizations' ability to "operate more effectively and better assess [their] operations and outcomes" (pp. 19–20). Research from impartial, outside sources may also contribute to the perceived and real validity of the research. Importantly, "prestige is contributed to the partnership due to the perceived and real expertise of researchers" (Alcantara et al., 2015).

For student researchers, participating in CER provides an opportunity for practical, real world experience (Andersen, 2017; Tryon & Ross, 2012). Alcantara et al. (2015) argued that working with the community provides students unique training and education, allowing student researchers to gain "personal and professional development opportunities that are not readily available within typical academic settings" (p. 470). Skills gained outside the classroom through CER can include the further development of research and writing skills as well as an increase in knowledge in a variety of thematic areas (Andersen, 2017; Hynie et al., 2011; O'Connor et al., 2011). Students may also develop personal skills that could further their academic and professional goals, including leadership, self-motivation and problem solving, community understanding and active citizenship, and self-discovery and resilience (Garber et al., 2010; O'Connor et al., 2011). Other benefits include authorship on various research outputs, ability to secure funding for personal research projects, and additional networks that may result from the partnership (Alcantara et al., 2015).

Another important outcome for many students is an increased understanding and recognition of the importance of different forms of knowledge that come from the community. Tryon and Ross (2012) found that "students learned to appreciate and incorporate the various forms of knowledge that were represented by their community mentors in designing the collaborative research project" (p. 206). Similarly, Hynie et al. (2011) found that students may underestimate what they can learn in a nonacademic environment, particularly with regard to the amount of knowledge that can be found in the community (p. 244). In working with the community, students may also be exposed to different groups and a more diverse population than they might have encountered on campus.

CER activities offered through an institution can vary and may consist of curricular or cocurricular opportunities. Curricular models of CER offer a structured learning experience through a credit-based program. This experience may be integrated into required coursework, an option within a course, part of a capstone/independent study project, or a dissertation. Curricular CER projects are often bound by the restraints of the course, such as the time limits of a semester or specific academic goals. CER activities that take place in a cocurricular environment also offer a structured experience; however, they take place outside a course. In these models, the aim is to meet the priorities of the community partners with less focus on student learning. These activities may be integrated into formal community engagement programs, such as alternative reading weeks, noncredit courses, or research-based employment or volunteer opportunities. Both models balance the need to meet required learning for students with addressing the priorities of the community partners.

Science Shops—A Model of CER

Science shops carry out research in response to concerns experienced by the community (Living Knowledge Network, n.d.). They operate using a bottom-up and cocreative model that directly responds to the needs and concerns of civil society (Gresle, 2018). In most models, civil society organizations contact science shops regarding an issue, a question of concern, or curiosity. The sci-

ence shop then facilitates a research project to search for a solution, generate new knowledge, or combine and adapt existing knowledge (Hende & Jorgensen, 2001; Leydesdorff & Ward, 2005).

Science shops do not follow a one-size-fits-all model; they operate based on their individual context, fitting loosely into three categories based on their administration: the university model, the nonprofit model, and the hybrid model, in which the science shop is administered by a community–university partnership (Savoia et al., 2017). The nonprofit model is challenging to sustain due to limited financial and material support. The hybrid model is also rare because it requires cooperation between different institutions and organizations (Mulder et al., 2001). Most science shops fall under the university model, where they are administered directly by institutions and have the advantage of easy access to students, researchers, and research support, such as databases and libraries (Savoia et al., 2017). University-administered science shops are typically curricular; the research is performed by students under the supervision of university staff or faculty and can be linked directly to their courses, practicums, or dissertations (European Commission, 2003; Farkas,1999; Fokking & Mulder, 2004). science shops operating as a cocurricular activity are less common and are not well represented in published research.

Science Shop History

The first science shop was developed in the Netherlands at Utrecht University in 1973. In response to criticisms of citizens being excluded from scientific research, a group of students provided a box where citizens could deposit written research questions (European Commission, 2003, p. 4; Tryon & Ross, 2012, p. 198). Science shops quickly expanded to become access points where local community groups could bring forward research issues that students could take up on their behalf (Fischer et al., 2004). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the science shop movement spread rapidly in Europe, and within 10 years, every university in the Netherlands had set up one or more. By 1990, there were almost 40 in the Netherlands alone (European Commission, 2003). This initial period of development was followed by three additional "waves" spreading science shops to Germany, France, Denmark, Belgium, Austria, the United Kingdom, and Middle and Eastern European accession countries.

Study Purpose

Science shops are one model of CER that has been proven effective in responding to community research needs, especially in Europe (Living Knowledge Network, n.d.). However, a limited body of scholarly research addresses their impacts on student researchers and community partners specifically (Gresle, 2018; Schlierf & Meyer, 2013), with no exploration of cocurricular models. To date, science shops have mainly produced gray literature, such as master's theses and reports, which have limited visibility and recognition and are often the product of a specific project rather than an introspective study (Gresle, 2018). Some researchers have used case studies to explore similarities and differences between European science shops (Leydesdorff & Ward, 2005) and to highlight the activities of specific science shops' political, social, and geographic contexts (Wachelder, 2003). Other literature has focused on the history of science shops more broadly, and a smaller section has aimed to understand the impacts of curricular science shops on university curricula (Hende & Jorgensen, 2001). Much of the existing literature consists of explorations of European models written at least 10 years ago and largely focused on Dutch science shops (Gresle, 2018).

Although research exists around the challenges experienced by science shops, it is largely related to institutional and political operational challenges and does not investigate the actual challenges experienced by student researchers and community partners. There is literature that centers on a range of positive impacts of CER; however, it mostly excludes critical reflections of frustrations, setbacks, or even failures within the partnerships (Bloomgarden, 2017).

Research Question

The gaps in the literature raised an important question: What benefits and challenges do the main users of science shops (community partners and student researchers) experience? This study was designed to respond to this question through a retrospective case study of the Research Shop (RS). The RS, operated by the Community Engaged Scholarship Institute (CESI) at the University of Guelph since 2009, is the lon-

gest running science shop in Canada. This study adds to the limited body of literature on science shops by:

1. Exploring the experiences of community partners *and* students in the context of a science shop;
2. Demonstrating a range of benefits *and* challenges associated with science shops;
3. Investigating a cocurricular, university-administered science shop; and
4. Contributing a North American perspective, illustrating that there are long-term science shops operating and thriving beyond Europe.

CESI's Research Shop

The RS is a cocurricular institutional science shop that carries out high-impact community-engaged scholarship by training and employing graduate students to conduct CER. Its research activities include literature reviews, needs assessments, program evaluations, and other approaches as appropriate to community priorities. Between 2009 and 2018, 170 RS students completed over 200 projects with more than 70 community partners. The RS's mandate is to (1) develop the capacity of graduate students to participate in effective CER and (2) contribute to the capacity of the University of Guelph to engage with community partners to address community-identified research priorities.

Although many science shops are located within a specific discipline or program, the RS, which is based in the College of Social and Applied Human Sciences, employs an interdisciplinary approach. RS students come from a variety of disciplines on campus and work in teams along with staff and community partners. The structure of the RS has changed over time based on needs and funding; at the time of this study, the RS was managed by one full-time staff member and employed an average of 20 graduate students. In contrast to the curricular university model, faculty are not involved with the RS, and the projects are separate from students' coursework. Student researchers respond to a university-wide call for applications, are interviewed, and are hired at a standard rate of pay. It should be noted that in 2017 the RS transitioned to a paid model where all student researchers are paid an hourly rate for up to 5 hours per week. During 2009–2017 all RS assistants received an honorarium of $200 per semester, and project managers were paid hourly.

The RS works primarily with organizations in the Guelph–Wellington area. Community partners are typically from the social service, environment, or health sectors, working in government, government-funded, or nonprofit organizations. There is no formal intake mechanism for community organizations to partner with the RS. Instead, relationships are built through networking, word of mouth, and "return" partners.

Methods

Recruitment

This study was carried out by three researchers at the CESI at the University of Guelph (the director, Research Shop manager, and research project assistant) and was approved by the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board. Inclusion criteria were determined by the research team in advance of the study; to be included, respondents must have been involved with the RS as a student or as a community partner between 2009 and 2018. This group included all students employed by the RS and all community partners engaged in projects with the RS at the time of the study. A total of 166 student researchers and 88 community partners were identified as potential respondents using student and project tracking lists from the 2009–2018 period. Prior to contacting potential respondents, the research team worked in collaboration with University of Guelph Alumni Affairs and Development to ensure that on-file email addresses were as current as possible. They also employed a research assistant to search for publicly available contact information for each student and community partner that fit the inclusion criteria. Of the initial pool of potential respondents, 128 student researchers and 76 community partners had active email addresses and could be contacted. All potential respondents were contacted via email with a link to the anonymous online survey.

Data Sources

Participants in this study included 22 community partners and 50 RS students. The primary source of data for this study was participant surveys (https://hdl.handle.net/10214/26540). In order to gather

feedback from both student researchers and community partners on their experiences working with the RS, the research team developed a survey tailored to each group. Questions were adapted from the PERARES Project Evaluation Toolkit (Living Knowledge Network, 2012) and the Community Based Research Excellence Tool (Centre for Community Based Research, 2018), along with previous informal evaluations of RS projects performed with students and community partners.

Community Partner Survey

The community partner survey (https://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10214/26540/RSCPSurvey_Fall2018.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y) consisted of Likert scale ratings, multiple choice items, and open-ended questions. It was designed to explore participants' overall experience working with the RS. We used a single version of the survey that was slightly modified for those who had collaborated with the RS only once versus partners who had worked with the RS twice or more (referred to as long-term partners). Long-term partners were asked why they continued to work with the RS, whereas one-time partners skipped that question. A total of 22 community partners completed the survey for a response rate of 29% (from the 76 partners emailed). It should be noted that respondents reflect an unknown number of total projects completed at the RS and an unknown number of organizations; many partners have engaged in multiple projects with the RS, and some projects included multiple community partners from a range of organizations.

Student Researcher Survey

The survey for student researchers (https://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10214/26540/RSStudentSurvey_Fall2018.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y) also included Likert scale ratings, multiple choice items, and open-ended questions to collect qualitative and quantitative data. It was designed to explore participants' motivations for engaging with the RS, their perceptions of the program experience, and any personal or professional impacts resulting from their involvement with the RS. There were two versions of the survey—one for current students and one for former students. These surveys included slight variations to ensure that tone and verb tense were consistent and appropriate. In addition, former students were asked if they had pursued a community-focused career and, if so, whether that was connected to working at the RS. Alternatively, current students were asked if they were more likely to pursue a career with a community focus due to their experience at the RS. A total of 50 student researchers completed the online survey, for a response rate of 29% (from the 128 students emailed).

Data Analysis

The research team used Excel to analyze descriptive statistics on the quantitative data from Likert scale ratings and multiple-choice responses. Qualitative data from open-ended responses was imported into NVivo, coded, and thematically analyzed. The initial coding scheme was developed by one member of the research team to capture primary themes after a preliminary review of the qualitative data. It was reviewed by the other two members of the research team, clarified and refined by adding and removing categories as appropriate, then implemented. Community partner and student surveys were analyzed separately due to the differences in overall focus, as well as emergent themes in the data. The final codes are shown in Table 1.

This case study is rooted in inductive, emergent coding. The research team chose this approach in part due to the lack of peer-reviewed studies on science shops, resulting in limited sources from which to draw expected codes. Furthermore, as community-engaged researchers, the research team felt it was essential to allow key themes and research findings to emerge from the raw data versus being influenced by what they may have expected to find. This approach is aligned with how research is typically conducted at the RS, where the voices of research participants are clearly reflected in analysis and any subsequent outputs. It should also be noted that although all members of the research team reviewed the initial coding scheme, only one researcher completed the final coding of qualitative responses. Working within a small research team, this choice was made in order to protect survey respondents' anonymity, as the other two members of the team work closely with both students and community partners and could have identified respondents based on details in their responses or distinctive writing styles.

Table 1. Coding Scheme Developed for Analysis of Survey Responses

Survey	First code	Second code	Description
Community Partners	Access	To expertise	In CES/other disciplines
		To requested research and data	That is useful, fills a gap, would otherwise be inaccessible, etc.
		To resources	On campus, that would otherwise be inaccessible, etc.
	Capacity and skill-building	Institutional	Skills and capacities built by working with the RS
		Student	Assisting in building student skills
	Challenges	Commitment	Generally, or of research participants
		Research Ethics Board	With research ethics process
		Scoping	Ensuring the appropriate size/timeline of the project(s)
		Time	Delays while working on projects
		Working with students	General challenges of working with students
	Connections and relationships		With RS students, on campus
	Cost		Low cost of RS services
	Institutional capacity	Ability to serve target population	Program development, changes, etc.
		Awareness and dissemination	Of research, general work of organization
		Credibility	Of research, general work of organization
		Funding	Ability to apply for funding
		Institutional change	Specific, tangible changes being or already made
	Quality	High	High quality of work, outputs
		Low	Low quality of work, outputs
	Time		Saving community time, fulfilling needs not otherwise met, etc.

Table continues on next page.

Table 1 Continued

Survey	First code	Second code	Description
Students	Challenges	Institutional	RS structure, tasks, training, etc.
		Interest	In projects, subjects, etc.
		Time	Time management, diverse hours, etc.
		Working with community	General challenges of working with community
	Connections and relationships	With community	General value, nature
		With community and peers	General value, nature
		With peers	General value, nature
	Diversity, interdisciplinarity		Of projects, peers, approaches
	Expanding knowledge, awareness, interest	Beyond discipline	Specific examples, generally
		Of CES	Specific examples, generally
		Of community	Specific examples, generally
		Of knowledge mobilization	Specific examples, generally
	Meaning, impact, usefulness of work		Impact perceived by student for community partners, service users
	Negative experience		Generally negative experiences
	Positive experience		Generally positive experiences
	Skill development	Professional	Skills and capacities built working with RS; professional
		Academic	Skills and capacities built working with RS; academic

Data Confidentiality

All survey responses were anonymous and confidential. The qualitative data was reviewed by a member of the research team who did not possess significant knowledge of the RS's student researchers or community partners. Any obviously identifying information was removed prior to the involvement of the other team members in the data analysis to ensure that the identity of all survey respondents remained obscured.

Results

Community Partner Surveys

When asked why they continued to work with the RS, repeat community partners cited access as the main reason: specifically, access to research, skilled students, and data sources. Most returning community partners (88%) reported that they continued to work with the RS specifically to access research capacity, as seen in Figure 1. Financial accessibility is another important benefit to those working with the RS—nearly three quarters of community partners (71%) reported that they contin-

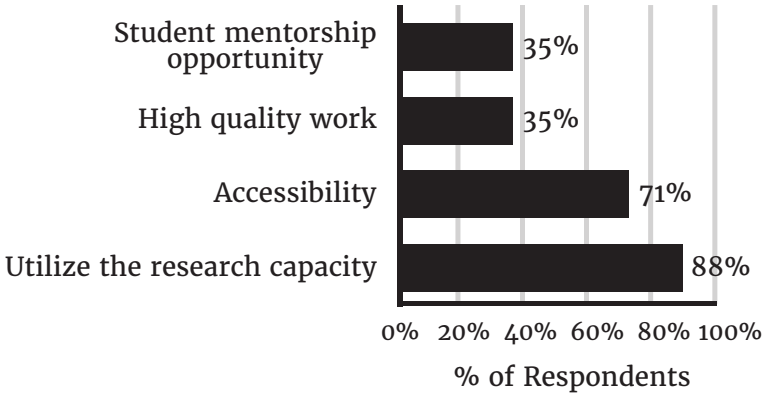

Figure 1. Why Returning Community Partners Continue to Work With the Research Shop

ued to work with the RS because it does not employ a fee-for-service model. Other reasons for continuing to engage with the RS included the high quality of the work and final products (35%) and the opportunity to mentor student researchers (35%).

Community partners also reported several other benefits associated with working with the RS. Just over half of the respondents (55%) reported that working with the RS led to the development of new research collaborations on campus. Additionally, 90% of respondents reported that the final products achieved, or somewhat achieved, the overall goal of the project (Figure 2). The written comments for this question provided additional context, with most respondents reporting overall satisfaction with the work performed by the RS. One community partner added, "The research outputs are great—very useful. They serve as focal points for dialogue and starting points for future research." Respondents also pointed to some of the more tangible ways in which the goals of the project were met and contributed to overall institutional change, with one community partner highlighting that "the research they have done for us is presently being used to change the way referrals are done," and another stating, "Initial reports and products are representative of organizational project goals and direction." Although most were satisfied with the work, some community partners expressed concerns with the overall quality of the work produced by the RS, with one sharing that "the quality of the work was not at the level expected and therefore not useful to our organization."

Most community partners (88%) indicated that the final product was useful in providing services to the population that they serve, with 41% noting it was "completely useful," as seen in Figure 3. Some respondents added comments, providing examples of how outputs produced by the RS were ac-

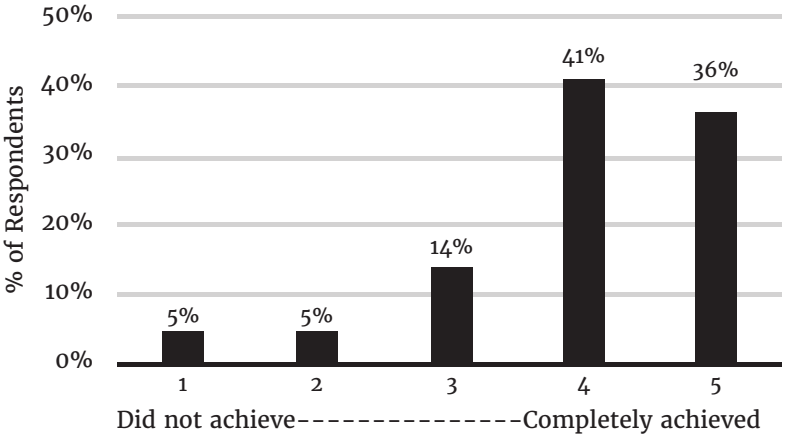

Figure 2. Research Shop Final Product Achievement of Overall Project Goal
Note. 1 = *did not achieve,* 5 = *completely achieved.* Percentages do not total 100% due to rounding.

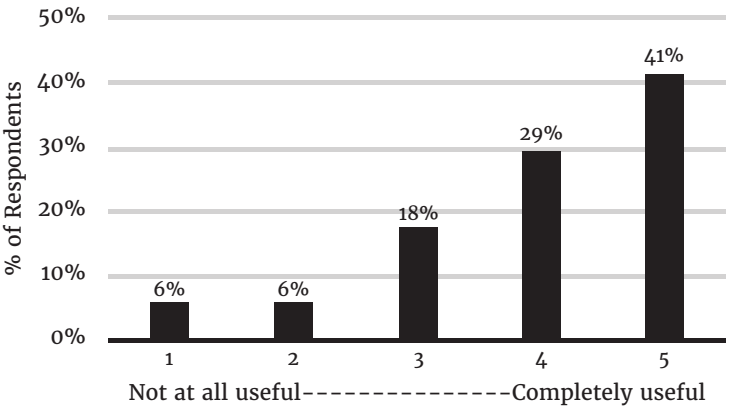

Figure 3. Usefulness of Final Products to Population Served
Note. 1 = *not at all useful,* 5 = *completely useful.*

tively being used in their organizations. One respondent reported, "It has been useful to our organization in developing programs and services to reach that population." Another explained that "most of the work we've done in partnership with the RS has not been publicly promoted or released, but did inform project recommendations to the benefit of our audience." The comments also highlight the importance of access to research and data that might otherwise be unavailable for community organizations. One respondent noted, "I've found it extremely useful to refer people to the work developed by the RS. It filled a gap in info that has been great to have filled."

When asked "Has the final product(s) produced by the RS increased your organization's capacity to apply for/receive funding?" seven (44%) community partners reported that it had. The open-ended comments provided details on how the final products created with the RS were being used or may be used in the future. One community partner reported that "the work with the RS was integral to obtaining an Ontario Trillium Foundation grant." Another noted that their organization "hopes to use the final product to both report to current funders and in future funding applications." Some community partners who had not yet used RS outputs for funding purposes pointed to other uses for the final products. One explained that they had leveraged their partnership with the RS to "secure papers in a high-profile conference and to apply for recognition awards for our programs."

When asked whether working with the RS had increased their knowledge in a variety of areas, over three quarters (78%) of respondents reported that working with the RS increased their knowledge about, and capacity for, working with students. Similarly, nearly three quarters (72%) reported that working with the RS increased their knowledge of how to access resources at the university. Over half of the respondents (56%) also noted that working with the RS increased their knowledge of how to apply research findings to benefit their organization and the population(s) they serve. Exactly half of the respondents (50%) noted they had increased their knowledge of planning a research study; 39% reported they increased their knowledge in conducting a research study, and 33% reported that they increased their knowledge of research methods.

Next, community partners were asked, "In your opinion, what is the single most valuable aspect of working with the RS?" They highlighted four major themes in their open-ended responses: addressing research questions, working with students, building relationships on campus, and increasing institutional capacity. Most frequently referenced was the importance of having the RS address research questions that were of importance to them, which provided access to research capacity, resources, expertise, and information—all at zero cost. One partner emphasized the value of the RS's work to their organization, noting that "the research they did was amazing. I would never have had the time to do what they did even though it was important work and information." Another highlighted the variety of resources that the RS can dedicate to community research projects, including "the student researcher's time on the project, access to up-to-date journal articles

and published research, expertise in doing research, online survey tools, etc." They further noted that "as small non-profits, these resources are not available to us!" One partner explained that "having this service at a low cost is also really helpful, especially for non-profits who may wish to do some data work."

Some partners highlighted that they especially enjoyed the opportunity to work with students through the RS. One respondent linked the RS's ability to address research questions and working with students, reporting that they appreciated the RS's "capacity to access skills and knowledge which don't exist within our department, and work with RS groups to develop meaningful reports, while students get hands-on research experience." Another shared that they found personal fulfillment while working with the RS, noting that "being able to work with students and have them apply research to real community problems and organizations is very rewarding."

Some community partners also provided insights on the broader relationships they had developed on campus via working with the RS. One respondent explained that they had found "the care taken to cultivate strong collaborative working relationships" to be especially beneficial. Another reported that they appreciated the "personal collaboration with qualified, interested people in helping us knowledgeably reach our target audience." Finally, some community partners echoed earlier comments by highlighting that working with the RS had increased their institutional capacity. One partner explained that working with the RS had given their organization credibility, writing that "when giving presentations or applying for funding we can provide real, accurate data about challenges in our community or the benefit of a program for our community, etc."

Community partners were also asked to "list any challenges and/or barriers that you experienced while working with the RS." Respondents identified three types of challenges: issues with content expertise, time, and overall quality of the project outputs. The most frequently referenced challenges were related to working with students with limited content expertise. Some respondents explained that it can be difficult to bring student researchers up to speed in new content areas to ensure the work is sufficiently in-depth. It was noted that their expectations regarding the knowledge and skill set of the student researchers were not always met. One partner explained that they felt "clarifying expectations and ensuring expectations meet the skill set of the partnering students/researchers has been challenging." Another echoed this, reporting that "it seemed that what was requested was not clear to the students and required much clarification. The finished product, while it looked good, the content was not in-depth."

Other challenges cited by community partners related to time—both the total amount of time dedicated to a project and the weekly allocation of student time to work on projects at the RS. One respondent felt that they did not have enough time to complete a thorough research project with the RS. Another noted that students' many responsibilities and limited weekly time at the RS could result in project-related delays. Further, one respondent shared that "getting the researchers up-to-speed can take some time," though they did add that this was expected and did not hamper their overall experience working with the RS. One community partner also referenced having experienced some issues with institutional processes like the research ethics approval. They noted that "the Research Ethics Board process slows down the speed at which projects can be started." Some community partners shared that they had concerns with the overall quality of the final products created by the RS. Unfortunately, the responses here do not go into further detail.

Respondents were asked to provide any additional comments. Only a few comments were provided; all were positive and expressed gratitude for the work of the RS and the various opportunities that they perceived it to provide for students and the community. One partner expressed that they had found their work with the RS to be incredibly valuable, noting, "We have been able to learn both with them and from their expertise in relation to our objectives and population. I place a high value on their involvement and support for community partners." Another noted that "it was a great experience. I really like the opportunity this provides for both community groups and students to interact."

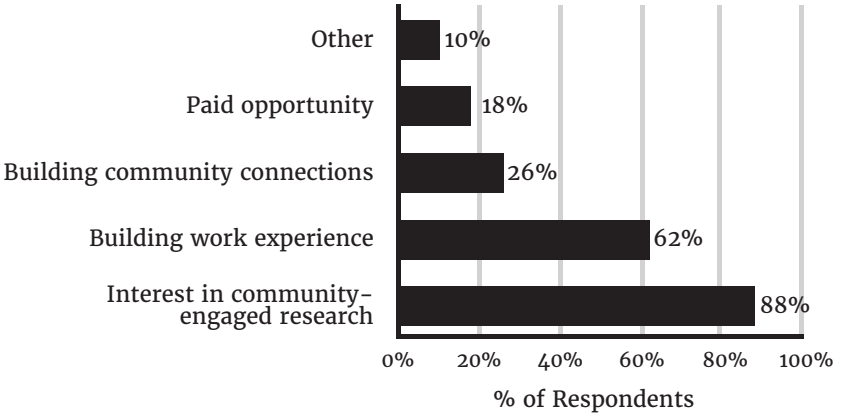

Figure 4. Top Reasons Students Chose to Work at the Research Shop
Note. Students were asked to select top two reasons.

Student Researcher Surveys

When asked why they chose to work at the RS, many student researchers reported that they did so due to an interest in community-engaged research (88%), as seen in Figure 4. Building work experience was another important motivation for those working with the RS—over half of the student researchers (62%) reported it as a top reason. Other reasons for working at the RS included the opportunity to build community connections (26%) and the paid work opportunity itself (18%).

Many students reported that working at the RS enabled them to gain and/or improve a range of professional and academic skills. Most respondents (88%) reported that working on a project at the RS increased their knowledge and skills beyond what they had learned through their academic program and/or other academic experiences (see Figure 5). In the open-ended comments for this question, respondents overwhelmingly noted that they had gained professional skills (project management, oral and written communication, clear communication, collaboration, research, teamwork, knowledge mobilization, and critical thinking) and academic skills (time management, project scoping, project management, research, CER, writing, and teamwork) while working at the RS. As one student commented, they

> gained many transferable skills that are not a primary focus in my academic program, such as working with community partners (communication, managing expectations, scoping projects, balancing academic and community needs), using plain language, and creating products that are accessible to a wider audience.

Also frequently cited by respondents was the interdisciplinary/cross-sectoral learning they experienced at the RS while doing work with clear community impacts that was often outside their area of expertise. One respondent noted, "My work with the RS exposed me to concepts/types of research that I would not have learned about in my studies." Another wrote, "Working at the RS has given me opportunities to work within my own community, on projects that are outside of my expertise. My knowledge and skills surrounding CES have broadened and diversified through working on these projects."

When asked about their level of interest in community issues, 100% of students surveyed reported that it had stayed the same or increased since working at the RS. Additionally, 91% of respondents reported having participated in, or planning to participate in, other community-engaged activities (see Figure 6). These activities included sharing their research findings with the relevant community, taking regularly offered community-engaged courses, and taking courses related to knowledge mobilization. Notably, over three quarters (79%) of respondents noted that their positive experiences at the RS encouraged them to seek out and participate in other community-engaged activities.

This impact is not limited to academic activities. For example, 89% of respondents who worked at the RS at the time of the

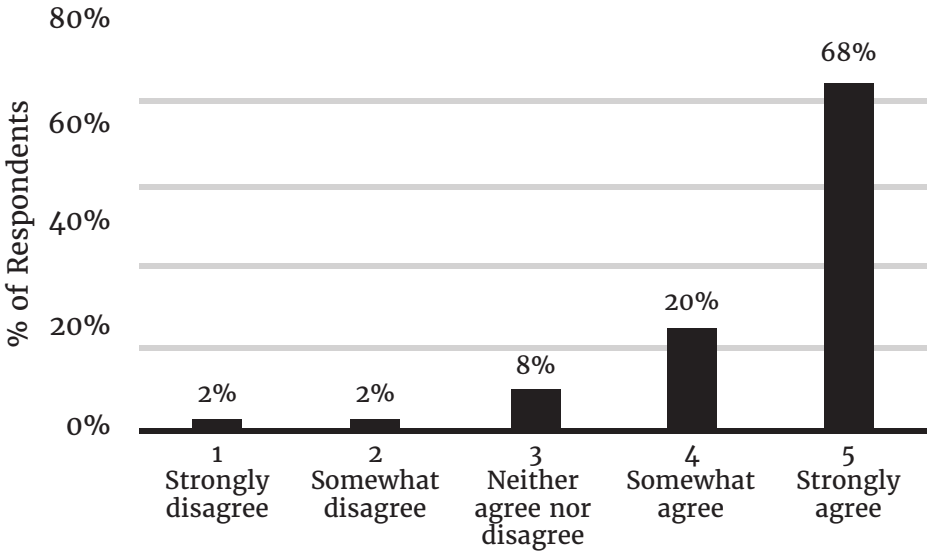

Figure 5. Students' Increase in Knowledge and Skills Beyond Academic Experiences
Note. Based on student respondent agreement with the following statement: "Working at the Research Shop has increased my knowledge and skills beyond my academic program and/or other academic experiences."

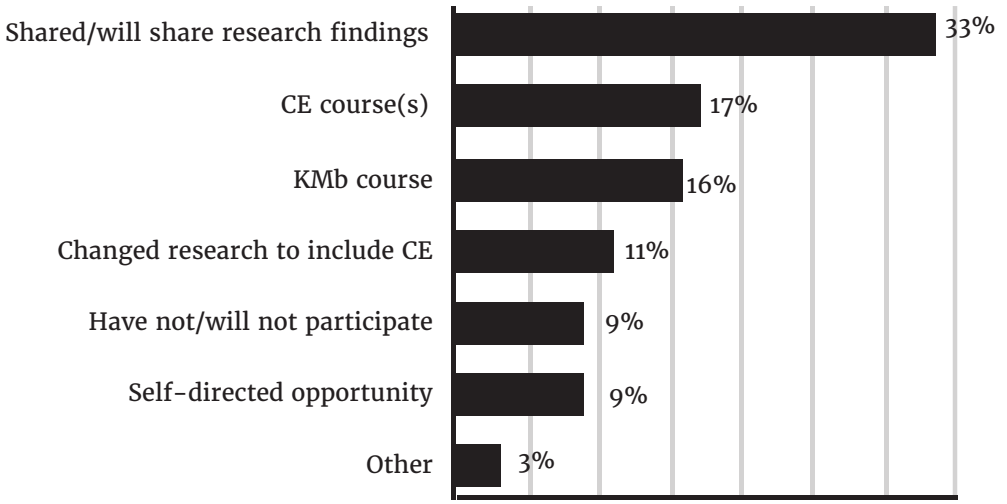

Figure 6. Other Community-Engaged Activities Students (Past and Present) Have Engaged, or Plan to Engage In
Note. KMb = knowledge mobilization. Percentages do not equal 100% due to rounding.

survey indicated that their experience at the RS made them more likely to pursue a community-engaged career. Respondents provided context in the comments by highlighting that working at the RS had demonstrated the real-world impact of community-engaged work, expanding their awareness of and interest in CES and the local community. One respondent noted that

> working at the RS has opened my eyes to the amazing work going on in our community and the important role that research can play in this work. . . . I have also learned more about the strengths I can bring to this kind of work, and it has become easier for me to see myself working in this area.

Another added that "before starting at the RS I had some interest in CES, but I now hope to find a job that will allow me to work with communities and do research." Similarly, the majority (86%) of former RS students indicated that they had pursued a career with a community focus. Many (69%) respondents attributed this decision, at least in part, to the RS.

Students also felt that the RS helped prepare them for their careers—84% of respondents reported that they feel prepared for the career they plan on pursuing or have pursued due to their work and experience at the RS. The open-ended comments provided further context to these figures. Respondents' personal career plans and interest in community prior to joining the RS varied, but those who felt that the RS prepared them for their careers primarily cited the importance of the range of skills they developed. One respondent noted, "My experience at the RS has taught me that I want to pursue a career in research. I have gained skills in developing a research methodology and putting in place a project management plan to be able to execute complex projects." Also frequently referenced were the relationships built with both community and peers through the RS. A respondent highlighted that "developing and nurturing these relationships . . . has prepared me for not just the career I plan on pursuing, but for the unexpected and unplanned opportunities I know will come my way as well." For many, the community connections forged while working at the RS, along with seeing the impact of CER firsthand, encouraged them to seek professional opportunities in CBR. One respondent noted that "my experience there shaped my community-based research direction, which has since developed into an expertise and career. I continue to credit that early internship as valuable training experience in my field."

Next, student researchers were asked, "In your opinion, what is the single most valuable aspect of working with the RS?" The open-ended responses fall into four overall themes: skill development, building relationships on campus and in communities, gaining experience doing CER, and interdisciplinary/cross-sectoral learning. Echoing their responses to previous questions, student researchers overwhelmingly highlighted the significance of the professional and academic skills they built at the RS. One respondent noted that they benefited most from "learning how to communicate and work with partners from all different worldviews and backgrounds." Some also highlighted that they were able to develop specific academic skills that were not offered in their own departments, such as student mentorship and qualitative research methods.

The next most frequently cited benefit was related to building relationships on campus and in communities. For some, these relationships led to further personal and professional growth. As one student explained, "I met so many people, both within the Research Shop and in the community. . . . These connections led to career and volunteer opportunities, relationships, and overall, a more open mind about the types of people I can relate to." For others, forging relationships with students and community partners broadened their horizons. One student researcher emphasized that they enjoyed "getting to meet and speak with stakeholders whom I would never have had the opportunity to speak with otherwise." Additionally, many respondents identified that a significant benefit of working at the RS was gaining more intimate knowledge of the local community, including services, challenges, and goals.

Respondents also highlighted the extent to which they benefited from gaining experience doing CER and were inspired by the potential impact of the research, with some even citing this on-the-ground experience as a key motivation for seeking out and/or continuing to participate in community-engaged work. Some students noted that

they saw this as an opportunity to give back and have impact beyond their own academic research at the university by helping community organizations increase their capacity to serve their target populations. Others felt that learning about the origins and theory of CER, as well as the potential value and impacts of CER on the local community, was extremely beneficial. One respondent commented that working with the RS allowed them to "influence and create positive social change through collaborative projects. This is an aspect of my internship which was truly inspiring, and which is not often available or possible working with other institutions on campus." Student respondents also highlighted the importance of the interdisciplinary/cross-sectoral learning that took place at the RS. One student wrote that they appreciated "working with people from varied backgrounds—students from all different departments, very different community partners on each project. The work is very interdisciplinary, and everyone brings different experiences and points of view."

Students were also asked to "list any challenges and/or barriers that you experienced while working with the RS." Respondents noted four types of challenges: time, working with community, institutional/structural barriers, and overall interest. Most frequently cited were challenges related to time—some respondents noted that it could be difficult to balance RS work with their required coursework and other commitments, with one student explaining that there was sometimes "not enough time in the week to allocate to RS projects due to other grad school–related duties." Other student researchers highlighted the significant time commitment required by CER projects generally, with some noting specifically that they found it challenging to accommodate sudden or unexpected changes that had significant impacts on project outputs and timelines.

The next most frequently referenced challenge was working with the community, which was largely related to partners' expectations and communication. Some respondents highlighted that partners' expectations were often unrealistic based on what a student team could achieve on a very part-time basis, with one remarking that "the partners should understand that this is a partnership and not free research labour to get out of hiring consultants." Others noted that community partners were sometimes difficult to communicate with due to staff turnover and/or lack of capacity.

The institutional/structural barriers faced by student researchers varied, but were related to internal communications and processes, including RS structure and training. One student remarked that "community partners expressed frustration with the quality of work, lack of maturity, poor research abilities, and demanding nature of working with RS interns, but [I] felt conflicted about sharing concerns with CESI staff." Others expressed a desire for training and resources that were more tailored to the work they were doing. Alternatively, some student researchers were not interested in building new knowledge or skills at the RS; this was especially noted when research topics did not match up with their own interests and/or expertise. One student wrote, "I felt like for one of the projects it wasn't really within my area of interest or expertise at all so I found it hard to stay engaged."

Finally, before completing the survey, respondents were asked to provide any additional comments about their experience at the RS. Like community partners, only a few student respondents provided comments in this section; again, the comments were positive and largely centered around the perceived value of the RS and the opportunities it provides for student researchers. One student commented, "I met some amazing people! Love the variety of disciplines I would not have met otherwise siloed in my faculty. Diversity always increases the perspective, filter, level of analysis and idea-generation." Another highlighted that "working at the Research Shop was a formative piece of my career development and I've often drawn on the experience in my work since."

Discussion

This study is the first to examine the impacts of a long-standing cocurricular science shop in North America. Its findings demonstrate that the RS has had significant impacts on its student researchers, community partner organizations, and in many instances, the populations they serve. In examining the benefits and challenges for both students and community partners, this study expands upon and supports the literature showing the potential impacts of science shops and CER more broadly.

Community Partners

The current study supports the existing evidence around the many benefits community partners experience when engaged with CER and/or science shops. The benefits include having research questions addressed, increasing institutional capacity, building relationships across the broader (university) institution, and working with students, the latter of which was a unique finding. This study also uncovered a range of challenges experienced by the partners which, while they are specific to their experience with the RS, may also provide insights relevant to other science shop or CER models.

Addressing Research Questions

The primary benefit community partners experience when working with the RS is having their emergent research questions addressed. Many community partners reported that they struggle with research activities due to a lack of internal capacity, funding, and/or access to data and literature. This finding is consistent with science shop and CER literature that shows that community organizations most frequently partner with institutions for access to research (Alcantara et al., 2015; Kontić & Kontić, 2018). Some organizations reported that their funders require them to carry out research; others wished to conduct research in order to improve their service provision or to address gaps in their knowledge. Many community organizations are stretched thin with limited time and funding, and do not have the internal capacity to conduct research, funding to hire a consultant, or access to the necessary data and literature. CER partnerships like those cultivated at the RS can help address some of the research and evaluation pressures faced by community organizations. As a university-administered science shop, the RS can leverage university resources for community benefit. It is this ability to address emergent research priorities that keeps community partners connected to the RS—the majority (88%) reported that they continue to work with the RS to access its research capacity.

As with most science shops, a benefit of working with the RS is having research questions answered at low (or no) cost. Partners are not required to pay to work with the RS, though they may be asked if they have financial capacity to support project-related costs. The low/no cost model of science shops is especially important for not-for-profit organizations with limited resources who may not have the financial capacity to hire researchers. Specifically, partners reported that working with the RS provided them with information, research, and resources that might otherwise have been inaccessible.

Increasing Institutional Capacity

The current study suggests that working with the RS increased community partners' institutional capacity through both the research process and its research outputs. This finding is supported by the literature as well—it has been demonstrated that science shops can increase community partners' institutional capacity by increasing their knowledge of current practices, policies, and literature in their program areas. This increased knowledge may enhance the work they do by applying the research to make changes to their programs and/or use the research results in funding applications (Alcantara et al., 2015; Strand et al., 2003; Tryon & Ross, 2012). In the current study, many partners reported that working with the RS increased their ability to serve their target population, resulting in value added to their organization. Some also reported that working with the RS provided them with the necessary information to improve their service delivery and make positive, evidence-informed changes to their programs. Several respondents noted that RS outputs were especially helpful when applying for funding and/or charitable status—both for grants they had already obtained and funding opportunities they hoped to access in the future.

Many community partners also felt that working with the RS lent credibility and a reputation for rigor to their work due to their affiliation with a research-intensive institution, which is evidenced in the literature (Alcantara et al., 2015). This perception allowed some community partners to access new platforms to present this research, both locally and nationally, and to argue for the continuation of their programs. Broadly, community respondents noted that working with the RS increased the dissemination of their research as well as their organizations' public profile.

In addition to research outputs that met emergent questions and needs, some respondents noted that the process of planning, scoping, and carrying out the research in collaboration with the RS resulted in sec-

ondary benefits, including skill development and sparking larger conversations around organizational goals. Research has shown that community partners are often able to learn new skills or enhance current skills when working with researchers. Curnow (2017) found that community organizations often act as researchers themselves, learning practical skills in the process. In the current study, 56% of respondents reported an increase in knowledge of applying research findings to their organization, and half increased their knowledge of planning a research study.

Building Relationships on Campus

Another benefit for RS community partners is the potential to foster long-term partnerships with the supporting institution, with the RS serving as the access point to campus. This finding is consistent with academic and gray literature on science shops and CER, specifically around the broader access that partners gain to the academic institution they are working with. Community partners engaged in CER may also participate in, and learn about, other initiatives on campus, increase knowledge of accessing academic resources, gain confidence in working with those in an academic environment, and create new opportunities to work with diverse programs (Alcantara et al., 2015; Garber et al., 2010; Kontić & Kontić, 2018; Strand et al., 2003). In this study, most (72%) community respondents reported that working with the RS increased their knowledge of how to access resources on campus, and over half (55%) felt that working with the RS led to the development of new research collaborations between their organization and the University of Guelph. This finding speaks to the potential for university-based science shops to act as a connection point for community organizations to access the tremendous resources held on campus.

Working With Students

Finally, community partners in this study reported that working with the RS allowed them to learn *from* students and to learn to work *with* students, findings that do not appear in existing science shop literature. A few reported that their organizations lack staff; therefore they value the opportunity to work with students, both due to students' genuine interest and for the additional capacity of being able to talk through issues with others and learn together. Most partners (78%) in this study reported that working with the RS increased their knowledge about, and capacity for, working with students. Some also reported that they enjoyed the process of building relationships with and mentoring students; 35% reported that they continue to work with the RS because of the opportunities for mentoring students. Some respondents commented specifically on the genuine interest of the students working on their projects, and the value of those relationships to creating a useful output. These findings indicate that working with the RS may develop community partners' skills in working with students and speak to the broader relationship impacts gained between students and community partners. RS community partners noted working with students was rewarding, collaborative, and beneficial to them.

Challenges

CER literature highlights many of the potential benefits to community partners' working with programs such as the RS. In addition to these benefits, this study also uncovers a range of challenges. Many of these findings are unique and are not reflected in other studies; this study was designed to ask stakeholders specifically about challenges in response to the general lack of information in the existing literature. Although these findings apply only to this case study, they should be acknowledged and considered alongside the benefits of CER, specifically in relation to a university-administered, cocurricular science shop.

In this study, community partners' most frequently reported challenges related to time. Because the RS operates as a cocurricular activity and is not bound by semester timelines, projects can vary in research scope and thus in duration. Typically, this flexibility is appreciated by community partners who may have projects emerge that do not fit neatly into course structures or topics. However, this study suggested that this flexibility can also lead to challenges, as some respondents reported that it was difficult to scope a project based on the experience level of the student researchers and the amount of time available for the proposed project. The research ethics process was also noted as a source of frustration by several respondents. The application, revision, and approval process can take a significant amount of time to complete, which can be frustrating for organizations who are not familiar with the process. Some

respondents noted that this extra step slows down the speed at which projects can be started, and sometimes results in changes to the initial research plan.

Although many partners reported positive experiences working with students, others noted challenges that can occur as well. Student researchers at the RS are at various stages of their academic path and possess different levels of experience, sometimes resulting in varied levels of quality or depth of work, which can impact the overall usefulness of the research to the community organization. Only slightly over a third (35%) of respondents reported that they continue to work with the RS because of high quality work, possibly indicating that it is a combination of benefits that brings them back. Despite these challenges, most partners in the RS continue to request ongoing collaborations with the program (77% reported working with the RS more than once), and many (55%) continue to work with the broader institution in which the RS is situated.

Student Researchers

This study found that students engaged in the RS realize many benefits, including developing professional and academic skills, engaging in interdisciplinary and cross-sectoral learning, gaining experience doing CER, and building relationships in the community and on campus. Like the findings for community partners, it also brought to light several challenges, some of which are well documented in the existing literature.

Developing Professional and Academic Skills

The primary benefit to students engaged in science shops is the opportunity to gain a wide range of academic and practical/professional skills that may benefit them in further academic pursuits or professional positions. In the current study, most students (88%) developed skills beyond what they had learned through other academic experiences. The skills reported included time management, project scoping, research design, community-based research, writing, and teamwork. Some felt that working at the RS contributed to their growth as researchers, as they gained confidence in new research methods and adapted their own graduate research to be more community focused. These findings are consistent with the literature, which suggests that students may further develop their research and writing skills, learn new research skills, and increase their knowledge in a variety of thematic areas by engaging in CER (O'Connor et al., 2011). Similarly, many studies have found that the academic skills built through engagement in CER have the potential to significantly impact those students continuing to further graduate studies or pursuing an academic career (Alcantara et al., 2015; Garber et al., 2010; O'Connor et al., 2011).

Many respondents also reported that working at the RS enabled them to increase and improve professional skills, including project management, communication, accessibility, clear communication, balancing community and academic needs, community-based research, research methods, teamwork, knowledge mobilization, and critical thinking. This finding is consistent with the literature, which demonstrates that working with the community provides students invaluable learning experiences that are not typically found in academic settings (Alcantara et al., 2015; European Commission, 2003; Kontić & Kontić, 2018; Tyron & Ross, 2012). Students who receive training in research methods and other CER-related skills (via science shops or other channels) may experience advantages in workforce readiness and other professional opportunities (Alcantara et al., 2015; O'Connor et al., 2011). These findings suggest that students engaging in CER, like those at the RS, may be at an advantage as they progress to further academic or professional pursuits.

Engaging in Interdisciplinary and Cross-Sectoral Learning

This study demonstrates that working on a diverse range of projects and topics at the RS helped to expand student researchers' knowledge and expertise in several areas, including specific thematic areas, CER, and knowledge mobilization. Similar findings on these benefits have been echoed in the literature (Andersen, 2017; Hynie et al., 2011; O'Connor et al., 2011). Researchers come to the RS from a variety of disciplines and backgrounds; although their existing interests and skills are considered when projects are assigned, they often work on projects rooted in unfamiliar subject matter. Working on these projects increases their ability to conduct research outside their comfort zone. It also provides them with

new knowledge and subject matter expertise on topics of interest to the local community. Although some student respondents reported that they did not gain additional skills, many reported that working at the RS provided an opportunity to gain knowledge in a previously unknown subject area. For others, community research projects acted as an opportunity to see how research is gathered, mobilized, and applied outside academic institutions. Some student respondents felt that the interdisciplinarity of the RS also served to expand their knowledge and expertise. By working collaboratively in interdisciplinary teams, RS student researchers are provided with the opportunity to learn with and from their peers who may have different experiences, commitments, and disciplinary knowledge.

Gaining Experience Doing CER

Another benefit for RS student respondents was concrete experience performing CER, which sustained or increased their interest. The quantitative data suggests that students who work at the RS do so primarily because they are interested in CER. In some cases, RS students reported that this exposure inspired them to make changes to their own research, so that it was completed with a community-engaged, focused, or informed lens. This phenomenon is supported by the literature, which notes that many students hope to participate in community engagement in order to positively impact local and global communities. Doberneck et al. (2017) wrote that "this next generation is committed to equality, social justice, civic duty, and the public purposes of higher education, but is often confronted by institutional structures, policies, and practices that delegitimize their experiences, perspectives, and approaches" (p. 122). Having a "real world" experience, such as that offered by a model like the RS, can provide students with an opportunity to positively contribute to their community during their academic studies.

Building Relationships in the Community and on Campus

This study adds to the evidence that student researchers engaged in CER find working with community partners a valuable experience. These studies emphasize the value in building new relationships with the community partner(s) and/or broader community. Many students also report that they maintain relationships with their community partner(s) after the project has been completed (Hynie et al., 2011; O'Connor et al., 2011; Tryon & Ross, 2012). The current study also suggests that the relationships fostered at the RS were impactful for students. When asked about the benefits of working at the RS, many student respondents highlighted the benefits of collaborating with community partners, including feeling more connected to the local community, expanding their networks, and gaining community connections, learning how to work with community collaborators, and working toward a common goal. These relationships have proven to be quite impactful; for some students, the community connections forged through the RS helped them find employment after graduation, integrate more effectively into other community contexts in the future, and gain a better understanding of how community organizations function. Overall, and in keeping with the literature, RS student researchers reported that they were more connected to their local community as a result of their community-engaged work at the RS, with some maintaining relationships/staying connected with the partners once they had graduated and moved on from the RS.

In addition to building relationships in the community, some respondents reported having built positive or useful connections and relationships with their peers through the RS. Working in small project teams and meeting as a larger cohort, RS students work with and learn from a group of peers with a common interest in CER. These relationships facilitated greater connections within the RS and provided a collaborative, friendly environment as students worked toward a common goal. This suggests that a collaborative, interdisciplinary atmosphere is conducive to learning, and that peer-to-peer relationships can lead to the development of useful skills and knowledge.

Challenges

Studies that explore the impacts of CER for students are largely positive and focus on the benefits of such work. In response, this study uncovered a range of challenges that have been faced by student researchers working at the RS, many of which are unique in the existing scholarship and provide new insights about this kind of work. They should be considered alongside the benefits to begin to form a complete picture of the RS, science shops, and CER more

broadly.

Some student respondents felt that institutional and/or structural barriers kept them from reaching their full potential as researchers. Some respondents reported experiencing challenges in communicating with RS staff and peers regarding their experiences and responsibilities. Survey data also suggested that time was a challenge for some respondents, as they reported sometimes having difficulty balancing their RS responsibilities along with their other academic and personal responsibilities. Other respondents also reported that, under the honorarium system used at the RS until 2017, they felt that they were not adequately compensated for work that they completed.

Although many respondents enjoyed the variety and interdisciplinarity of RS projects, others expressed frustration with the varied research topics and methods explored in the RS. Finally, respondents experienced unique challenges related to working with the community. Some respondents felt they did not receive enough information, support, or communication from community partners regarding expectations, content area, project scope, deadlines, timelines, and impact of research. They also felt that community partners sometimes had unrealistic expectations of the student researchers, holding them to consultant-like standards. Despite these challenges, student respondents did not report any long-term negative impacts of engaging in CER at the RS.

Limitations

Overall, the RS survey provided rich qualitative and quantitative data that largely corroborated the existing literature and provided valuable insight on the impacts of CER and science shops in a Canadian context. However, some limitations must be recognized. The primary limitation was the response rate of both the community partners and students (29%). This low response rate resulted in a lack of statistical significance for the study.

Conclusions and Implications for Future Research

This study demonstrates that there are significant impacts associated with CER, science shops, and more specifically CESI's RS. These impacts are primarily positive and largely confirm those already reported by existing studies on both CER and science shops. Each stakeholder group experiences unique impacts: Community partners benefit primarily by having their research questions addressed but struggle with challenges related to time and quality, whereas students benefit mostly from skill development and struggle with structural barriers. Overall, both stakeholder groups value the skills developed, knowledge gathered, and relationships built through the CER process and projects completed through the RS.

This research has the potential to create its own positive impacts—both locally and internationally. The results presented in this article will inform the RS's evolving practice, ensuring that it continues to address community, student, and institutional needs and generate positive, mutually beneficial impacts for stakeholder groups. It also provides a snapshot of the RS from 2009 to 2018 that can be used as a baseline when considering continued impact and evolution in the future, or when comparing impact with other science shops and CER mechanisms. This article contributes to the diversity of the existing body of literature on science shops and CER by providing a case study of a cocurricular, university-administered science shop in North America. It has the potential to add to the overall visibility and perceived legitimacy of CER and science shops on an international scale.

Expanding on this study, future research could explore other models of cocurricular science shops with the aim of determining whether similar benefits and challenges exist among similar models. Alternatively, it could be worthwhile to compare science shops in a common geographic area (e.g., Ontario, Canada, North America, etc.) to see if benefits, challenges, and overall impacts align. Approaching these topics would continue to add nuance to the international body of literature on CER and science shops, and also provide further information on both cocurricular and North American science shops. Finally, future research should also apply a critical lens to the science shop model, including seeking to understand how equity, diversity and inclusion, and systemic oppression play roles in student and community partner access to science shops. As CESI and the RS move toward critical community-engaged scholarship, it is important to assess and evaluate its impacts on our own programs, along with the research we perform.

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Community-Engaged Scholarship for Graduate Students: Insights from the CREATE Scholars Program

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Abstract

We describe an extracurricular graduate fellowship program designed to train students in community-engaged scholarship with Black and Indigenous communities. The CREATE Scholars program combines coursework, research externships, and experiential learning opportunities in order to develop graduate student competencies in codevelopment, community engagement, and scholar-advocacy. We offer reflections on lessons learned from the perspective of students and faculty in the program. We conclude with recommendations for like-minded academic leaders and program directors seeking to expand opportunities for graduate students to engage in reciprocal and thoughtful community partnerships.

Keywords: graduate education, community engagement, outreach, university, cohort programs, interdisciplinary

Graduate education is not only a pathway for career advancement, but also a critical time for developing one's identity as a scholar (Day et al., 2012). Growing societal attention to issues of inequality, climate change, and racial justice have only enhanced student desires to better connect their professional development with urgent environmental and social challenges. Whether pursuing careers as faculty or in another sector, today's graduate students seek training that will prepare them to solve complex societal challenges (Garibay & Vincent, 2018). Graduate students need opportunities to participate in interdisciplinary and engaged models of scholarship that align with their values, help form their identities as scholar-advocates, and enable contributions to long-term societal change (O'Meara, 2008).

Graduate programs face increasing pressure to decolonize systems of knowledge production; challenge conventional academic norms and incentive structures; and promote diversity, equity, and inclusion in the academy (Davies et al., 2021; Keeler et al., 2017; Parker et al., 2018). At the same time, universities risk perpetuating harmful power relationships and falling short in developing sustainable solutions unless they critically appraise their engaged scholarship and community-based learning programs, emphasizing the importance of sharing these programs' challenges and successes (Jaeger et al., 2011; Peterson, 2009).

Unfortunately, the traditional model of graduate school training has not evolved to meet the changing desires of students. Graduate programming remains largely individual and disciplinary, as opposed to team-based, transdisciplinary, and externally engaged (Sandmann et al., 2008). Doctoral programs rarely include instruction in vital professional skills such as organization and outreach, public engagement, leadership, and cooperative problem-solving. As a result, graduate students lack access to the mentorship and professional development opportunities that are needed to effectively translate their knowledge and skills to applied problems (Campbell et al., 2005; Nerad, 2004; Sandmann et al., 2008). Although outreach and service are

frequently integrated, these activities are typically one-way approaches to delivering knowledge and skills, rather than focusing on the two-way process of engagement with external partners that leads to mutually beneficial outcomes with greater sustained impacts (Weerts & Sandmann, 2010). Students report feeling frustrated by the lack of opportunities to conduct interdisciplinary research and expand their training beyond the academy (Jacob, 2015; O'Meara, 2008). In response, new models of graduate education are emerging to facilitate interdisciplinary and community-engaged research opportunities for students (Andrade et al., 2014; Matthews et al., 2015).

The purpose of this article is to describe one model for a graduate training program that provides students the opportunity to work in interdisciplinary teams on community-defined problems related to social and environmental justice. The CREATE Scholars program is unique among interdisciplinary graduate training programs in that our engagement efforts prioritize bidirectional community collaboration with historically marginalized Black and Indigenous communities. External collaborations can take many forms. However, historical inequities, power imbalances, and resource constraints make university partnerships with traditionally underresourced communities unique and deserving of special consideration and training (Lum & Jacob, 2012; O'Meara, 2008). Our approach to curriculum development and identification of community partners is grounded in an analysis of structural racism and the role of institutions in higher education in perpetuating systems of inequality. Building on the framework of "resourcefulness" developed by MacKinnon and Derickson (2013) and elaborated by Derickson and Routledge (2015), CREATE aims to reorient the research university toward relationships of accountability and to mobilize its resources to ask and answer questions that are a priority to partners who have not historically shaped institutional research agendas. In this sense it is distinct from some approaches to community engagement that do not explicitly prioritize working with and resourcing historically marginalized groups. We summarize insights from our experience as leaders and participants in the program in an effort to stimulate a conversation about how institutions can adapt or build on our approach or combine elements of our model with existing or proposed graduate programs.

Codeveloping Research and Engaged Approaches to Transform Environments: The CREATE Scholars Program

Recruitment

The CREATE Scholars program serves University of Minnesota graduate students interested in community-engaged and interdisciplinary research at the intersection of environmental justice and racial equity. We selected students for acceptance into the program based on their stated and demonstrated motivation to codevelop research questions with community partners, work as part of interdisciplinary teams, and refine their approach to scholar-advocacy. The focus was on training students who sought to grow in these areas but lacked access to the funding and mentorship to work with community members through their disciplinary departments. In this way, the CREATE Scholars program fills a known skills development gap in conventional graduate training programs (Day et al., 2012; Sandmann et al., 2008).

We recruited students from over nine colleges, including engineering, geography, chemistry, psychology, educational leadership, communications studies, and public policy. Many students had no prior experience with environmental or social justice research. A common theme in applications was a desire to "directly address challenges facing communities," "collaborate with members from multiple academic disciplines," and "learn to effectively unite diverse academic perspectives in order to conduct impactful interdisciplinary research." This statement from a scholar application aptly summarizes student motivation for participation in the program:

> I am applying for the CREATE scholarship because it values the leadership of communities impacted by environmental injustices, while also empowering scholars to identify their skills to use in solidarity with those communities. Potentially my strongest interest in the CREATE scholarship is its emphasis on products that will be legible and useful to the communities it serves.

Program Design

The 12-month program included a one-credit spring semester practicum course, paid 8-week summer externship, and a fall semester reflection period (Figure 1). Students also participated in retreats, community-building activities, and skills workshops. Funding for the program covered 8-week summer research assistantships for all scholars, half-time salary for a program coordinator, and summer salary for faculty instructors, for a total cost of approximately $150,000 annually. Available funding allowed us to run the program for 2 years, serving cohorts of 11 scholars during the 2019 program year and 12 scholars during 2020.

The program began with a mandatory one-credit practicum course designed to build a shared sense of community, develop skills needed to be effective community-engaged researchers, and raise awareness of the issues and priorities of community partners. The curriculum included a book discussion on race using the texts *So You Want to Talk About Race* by Ijoma Olouo (2019 cohort) and *How to Be an Anti-Racist* by Ibram X. Kendi (2020 cohort). Course instructors used these texts and associated resources, not as comprehensive treatments of the experiences of marginalized communities, but rather as entry points to conversations about the problematic legacies of university research, researcher positionality, and the dynamics of power and privilege as they intersected with academic partnerships. Creating a space that was intentionally nondisciplinary, nongraded, and noncompliant with traditional university norms encouraged feelings of psychological safety and shared vulnerability that supported scholar growth.

The remaining curriculum was designed to prepare students to engage with community partners in the process of research codevelopment. Class discussions covered best practices for team-based interdisciplinary scholarship, scholar advocacy, models of healthy university–community partnerships, and techniques for building respectful relationships. CREATE scholars were instructed in these models before meeting with their respective community groups. Faculty and staff mentored scholars in expectations for community engagement, including how to write an introductory email to a partner, strategies and agendas for one-on-one meetings, and norms and expectations for "closing" a relationship. Training in these soft skills of relationship-building was a required part of the fellowship, and hard skills workshops in data analysis, qualitative methods, story mapping, and facilitation were offered as optional activities based on student interests.

Community Involvement

Community partners were recruited from the existing members of the CREATE Initiative's Policy Think Tank (https://create.umn.edu/

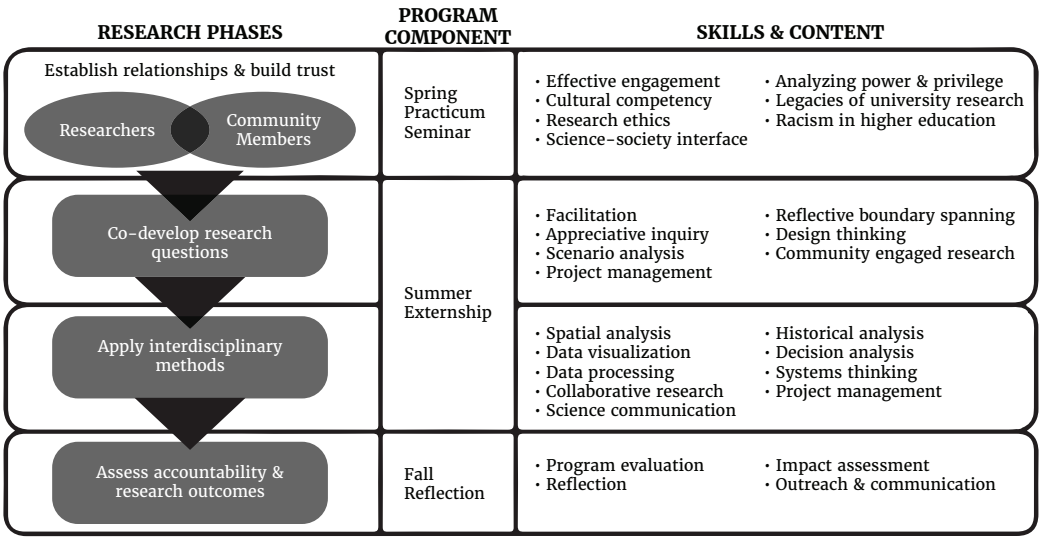

Figure 1. The CREATE Scholars Program Design Schematic With Key Competencies
Note. The program consisted of three components that mapped onto key training objectives and skill areas designed to guide students toward competency in community engagement and codevelopment.

our-team). Think Tank members are organizational leaders and advocates who represent Black and Indigenous communities in Minneapolis, Minnesota; Atlanta, Georgia; and North Florida. A common theme among all community partners was an interest in environmental justice and the relationships between racialized exclusion and the natural environment. Relationships with community partners can take years to develop, which often constitutes a stumbling block to incorporating students in community engagement. The CREATE Scholars program relied on the consistency and credibility of existing faculty relationships with the Policy Think Tank, which enabled students to enter into these relationships for a summer rather than having to develop and carry the relationship forward over time. By institutionalizing key relationships with community partners, the Think Tank model takes the onus off graduate students to form their own "new" relationships and allows faculty to deliver valuable research to community partners over multiple years. Observing how faculty sustain engagement with community partners is also instructive for students, allowing them to appreciate how to adapt principles and models of community engagement to meet the needs of a range of organizations (Weerts & Sandmann, 2010).

Students were grouped into teams to construct draft work plans to be presented to community partners based on community-articulated needs. The process of triangulating community priorities with the skills and resources of scholars was one of the challenges faced in the implementation of this program. Some community partners had specific tasks in mind; however, many were less clear on how student teams could be helpful. Faculty mentored students through the process of codevelopment, noting that external partners shouldn't be expected to know how academic researchers can be helpful and suggesting ways to "bring something to the table" while also being open to iteration, continuous feedback, and flexibility.

Outcomes

Products from the student externships included ArcGIS StoryMaps documenting the environmental histories of urban watersheds, training and resources for integrating Dakota culture and history into a sixth grade social studies curriculum, grant writing for climate adaptation initiatives on behalf of communities, and quantitative analysis of gentrification risks associated with urban park investments. All products from the student externships can be viewed on the CREATE Initiative website (https://create.umn.edu), along with reflective blog posts written by scholars at the conclusion of their externships. Students and community projects were featured in a culminating public event at the university, where community mentors participated as panelists and shared their reflections on effective academic–community partnerships.

The COVID-19 pandemic and Minneapolis uprisings of 2020 required adjustments to the externship experience for our 2020 cohort. Collaborations with community partners were conducted solely online, and some research projects pivoted to focus on emerging needs of communities in the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd. For example, one group developed a StoryMap on gentrification in a neighborhood impacted by property damage during the uprising with the understanding that unfolding events added a new layer of complication to long-standing community concerns. Heightened community needs resulting from the pandemic and uprising required increased sensitivity to time requested of community partners. In several cases, research or data was not nearly as urgent as hands to help distribute food or meet material needs. This forced the students and faculty to reflect on the limits of what a university–community partnership can offer, especially during times of crisis. Despite these challenges, students and partners were able to adapt to online platforms for engagement and still produce valuable products for communities.

Reflections

As faculty leaders and student participants in the CREATE Initiative, we had frequent discussions about the impact of the scholars program and how the experience differed from the graduate programming in the home department of each scholar. Reflection activities were built into the program and continued via informal conversations with CREATE staff, faculty, and scholars. Here we summarize three insights that were coarticulated by scholars and faculty that may have salience for other programs with overlapping aims.

An Emphasis on Resourcefulness

Our program adopted a model of "resourcefulness" to guide our approach to engaging and collaborating with community organizations (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013). Grassroots organizations and low-income communities, although holders of local expertise and relationships, are materially underresourced relative to universities. This distribution of resources has implications for the kinds of knowledge products communities are able to develop as well as their capacity to engage with researchers. When community organizations or initiatives do have paid staff, they are often pulled in many directions and have to juggle a mix of responsibilities. Community members who want to participate in research activities may likewise face barriers, such as lack of transportation or child care. The value of resourcefulness directs academics to take a holistic appraisal of the resources universities can offer a partner organization or group in order to enable them to fully participate in shared activities.

For students, the practice of resourcefulness means centering the needs of the partner organization and thinking about how student actions, time, and capacity can *resource* their community partners. Students have access to high-speed internet, university libraries, meeting spaces, large-scale printers, GIS software, and research and IT staff, resources that are often unavailable to community organizations. Simply connecting these amenities and resources with communities via student externships can offer tremendous value to external partners who do not typically have access to teams of consultants and in-house research support. We encouraged students to think about the barriers partners faced and how they could alleviate them through their work. Resourcefulness also means that activities and planning unfold at a pace that aligns with the organization's capacity and needs, instead of the students' academic calendars. At an institutional level, the CREATE Initiative worked to materially resource partners by providing a stipend to either compensate them for their time or provide funding to their organization.

Rethinking What Counts as Knowledge Products

Graduate students are trained to produce journal articles, book chapters, or lectures that speak to disciplinary audiences and address knowledge gaps defined by other academics. In contrast, the knowledge products desired by communities take such forms as fact sheets, training modules, maps, and videos. Although community-facing knowledge products differ in form from conventional knowledge products, graduate students are well positioned to contribute to the production of these materials. Students leveraged their graduate training to track down information, synthesize insights from research, work with varied datasets, and quickly and efficiently gain new knowledge. CREATE Scholars conducted informal interviews, established websites for community partners, created maps, and developed presentation materials for organizations.

For one CREATE Scholar, products took the form of informational handouts that community partners could use at public events. For another student, creating a StoryMap required careful listening and following the lead of the partner on their vision for an accurate, respectful, and culturally meaningful representation of their community. Community-facing products also required clear and effective written communication, allowing scholars to practice a skill central to academic training regardless of discipline. Navigating these alternative knowledge products was not always easy for scholars, as there was sometimes a perceived conflict between the high standards of evidence typically associated with peer-reviewed academic products and the less precise, but more responsive, research that can address an immediate community need.

Process *Is* the Product

By design, externship programs are temporary, and the short time frame can create a hyperfocus on efficiency and product completion. In our program, we were intentional about pushing back on this tendency, encouraging students to focus on "process over products." The program leadership did not expect final reports or research products. Instead, we defined success as showing up, listening, and adopting a "willingness to be transformed" by the engagement. Being a responsive,], and resourceful partner was more important than the creation of a specific research project. As noted above, scholars were encouraged to think broadly about their skills and capabilities, which meant that sometimes the most valued and helpful contributions were in the form of providing rides, setting up a

meeting, making phone calls, or delivering food for a workshop. Centering the relationship, rather than a research transaction, was a key insight from the program and required cultivation of a different set of skills and self-awareness of positionality and privilege. We also encouraged conversation about the tradeoffs between conventional norms of scholarly excellence and the products of community engagement. Students in the CREATE program were still held to the disciplinary standards of their home departments and therefore needed to think creatively about how to balance their time doing work that was valued by communities while also making progress toward their thesis or dissertation.

A focus on process also encouraged students to reflect on their own approach to advocacy and scholarship. Guest speakers from the community and professional mentors from within the academy shared their personal experiences with advocacy and research and how it shaped their work. The knowledge products codeveloped with community partners often had a political goal, such as preventing land loss from development, building collective knowledge about community history, or raising awareness about and galvanizing resistance to green gentrification. Over the course of the program, we discussed how to reconcile personal values and commitments with the norms and expectations of academic research. We also discussed concepts of objectivity and legitimacy and how adherence to scientific integrity (as defined by Western systems of knowledge production) can come into conflict with the lived experiences of community members (Eigenbrode et al., 2007). These conversations were not intended to promote a "best" way of conducting community-engaged scholarship; the goal was rather to encourage self-reflection on these topics and explore diverse models of scholar-advocacy.

Evaluation

Preprogram Research and Development

We hired a graduate student with experience in assessment to help design an evaluation strategy for the CREATE Scholars program. Before beginning the program, we held listening sessions open to all graduate students at the university to provide feedback on their desires for extracurricular graduate training. We also reviewed relevant literature on community-engaged scholarship and identified model programs at other institutions. We distributed an online survey to all participants in our listening sessions to summarize their preferences for skills to be included in future graduate programming (Figure 2). Insights from the focus groups and survey identified "cultural competency," "project management," and "working effectively in interdisciplinary teams" as the most important skills students sought from a new graduate program.

Participant Program Evaluation

In collaboration with our assessment specialist, we developed a web-based survey for admitted scholars to assess how our learning objectives mapped onto student experiences. We administered the survey three times to the 2019 cohort: precourse, midcourse, and end course. In addition, we hired one student to complete three separate hour-long focus groups with 2019 scholars at the end of their fellowship. Our program evaluation focused on the 2019 cohort because we wanted the assessment to inform the design of the 2020 cohort experience. Results of the scholar survey are presented in Table 1. The number of observations is small, precluding any claims about significance. However, the trends point to a notable increase from precourse to end course in the number of "agree or strongly agree" responses to the statements "I feel equipped with strong interpersonal skills to effectively engage in participatory research with community stakeholders" and "I feel culturally competent enough to work with minority communities" (Table 1).

The focus groups with scholars upon completion of the program identified an increased interest in community-engaged research. Several students stated that the CREATE Scholars program informed their future research and work plans and motivated them to use a community engagement lens in their own work, something many of them had not considered before. A number of participants commented that the class offered diverse perspectives compared to other coursework and an opportunity for more experiential learning. Scholars also noted that the focus on personal transformation and the cultivation of soft skills was just as valued as professional development and refinement of hard skills.

Our limited evaluation suggests that the program achieved its goals related to in-

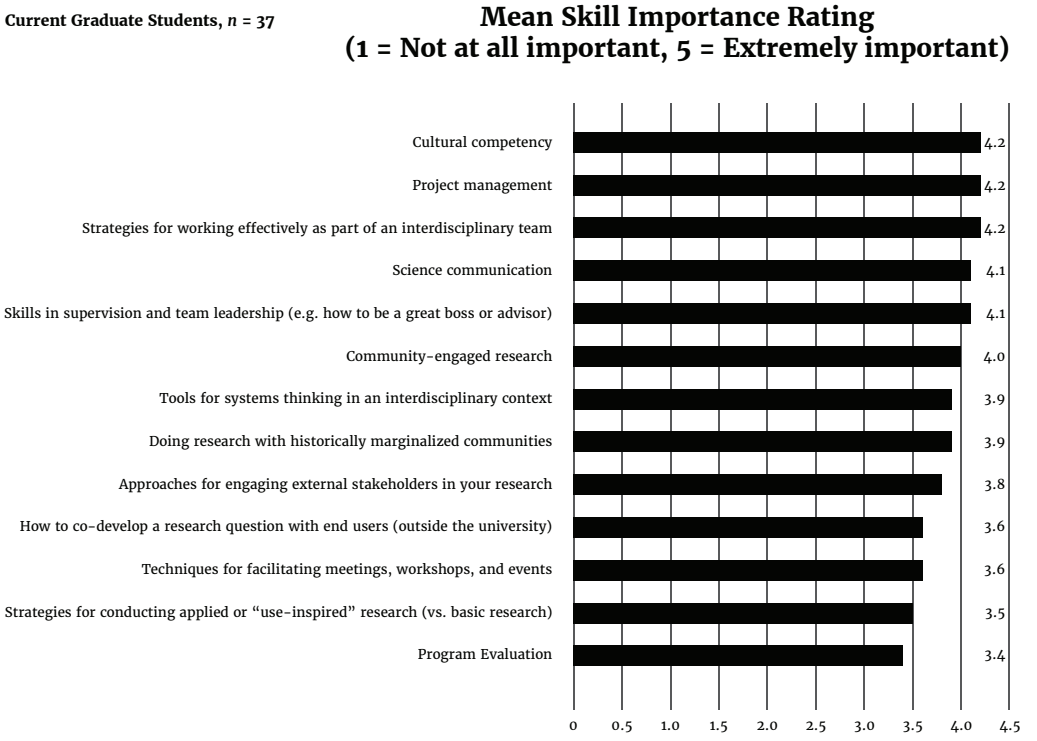

Figure 2. Survey Responses Regarding Skills for Future Graduate Programming
Note. Results of an online survey administered in 2018 to graduate students who attended listening sessions related to the design of the CREATE Scholars program (37 unique responses). Mean responses to each prompt reflect student preferences for a list of potential skills and objectives of a hypothetical graduate training program, with 1 = *not at all important* and 5 = *extremely important.*

creased cultural competency, increased comfort with interdisciplinary collaborations, and increased interest in conducting community-engaged research.

We did not conduct any formal evaluation of community partners' perceptions of the CREATE Scholars program because the program's conclusion coincided with the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and the Minneapolis uprisings of the summer of 2020. We did not feel it was appropriate to ask partners to complete surveys or respond to focus groups while they were struggling to respond to the basic needs of their communities. Informally, we have received positive feedback from our partners. Since the conclusion of the project, members of the Policy Think Tank have served as resident scholars at the university, given guest lectures in classes, provided mentorship and networking for CREATE scholars, and continued to communicate and collaborate with CREATE faculty. Although funding for the scholars program has ended, we have been able to leverage research funding from other grants to continue our relationships with the Policy Think Tank. Our intention is to continue to nurture these partnerships, involve individual students when appropriate, and seek funding to support future student cohorts.

Recommendations

We offer the following recommendations to institutional leaders and faculty seeking to develop graduate-level programming or coursework in community engagement.

Faculty Must Sustain Relationships

The success of the CREATE Scholars program depended on building and maintaining relationships with community partners whose needs often shifted in response to changing social and political dynamics. These relationships require attention and maintenance to foster trust and position academic partners to respond appropriately and effectively. As we attempted to scale up the number of relationships we had with local partners, we hired full-time staff to serve as community-facing representa-

Table 1. Survey Responses Regarding Achievement of Learning Objectives

	2019 Scholars Cohort		
	Pre-Course	**Mid-Course**	**End-Course**
	February 1-5, 2019	March 25-26, 2019	December 26-31, 2019
	n=11	*n*=8	*n*=5
1. I feel equipped to collaborate with my peers who come from different academic training.	3.9	3.9	4.6
2. I feel equipped with strong project management skills needed to complete different class and externship tasks.	4.0	4.5	4.0
3. I feel equipped with strong interpersonal skills to effectively engage in participatory research with community stakeholders.	3.5	4.0	4.6
4. I feel equipped with strong communication skills to explain my research ideas succinctly to a non-academic audience.	3.3	4.0	4.0
5. I can apply appreciative inquiry to understand community needs.	3.3	4.1	3.8
6. I feel equipped with strong leadership skills to work independently.	4.6	4.6	4.4
7. I feel equipped with cultural competency and how it might affect community engagement.	3.5	4.0	4.4
8. I understand the intersection of social justice and gentrification.	3.5	4.3	4.8
9. I feel culturally competent enough to work with minority communities.	3.5	3.9	4.4

1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree

Note. Mean student responses to each of nine prompts included in precourse, midcourse, and end course survey assessments (2019 cohort). We distributed the survey to all 11 scholars in the 2019 cohort. Number of observations reflects declining response rate over the course of the three surveys.

tives to service the partnerships and liaise between faculty, students, and community partners. Our experience suggests that in practice, it is very difficult to "off-source" these partnerships to staff, and the work is both more successful and more effective when faculty members themselves hold the relationships with community partners.

Make Funding Flexible

Traditional funding structures and strict adherence to predetermined budgets make it challenging to shift research directions in response to community-articulated needs. As a result, most sponsored research projects limit researchers' ability to enter into genuine codevelopment partnerships with community members. Resourcing partners often requires nontraditional purchases like gift cards, community stipends, bus tickets, parking passes, and hospitality expenses. Filing expense reimbursements for these items can hit bureaucratic barriers that make it challenging to use university funds to support the basic activities of effective engagement.

We recommend that granting organizations reform structures that make it difficult to shift objectives and adapt to changing community needs. In addition, universities can create reimbursement policies or dedicated funds that facilitate the transfer of resources to external partners. Our work benefited from the flexibility of an internal grant that allowed us to rebudget how funds were allocated as the needs and priorities of our partners changed.

Reward Student Engagement

Addressing community needs lacks the "academic profitability" of creating a high-impact-factor publication. Scholars were not guaranteed to emerge from their fellowship with CV-worthy products, academic papers, or proprietary datasets. We mentored students in how to translate their experiences as CREATE Scholars into future applications and career opportunities, including highlighting skills in engagement, public communication, facilitation, conflict resolution, and project management. Students were encouraged to list nontraditional products on their academic CVs and include links to blog posts and StoryMaps as evidence of their experience with codevelopment and interdisciplinary, team-based research. Documenting and highlighting these nontraditional products is a start, but our experience supports growing calls for revisions to the incentives and metrics used to evaluate and reward academic success; for example, through adopting a broader and more inclusive consideration of academic impact (Davies et al., 2021; Koliba, 2007).

Conclusions

The key ingredients of our graduate program—codevelopment, interdisciplinarity, community building, and external engagement—are not necessarily new or unique in graduate curricula. The rise of community-based participatory research, engagement initiatives, and training on codevelopment illustrate that universities are taking seriously the need to create pathways for students, faculty, and researchers to collaborate with external partners (Arble & Moberg, 2006; Jagosh et al., 2015). Our program is unique in that our engagement was intentionally oriented toward the needs of historically marginalized or underresourced communities. These communities have experienced decades of exploitation by researchers and have been denied access to resources and opportunities by the universities in their backyards (Lee & Ahtone, 2020). As a result, Black and Indigenous communities have justifiable skepticism about collaborations with academics. We also acknowledge that our program focused on a limited number of community partners whose experiences are not necessarily representative of the concerns of other Black or Indigenous communities. We encouraged students to reflect on whose voices were not represented in CREATE-mediated relationships and how collaborations with different partners require additional reflection, historical analysis, and interpretation.

Programs that aim to address this gap must start with an awareness of the problematic legacy of the academy and historical patterns of colonization and disenfranchisement. Our program devoted significant time to self-reflection, cultural awareness, and historical context before engaging community partners. When we did engage, it was under the explicit goal of identifying ways that the resources of a research university could be leveraged in service to community concerns. This distinction is key and reverses the traditional disciplinary model of developing questions and then identifying communities where researchers can test those questions to create knowledge prod-

ucts that are recognized by the academy.

In addition to technical knowledge and expertise, students were trained to build relationships rooted in empathy, ethicality, and accountability (Sprain & Timpson, 2012). A focus on the "habits of responsible participation" and exposing students to contrasting knowledge paradigms and worldviews helped build trust with the community, generate ideas from diverse viewpoints, and improve chances of translating knowledge to action (Beier et al., 2017; Klein, 2014; Liberatore & Funtowicz, 2003; Mattor et al., 2014). Particularly for students of color, engaging with culturally diverse, non-Westernized ways of knowing can be validating and motivating (Banks & Dohy, 2019; Davies et al., 2021).

It is challenging to develop and implement new approaches to graduate training—especially ones that run counter to traditional funding schemes and reward systems, require high faculty involvement over multiple years, and then may not be recognized in tenure review (Koliba, 2007). However, the payoffs for these efforts can be significant, as evidenced by the student, faculty, and community partnerships fostered by the CREATE Initiative (Derickson et al., 2021; Ehrman-Solberg et al., 2020). In our experience, many of the best and brightest students seek these opportunities. In order to stay competitive, institutions of higher education will face increasing pressure to develop programming that prioritizes interdisciplinarity and external engagement, especially around themes of racial justice, sustainable development, and environmental change. These opportunities are essential not only for creating the next generation of societal leaders, but also to ensure our universities are fulfilling their social contract to produce future leaders capable of addressing these challenges (Lubchenco, 1998).

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Strategic Doing and the PROSPER Program Delivery System: A Case Study of the Translational Research Process

David Julian, Kenneth Martin, and Karima Samadi

Abstract

This article summarizes a project focused on the PROSPER program delivery system as a formal vehicle for addressing substance misuse and abuse in Ohio communities. Promoting School–community–university Partnerships to Enhance Resilience (PROSPER) is a nationally recognized, evidence-based program delivery system designed to implement prevention programming provided by a partnership among local schools and communities, the university-based Cooperative Extension system, and state leadership. A case study is presented that describes a midproject effort to develop strategies for advancing PROSPER goals through a process called *strategic doing*. Strategic doing brings partners together to develop strong collaborations that achieve highly desired outcomes. The case study is an example of a formal effort to translate scientific knowledge into applications that address real-life problems. Implications for translational research are discussed.

Keywords: substance abuse prevention, translational research, PROSPER, university–community partnerships, Cooperative Extension

A team of program providers and researchers representing a research-intensive university located in a highly industrialized Midwestern state are engaged in a concerted effort to facilitate the implementation of substance misuse prevention programming at the local level. The Promoting School–community–university Partnerships to Enhance Resilience (PROSPER) program delivery system (Partnerships in Prevention Science Institute, n.d.) is being utilized as a significant element in support of this effort. In addition, actions derived from a formal planning activity referred to as *strategic doing* (Morrison & Hutcheson, 2014) are similarly being used to propel the project forward. Finally, team members are applying research, evaluation, and policy development processes highly consistent with a translational research framework. This article provides a case study linking translational research as a framework, the PROSPER program delivery system as an approach to implementation of prevention education programming, and strategic doing as a mechanism for defining and initiating project implementation activities.

Relevance to Extension

A brief review of the history of the land-grant university system indicates that translational research has been a major pillar (Gavazzi & Gee, 2018; Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities, 1999; Peters et al., 2005). The land-grant mission provides a road map for strengthening translational research across the university campus for both land-grant and non-land-grant public universities. Beginning with the Morrill Act of 1862, the United States established a history of providing access to higher education for the nation's disadvantaged and underserved populations. Twenty-five years later, the federal partner established a funding commitment to research through the Hatch Act of 1887. This act acknowledged the importance of translational research for gen-

erating new knowledge needed to improve agricultural production and support of the developing nation's food system.

The second Morrill Act, enacted in 1890, supported the establishment of land-grant institutions for persons of color and increased access to higher education for underrepresented African Americans. The teaching and research missions of the land-grant universities benefited from a third initiative designed to enable the extension of the university to the community, which institutionalized the concept of translational research in the land-grant system. In 1914, the Smith-Lever Act was passed, resulting in a system to transmit new knowledge and understanding to the various publics that could use it. Funded by the federal government in partnership with states and counties, the Cooperative Extension Service became the vehicle for disseminating knowledge generated through research at land-grant universities, particularly the agricultural experiment stations.

Thus, the foundation has been laid over the last 150-plus years for land-grant institutions to play a key role in addressing the complex challenges and opportunities the country will face in the 21st century. The recent emphasis on university outreach and engagement for tackling problems at all levels can also benefit from the land-grant experience. The research and extension model that extends the university into the community to work in conjunction with local partners and collaborators provides a blueprint for effective outreach and engagement grounded in translational research. This case study provides a vivid example of Extension as a formal partner in a community-based effort to provide substance misuse prevention programs guided by the translational research framework.

The Translational Research Framework

There are a variety of models or approaches to translational research (Tabak et al., 2012). Translational research is most often defined in terms of moving scientific knowledge into routine use to address issues related to well-being (National Center for Advancing Translational Sciences, 2015; Woolf, 2008). Abernethy and Wheeler (2011) acknowledged a translational research continuum that encompasses three distinct components proceeding from knowledge generation to translation or implementation to policy formulation. The knowledge generation component might be thought of as culminating in the development of evidence-based interventions that produce valued outcomes, whereas the translation or implementation component refers to the procedures necessary to use evidence-based practices to effectively address problems in communities, schools, or other organizations. Finally, the policy formulation component focuses on developing and implementing evidence-based practices across multiple jurisdictions (Bogenschneider et al., 2019).

Figure 1 provides a graphic illustration of the relationship between the translational research process, PROSPER, and strategic doing. The top pathway depicts translational research as a three-part process proceeding from research and development to translation to policy development. The middle pathway views PROSPER through a translational research lens. PROSPER is strongly supported by a body of knowledge based on years of research and development. This research base establishes PROSPER as a formally recognized, evidence-based process that results in the provision of evidence-based substance misuse prevention services. The translation component, featured in the case study below, provides a variety of scientifically derived mechanisms for implementing effective programs in specific locations. The policy development component similarly provides for formal efforts to expand implementation of effective processes and programs more widely, in this case to multiple counties across an entire state. The bottom pathway positions strategic doing as a mechanism for improving research and development, translation, and policy development activities. We argue that this set of procedures, referred to as translational research, has the potential to produce transformative change. In the case of PROSPER in Ohio, this change is manifest in desired outcomes indicating reduced harm from opioid and/or other substance abuse.

There are a bevy of models and approaches to translational research. For example, Julian et al. (2021) identified eight models or approaches. The policy, systems, and environmental framework (PSE) and the Cooperative Extension's national framework for health and wellness also qualify as models or approaches to health promotion that are subsumed by a translational research approach to local problem-solving. The PSE framework focuses on improv-

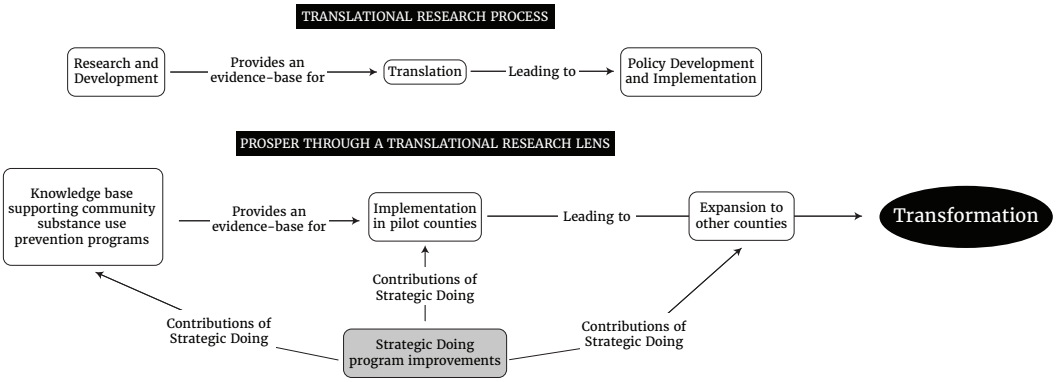

Figure 1. PROSPER Through a Translational Research Lens

ing community health and conditions. Historically, many behavioral health programs and initiatives targeted individual health and sought to influence behavior through educational outreach. However, individual choices are not the only decisions that impact the potential to be healthy. The PSE framework looks across the community and seeks to impact population health, leading to ongoing community health benefits by making more healthy choices available to community members.

Cooperative Extension's national framework for health and wellness is based on the social-ecological theoretical model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), which considers the relationships between the individual, community, and society. This national framework is closely aligned with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services National Prevention Strategy, which promotes four strategic prevention areas (National Institutes of Health, 2014): (1) healthy and safe community environments, (2) clinical and community preventive services, (3) empowered people, and (4) elimination of health disparities. Cooperative Extension can impact these prevention areas and works with partners to target Extension health and wellness priorities that help to promote healthy and safe environments and healthy and safe choices.

Translational research might be viewed as an overarching umbrella that subsumes other models and approaches. Its strength is evident in that it links and provides concrete guidance for research and development, translation, and policy development. Processes supporting research and development are well established, as are the requirements for establishing evidence-based practices and programs. The science and thus the process of translation is in its infancy, but well-researched guidelines are also available to practitioners to guide the implementation of complex social interventions. Finally, the policy development process is equally well established and provides a formal process for developing and initiating policies at the local, state, and national levels to promote the use of effective interventions. Thus, the translational research process provides a unique model for promoting transformative change.

The Opioid Epidemic in Ohio

In 2018, over 3,000 Ohioans died from unintentional opioid overdoses (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2020a). Furthermore, in 2018, the Ohio opioid-related death rate was 29.6 deaths per 100,000, compared to the national age-adjusted rate of 20.7 per 100,000 (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2020b, 2020a). According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse (2020b), Ohio had the fifth highest rate of drug overdose deaths involving opioids. Compounding the issue of drug overdose deaths, in 2016–2017, as many as 750,000 Ohioans had a diagnosis of substance use disorder (SAMHSA, 2019). Estimates indicated that the annual cost to Ohio was between $6.6 and $8.8 billion (Health Policy Institute of Ohio, 2017). The many statewide efforts to reduce opioid deaths through harm reduction included Narcan (naloxone) distribution and syringe exchange programs. However, prevailing thought held that the long-term prevention of opioid deaths required targeting root causes such as mental health status,

addiction, and factors related to the social determinants of health. The Ohio implementation of PROSPER was designed to address such issues.

Case Study

PROSPER in Ohio

In 2018, in response to the public health challenge of the opioid epidemic, a university Extension system (Ohio State University Extension) and partner colleges successfully applied for three grants to implement prevention education programs using the PROSPER program delivery system. The Ohio implementation of PROSPER involved the delivery of two evidence-based prevention programs: Strengthening Families 10-14 (SFP 10-14), a family-focused program delivered to sixth grade students and their families, and Botvin Life Skills, delivered to seventh grade students. The United States Department of Agriculture's (USDA) Rural Health and Safety Education (RHSE) grant provided funding for implementation of PROSPER in three rural counties, and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's (SAMHSA) Rural Opioid Technical Assistance grant provided funding for PROSPER in six additional rural counties. Finally, the Ohio Department of Higher Education provided funding for PROSPER in one urban county.

The goal of these grants was to implement the evidence-based PROSPER program delivery system and provide associated educational programs in rural and urban communities to reduce risky youth behaviors associated with substance misuse and abuse. Technical assistance was provided by the PROSPER Network organization (Partnerships in Prevention Science Institute, n.d.). The PROSPER implementation framework in Ohio had six primary components: (1) a state management team, (2) implementation professionals, (3) a research team, (4) local community teams, (5) Extension educators, and (6) prevention coordinators. The state management team consisted of Extension faculty and other key staff. State management team members supported community teams and prevention coordinators by providing administrative oversight and guidance. The state management team also oversaw local data collection and shared results with a variety of stakeholders. Implementation professionals established recommendations for implementation at the local level, and research team members developed guidelines for formal research activities.

Community team members were responsible for quality program delivery and management in their local communities. They engaged in community prevention awareness activities and focused their efforts on sustaining programs through local financial support, volunteerism, and in-kind donations. Extension educators were expected to recruit and organize community teams. This involved identifying two coleaders, holding and facilitating monthly team meetings, and recruiting program facilitators and student and family participants. A prevention coordinator provided technical assistance to the Extension educator in the educator's home county. This technical assistance ranged from creating marketing and promotional materials for school- or family-based programs to data collection support to fidelity observations. Finally, the university partnership was part of the National PROSPER Network and received ongoing support from the network team housed at another research-intensive university.

Implementation professionals adhered to the prescribed PROSPER process for the duration of the implementation period. However, many instances required modifications to timelines or slight alterations to implementation plans. The most concrete example arose as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. Because face-to-face options had been put on hold, implementation professionals engaged in significant efforts to adopt virtual/online options for program delivery. Although this option required additional training for program providers and development of new educational resources to support program delivery, it was also anticipated that virtual program delivery would help to build sustainability by providing more options to local program providers. Other examples of modifications included expansion from a school district focus to a county/community focus to assist with recruitment of program participants, acceptance of existing drug/alcohol teams (or subcommittee equivalents) as the functional PROSPER community team, and an expanded focus on evaluation and measuring outcomes.

For example, early in the implementation process, the research team investigated options for understanding the outcomes of participation in substance abuse pre-

vention programming in the urban setting. The project logic model or theory of change indicated that program participants would experience protection from risk and/or enhanced resilience. This observation suggested measuring risk and resilience among adolescent program participants. A formal assessment questionnaire, the Ohio Program Evaluation Questionnaire (OPEQ), was developed based on a thorough review of the literature. The OPEQ consisted of a 12-item resilience scale (Liebenberg et al., 2013) and scales designed to measure several risk/protective factors. Data were collected from potential program participants in the urban setting to pilot test the OPEQ.

Over the 2-year timeline of the project, two SFP 10-14 programs and one Botvin Life Skills program were to be delivered. Stakeholders intended to deliver the sixth grade SFP 10-14 program in spring 2019, the Botvin Life Skills program in fall 2019, and another SFP 10-14 program in spring 2020. Issues in grant approval and funds release resulted in delays in hiring prevention coordinators. Consequently, the timelines were moved back. Challenges in getting sixth grade students and their families to commit during summer and fall 2019 included conflicts with other summer programs for youth and hunting season in the fall. It was easier to schedule Botvin Life Skills for seventh grade students, as this program was delivered in the school during regular school hours. Then, as the Extension educators and schools prepared to schedule programs in spring 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic hit, and all face-to-face meetings were prohibited. No cost extensions were requested for the grants, and faculty and staff explored the possibility of developing online and virtual options for delivering programming.

Application of Strategic Doing

Problem Statement

The complexities of the PROSPER project revolved around weaving together implementation of two complex evidence-based programs in schools located in 10 counties and issues related to the COVID-19 pandemic. The Ohio project also involved the addition of urban communities, which was new territory for the PROSPER National Network. Complicating matters, many actors were involved in implementing PROSPER at the local level, including university-based faculty and staff, researchers, county-based Extension educators, prevention coordinators, and community teams, not to mention locally based community organizations and other state and local officials. Through the strategic doing process, stakeholders hoped to create a common vision and concise action plan to further the implementation of substance misuse and abuse programming in Ohio.

Strategic Doing

Strategic doing (Morrison et al., 2019) is an alternative to strategic planning that allows partners to address complex problems related to a variety of issues. For example, it has been used to address workforce development planning in Lafayette, Indiana and violence prevention in Flint, Michigan. Sullivan et al. (2016) defined *strategic doing* as a model or approach rooted in assets that are identified and combined to achieve desired outcomes. Strategic doing focuses on four strategic questions: What could we do? What should we do? What will we do? What will we do in the next 30 days? It is also guided by a set of 10 rules.

Strategic doing rules define a problem-solving process that proceeds from intense discussion of an issue to identifying assets that might be used to address the issue at hand to combining and leveraging assets to create and implement a specific strategy that yields desired outcomes. Strategic doing focuses on a relatively short timeline, ideally 6 to 9 months, and encourages specification of a small and manageable set of action items given existing assets and resources. The emphasis on assets is critical because it forms the foundation for ideas and opportunities contained in an action plan. At the end of a strategic doing session, participants leave with a concrete action plan, a scheduled follow-up meeting, and a designated strategic doing officer tasked with coordinating communications and providing gentle "nudges" to move the team forward.

The Ohio Strategic Doing Team

Eight PROSPER stakeholders convened on February 18, 2020, to engage in a strategic doing session. Participants represented all three colleges and departments involved in the PROSPER grants. Strategic doing team members filled a variety of PROSPER roles. Two of the three principal investigators (PIs) of the grants that supported the implementation of PROSPER were in at-

tendance, and three members of the Ohio strategic doing team served as prevention coordinators. Other team members filled various support roles and focused much of their time on the day-to-day management of the PROSPER project. The strategic doing process was facilitated by an experienced, university-based facilitator not affiliated with the Ohio PROSPER project.

The Strategic Doing Process

The strategic doing process focused on three major activities. As noted, the process was led by a certified strategic doing workshop leader. Early in the session, the facilitator posed a framing question: "Imagine PROSPER Ohio as a sustainable model for school–community–university collaboration that ensures that programs are offered with high quality year after year, benefiting youth, families, schools, and communities across Ohio. What does that look like?" This prompted intense discussion of a variety of aspects of the Ohio effort to implement PROSPER. Much of this discussion focused on addressing specific implementation challenges and expanding PROSPER beyond the 10 initial counties. The strategic doing team was next instructed to identify the personal and team assets they might bring to the table to promote sustainable school–community–university collaborations to address substance misuse and abuse.

Assets included strong connections with the state Department of Health and local health departments and established partnerships with individuals, organizations, and businesses at the local, state, and national levels. University Extension was identified as a highly valued and ongoing partner. It was also clear that team members brought many personal assets to the table. Team members excelled at capacity-building activities, engaging community members, program implementation, creating visuals, and grant writing. Critically, strategic doing team members were able to persuade or "woo" and connect potential partners. Access to various communication tools that might be used to promote PROSPER, including a professionally produced monthly television show, was also identified as an asset. Finally, significant knowledge and experience in project development focused mostly on fundraising was noted as a unique asset associated with the university.

In the next phase of the strategic doing process, team members identified potential projects (ideas) by "linking and leveraging" assets, generating a variety of project ideas. Some examples included collaborating with other university colleges or units; educating the public about mental health and building public awareness related to substance misuse and abuse; developing and disseminating a prospectus to share with potential donors, funders, and/or partners; conducting a needs assessment at the local level; creating and launching a prevention institute; securing funding from the Ohio Opioid Settlement fund or other public or private sources; leveraging involvement of the Farm Bureau via the Farm and Ranch Stress Initiative; and holding an annual summit for external or internal partners to strengthen collaborative efforts.

Commitment to a Project

In the next strategic doing process step, potential project ideas were reviewed and combined in unique ways. Most importantly, the strategic doing team identified the top three ideas from the potential project list. The development of a prevention institute was deemed a high priority potential project; this institute was conceived as a vehicle to showcase what thriving or competent communities look like. Convening an annual summit was described as an opportunity to focus on local issues, including access to resources. Finally, stakeholders indicated that efforts to seek additional funding to build local capacity and expand PROSPER across Ohio was a high priority. The strategic doing team rated all the opportunities on two subscales: potential impact and relative ease or difficulty of implementation.

Much like the process of democratic deliberation, each individual on the strategic doing team voted for their preferred initiative, and then the group negotiated a final decision as to the highest priority project: seeking additional funding and building local capacity. Further deliberations suggested that such a project should focus on the university-based team "becoming a trusted partner" by developing a variety of communication vehicles (e.g., PSAs) and increasing connections to local communities. In addition, it was felt that funding proposals should be directed to state, federal, or private industry sources such as pharma and the insurance industry and other traditional and nontraditional public health partners. To conclude the strategic doing session, the team identified concrete actions to be taken in the

following 30-day period.

The case study summarized in the previous paragraphs suggests that the framework provided by translational research is an ideal construct to guide the transfer of scientific knowledge to applications in local communities. This case study effectively illustrates several critical aspects of implementation of the PROSPER delivery system by school–community–university partnerships. For example, implementation team members were responsible for implementing the PROSPER model in several Ohio schools consistent with research-based guidelines. Overall, the strategic doing process offered the opportunity to consider significant assets that might be leveraged to generate resources to build local capacity and expand PROSPER to other locations in Ohio. This case study offers several implications related to the translational research enterprise rooted in university-based Extension systems.

Implications for Translational Research

First, the case study summarized in the preceding paragraphs suggests that the three-tiered model or approach to translational research (Abernethy & Wheeler, 2011) may be a useful tool to promote problem-solving in local communities. This model or approach posits three distinct components: (1) knowledge generation, (2) translation or implementation, and (3) policy formulation. The considerable research base supporting the PROSPER delivery system is a testament to its status as an evidence-based intervention (Greenberg et al., 2007; Redmond et al., 2009; Spoth et al., 2009). For example, implementing PROSPER with fidelity includes research-based requirements defining specific activities, roles, and infrastructure. Implementation of PROSPER and specific substance abuse programs in Ohio counties appears to be consistent with such guidelines. Expansion of PROSPER beyond Ohio's 10 pilot counties is likely to depend on formal policy development and resulting state and local policy decisions. Case study evidence suggests that Ohio project staff are actively engaged in a variety of activities consistent with the three-tiered model or approach to translational research. Importantly, such an approach may support efforts in other communities utilizing translational research as a means to address locally defined issues impacting well-being.

Second, anecdotal evidence accumulated through a variety of formats, including review of the strategic doing process, suggests that community engagement likely plays a critical role in the translational research process. Such engagement is a key ingredient in the PROSPER partnership process. Community teams are convened and facilitated through a series of activities designed to promote engagement and ownership of the local effort to address substance misuse and abuse. Given that the Ohio implementation of the PROSPER delivery system is largely focused on uptake by schools, engagement of and planning with school personnel, including superintendents, principals, teachers, and central office staff, are also critical factors that appear to be strongly related to successful implementation. In Ohio, challenges related to community engagement might ultimately be addressed through implementation of strategies developed through the strategic doing process summarized above. Short-term strategies and assets for addressing issues related to community engagement resulting from the strategic doing session include a variety of mechanisms to enhance communications among stakeholders. Thus, implementing the brand of translational research described in this article may hinge on successful engagement of and communication with a variety of community stakeholders.

Third, and perhaps most important, this case study points to the pivotal role of translation or implementation professionals in the translational research process. *Translation* refers to the active management of the steps and procedures necessary to effectively use an evidence-based practice (Wilson et al., 2011). In the case study provided above, strategic doing functions as a means of exploring and initiating concrete actions to promote implementation of PROSPER in Ohio. This perspective suggests that successful translational research is dependent on a formal community process, supported by the application of an array of implementation tools. In the best case, this community process results in the identification of a problem or opportunity and proceeds through the implementation and evaluation of potential solutions. Ohio's effort to address opioid abuse through the implementation of PROSPER is a keen example illustrating the importance of competent implementation as an essential ingredient in knowledge transfer. Competent

implementation appears to hinge on the ability to remain flexible but ultimately adhere to a structured and iterative process.

Fourth, within the translational research framework, solutions are selected based on available evidence and collective thought related to the appropriateness of the intervention in question given characteristics of the host community (APA Presidential Taskforce, 2006). This perspective relative to the process of translation suggests that thoughtful modifications to evidence-based practices to suit local circumstances are entirely appropriate. Such modifications appear to be routine. In a comprehensive review, Escoffery et al. (2018) suggested that many public health interventions are intentionally modified as part of the implementation process. Thus, a key aspect of the translation component of the translational research process might be conceptualized as an iterative set of activities focused on selection, modification, implementation, and evaluation of interventions designed to address specific local problems.

Fifth, the approach to translational research described in this article placed significant emphasis on implementation of interventions that have the capacity to address significant community problems (Fixsen et al., 2009). The PROSPER case study presented above suggests that implementation professionals fill critical roles relative to problem-solving and implementation or translation and that significant skills and access to a variety of implementation tools are required to perform these roles. For example, the OPEQ measurement tool was devised in order to collect data related to desired outcomes. Team members designed the OPEQ tool and administered it based on a formal data collection protocol. This data collection effort filled a specific local need consistent with PROSPER's research-based guidelines. The strategic doing process represented a second tool used to enhance the achievement of desired outcomes related to diminished substance misuse and abuse among students participating in substance abuse prevention programming.

Finally, bridging or integrating information and activities across the three translational research components (knowledge generation, translation or implementation, and policy formulation) also appeared to be a critical skill in translational research (Aarons et al., 2011; Moullin et al., 2019). Such skills were highly relevant in the case study described in this article. For example, implementation professionals were charged with understanding the knowledge base relevant to PROSPER and evidence-based guidelines for implementation. In addition, Ohio implementers had primary responsibility for facilitating local implementation of PROSPER. This involved contracting with a national vendor to train personnel; understanding the intricacies of implementing PROSPER at the local level; collecting and using evaluation data to inform program improvement planning; and engaging the local community, school personnel, and state education officials in policy development activities.

This case study suggests that the three-tiered model of translational research described above might be extremely useful to stakeholders committed to evidence-based practices to address problems identified by communities, schools, or other organizations. It also suggests that the process of translational research hinges on access to implementation professionals who possess a variety of skills related to strategic planning, the strategic doing case study being a prime example of the use of such a tool. The Ohio experience also suggests that implementation professionals must be versed in the use of evaluation and community engagement technology and associated strategies. Positioning implementation professionals as key partners in community problem-solving and making an array of tools such as strategic doing available to them may prove critical to the translational research process and may ultimately assist communities in addressing pressing problems such as substance misuse and abuse and ultimately enhancing well-being.

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The Carnegie Corporation and Philanthropy in Canadian Higher Education: A Case Study on the University of Alberta's Department of Extension

David Peacock and Connor J. Thompson

Abstract

We provide a case study of how Carnegie Foundation grants to the University of Alberta (Western Canada) during the Great Depression impacted the university's community engagement practices. Previously unutilized archival sources contribute to a historical survey of the university's Department of Extension as Carnegie philanthropy enabled the establishment of a Fine Arts Division within this department. The many benefits to the wider province, however, were laden with imperialist assumptions around race and the European "canon," and thus contributed to the concurrent development of settler institutions and erasure of Indigenous people's cultures and livelihoods. As Alberta's economy shrinks, unemployment increases, and university funding is cut, it remains unclear whether the desire for new and innovative forms of outreach and engagement seen in the Great Depression still exists today. Concluding, we ask what alternatives to philanthropy we can, as scholars, university employees, and citizens, make available.

Keywords: Carnegie Foundation, history of community engagement, Department of Extension

As Canada's postsecondary sector struggles through the pandemic, the radical moves to online learning, and diminished revenues from international students, 16 institutions are continuing to examine their community engagement activities, structures, and impacts. The University of Alberta (hereafter UAlberta) is one of those institutions that has partnered with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (hereafter CFAT), and over the past 2 years has participated in forming a community of practice of community engagement professionals and scholars in an effort to develop a Canadian version of the Carnegie Classification System for Community Engagement. Using the U.S. elective classification, one of the most successful instances of a sector-led approach to establishing quality criteria for the varied practices of higher education–community engagement, around 360 U.S. institutions have been officially designated "community-engaged institutions" by a national review panel of expert peers. As UAlberta (the employer of the authors) and other Canadian institutions work with Carnegie on this project, it is instructive to recollect the history of Carnegie-funded philanthropy at UAlberta, as well as in Canadian postsecondary education more generally. Specifically, we seek to highlight in a case study how grants from the Carnegie Foundation in the Great Depression of the 1930s impacted what today we would call the "community engagement" practices of UAlberta, in a time of social upheaval. As the postsecondary sector in Canada today grapples with the enormous historical task of decolonizing its institutions and meeting the demands of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015), we also question whether new Carnegie-inspired reforms to the practices of community engagement alone will be adequate to the task.

That UAlberta should be deeply engaged

in the sociocultural and economic development of the province, with concerted efforts to extend knowledge and learning to communities far beyond Edmonton and the needs of its on-campus learners, was taken for granted by university leaders and the Provincial Government of Alberta in the 1930s. The current pandemic provides an opportune moment for us to explore the roots of contemporary university–community engagement agendas, for both internal and external actors to the university. As Alberta's economy shrinks, unemployment increases, and university funding is cut, it remains unclear whether there is the same desire for new and innovative forms of outreach and engagement activity as there was in the years of the Great Depression. For instance, the recent diminishment of the Faculty of Extension at UAlberta and the redistribution of its faculty members into different faculties suggests that community engagement, and the scholarship of community engagement, is not considered as core to the university's mission as it was in the 1930s. Our examination of historical philanthropic grantmaking for outreach and engagement at the university in a time of economic depression, we believe, is useful for considering the place of community engagement within the contemporary university. Although there are no simple "lessons" to learn from the 1930s for the 2020s, we argue that without a clear demonstration of concern for local communities and their well-being, research-intensive universities such as UAlberta will continue to struggle to secure government and philanthropic support, especially in the short term, for their operations. Just as in the 1930s, innovative outreach and engagement assists the university in creating the social license for its research and teaching missions.

There are two further reasons for this analysis. The first is that the Carnegie Corporation was quite proud of how its funding in Extension was used at this institution. UAlberta's Extension work (and particularly the Banff School of Fine Arts) was repeatedly hailed as one of the Carnegie Corporation of New York's greatest successes in funding adult education (Brison, 2005, pp. 52–53). Carnegie funding helped increase the reach of UAlberta Extension activities across the province, and its outreach helped to endear the university to the people. The second reason is a historiographic one; a good deal has been written about UAlberta's Department of Extension and its various offshoots (Cormack, 1981; Fink, 1987; Johns, 1981; Reichwein & Wall, 2020; Schoeck, 2006; Walters, 2002), and Carnegie funding to UAlberta in general (discussed in Brison, 2005; Rosenfield, 2014). But no synthesis of this material exists that provides a historical survey of UAlberta's Department of Extension in light of Carnegie grantmaking. For the first time, and with previously unutilized archival sources from the Carnegie Corporation of New York Records at the Columbia University Archives, as well as materials from UAlberta Archives, we are able to provide such a survey. In doing so we hope to advance the historical scholarship of the early outreach and engagement efforts at a Canadian university.

A clarification of terminology will assist the reader in what follows. We will use the term "Carnegie" (as in "Carnegie anticipated"; "Carnegie sought"; "Carnegie funding") to refer to the Carnegie Corporation of New York (hereafter CCNY) as a means of avoiding repetition, or in instances where both the CCNY and CFAT had some involvement (or presumed involvement) in decision-making. Where we refer to Andrew Carnegie the person, we use his full name.

It is also important to distinguish the CCNY from the CFAT. The CFAT was an early philanthropic institution that helped organize Andrew Carnegie's efforts in education, with much of its work being dedicated to providing pensions for university professors. The CFAT later functioned to advise the CCNY on its donations, and occasionally on funding research in education. Its role in advocacy for education would distinguish it from the CCNY's focus on philanthropy, and the administering of funds to educational institutions. By contrast, the CCNY initially constituted an incorporation of Andrew Carnegie's previous philanthropic interests more generally. Through this body, Andrew Carnegie's work in libraries, church organs, and education continued, and it was not until after his death in 1919 that the organization gained a greater degree of systematicity and focus (Brison, 2005, p. 28). The CCNY was far and away the most substantial funding institution of all the Carnegie philanthropic organizations.

UAlberta's Department of Extension and CCNY Grantmaking

UAlberta's original extension work takes

on characteristics familiar to many of this journal's readers, such as the dissemination of western agricultural science and technologies to rural peoples in a recently settled colonial province. Extension was an early component of UAlberta, formed in 1912, only 4 years after the university's founding. Such efforts were understood by early leaders at UAlberta as making the university feel that it belonged to the community (Corbett, 1957; Cormack, 1981), and its relationship to the province as a whole, beyond its student body, was crucial to how the institution understood its role in Alberta. The importance of this function is reflected in the fact that even in the first year of UAlberta's founding, Extension lectures were already being given (Johns, 1981, p. 30). Recent historical analyses of the origins of land-grant institutions in the United States point to the violent dispossession of Indigenous peoples as conditions of possibility for these institutions' extension missions (Stein, 2020). In Canada, postsecondary institutions are also wrestling with their complicity in their roles in the colonization of Indigenous peoples. For instance, the statue of Egerton Ryerson—known as an architect of the Residential Schooling system for Indigenous peoples in Canada—that stood proud at the university in Toronto bearing his name, has been pulled down, and many professors, staff, and students have demanded the institution be renamed (Beaulne-Stuebing, 2021). Yet UAlberta was sufficiently committed to the colonial extension ethos of the time that it created a unique Department of Extension for this settler-development work in the province. As will be noted below, although Carnegie's philanthropy was silent on Indigenous peoples in the Province of Alberta, its grantmaking was instrumental in the wider colonization project of the university and the province.

Judith Sealander (1997) has suggested that "if the Carnegie Corporation practiced cultural imperialism, most of the colonials practiced passive rebellion" (p. 20). Certainly, in Alberta, not all rebellion could be described as wholly passive; Andrew Carnegie was not without his detractors in the province, nor were the charitable institutions that bore his name. A blistering 1910 article in the *Edmonton Capital*, presumably written by editor William Macadams, stated the following:

> Carnegie with his steel trust entrenched behind a tariff wall, robbing a nation by legal process, and his slaughter, as at Homestead, of workmen who feel that they are inadequately recompensed for their toil, does more to create the conditions which make for war than all his millions could offset by the establishment of a bureau for the promotion of peace. (Macadams, 1910)

Earlier, an *Edmonton Bulletin* article titled "The Price of Blood" (1901) had the following to say about Andrew Carnegie's philanthropic efforts: "Philanthropy which is only possible as a result of grinding tyranny and the extortions of monopoly is not philanthropy, it is conscience money or it is hush money" (p. 3). People clearly saw a contradiction between Andrew Carnegie's efforts at promoting peace and engaging in philanthropy, while also treating the workers that generated his fortune in an unfair, and at times ruthless, fashion (for other examples of Albertan resistance to Carnegie funding, see Gourlay, 2019).

Such critiques, however, do not reflect any general unwillingness within Alberta to accept Carnegie funds. In fact, as early as the 1900s libraries in the province sought Carnegie philanthropy, and the first time UAlberta received a Carnegie grant was 1923. The two grants awarded to the university that year were for insulin research and for the construction of the St. Joseph's Catholic College building (see Munro, 2015, pp. 16–20). Overall, Carnegie largesse was welcome in the young province, which was seeking to build its settler institutions, even if there were some hesitations about Andrew Carnegie's business practices.

Although UAlberta would not receive another Carnegie grant for some time, CCNY's funding would prove enormously consequential during the Great Depression, especially in its effects on the Department of Extension. Early on, the university had made great lengths in reaching rural Alberta, particularly through its public lectures, its magic lantern shows, and its traveling and open libraries. These early successes would be severely tried, however, by the onset of the Great Depression. The Depression devastated the agriculturally dependent Canadian Prairies and caused years of considerable financial strain to the university. Despite an overall cut to the Extension Department's budget, its activities continued to grow and

expand (Johns, 1981, pp. 122–123), which illustrates the importance of Extension's role in how UAlberta connected with the province. In addition to its existing resources, the department filled an important niche in Albertan life—as then-assistant to the director E. A. Corbett (1957) recollected,

> the depression had closed most of the small-town moving picture houses, and the people outside the larger cities had been more and more thrown back on their own resources for entertainment. The result was the growth of hundreds of small dramatic or little theatre groups. (pp. 89–92)

Thus, from the department's perspective, adjudication and assistance from the university could elevate these groups and expand the network of the arts in Alberta.

Though the university had no resources to support such a venture in Extension work, other philanthropic resources became available. Dr. W. S. Learned, of the CFAT, visited universities across Western Canada in 1931 to assess their viability for Carnegie funds, given the desperate conditions of the Depression. Before even arriving in Alberta, Learned had heard reports in Manitoba and Saskatchewan about UAlberta's excellent reputation in Extension work. Upon a personal inspection, Learned wrote that he "found the work admirably organized and directed," and that an unusually strong bond had been created between the province and the university (Learned, 1932). An application process was undertaken by UAlberta, suggesting the creation of a Fine Arts Division within the Extension Department. As UAlberta President Robert C. Wallace (1931) wrote to CCNY in 1931,

> It is, I think, generally admitted that in the scientific emphasis of our present day education there is need of the note [*sic*] of appreciation of the beautiful . . . we desire at the present time to stimulate an appreciation of the fine arts—music, drama and painting—in Alberta. It is not possible to consider under present conditions the establishing of any new department in the University. It would, however, be possible, through the Extension Department, to cultivate a wider participation in music and drama, and a more intelligent understanding of art, throughout our rural communities, if some assistance could be obtained for the work.

Upon Learned's recommendation and the CCNY's own evaluation, a 3-year grant of $10,000 per year was made for the creation of a Fine Arts Division within the Extension Department. As will be further discussed, a further 2 years of funding would be granted in 1936, also for $10,000 per year. The Carnegie annual donation over 3 years at the beginning of the 1930s for the development of the new division was $10,000, approximately one third of the entire Extension budget before the gift (most of which we assume was directed to salaries).

The earlier groundwork in establishing a connection with the rural population no doubt facilitated the success of Extension's CCNY-funded Fine Arts Division. Although the effectiveness and competence of UAlberta's Department of Extension was remarked upon by all who were aware of its activities, there is more to the decision to make this fairly substantial grant. During the years of the most substantial grant-giving to UAlberta, Frederick P. Keppel was president of CCNY. Keppel's leadership inaugurated a greater focus on "cultural" projects (such as work with museums) directed toward the arts, a trend that Brison (2005) described as seeking "to introduce the tastes, standards, and values of traditional 'high culture' to a wider segment of the population" (p. 77). The purpose of the Fine Arts Division was consistently described in similar terms to Wallace's original proposal cited above: to *create an appreciation* of drama, music, and fine art among the people of Alberta. UAlberta's Department of Extension participated in this movement toward bringing "high culture" to the masses, and through Carnegie philanthropy facilitated CCNY's cultural aims. This endeavor was seen as particularly important for the province's rural population, as evident even in Wallace's (1931) initial proposal to Carnegie.

Another justification for awarding this grant was the demographics of Alberta, which Learned saw as particularly desirable from CCNY's perspective. Learned wrote in his initial memorandum on Extension activities at UAlberta that "[t]he situation in Alberta appears to be peculiarly favorable for university extension activities. An unusually

large proportion of the leaders in the population throughout the Province have come from the old country and have brought with them their inherited tastes for music, art, and drama" (Learned, 1932). In a roughly contemporaneous document that may have also been written by Learned, the standards in fine arts being set by the Department of Extension were praised in the following terms:

> There seems to be a carefully developed plan [at UAlberta] which recognises "standards" so very dear to the heart of all Britishers. . . . The person interested in adult education out there must find himself in a situation approaching Utopia. An isolated people of good stock, interested in making for themselves a better life, with a fair share of leisure and few distractions of the modern world—what more could one ask? ([*Report on University of Alberta's Department of Extension*], n.d.)

There was thus a demographic, and, indeed, a racial expectation that efforts in arts and culture would experience success within Alberta's population, and thus, that Carnegie funding would be well-placed.

Questions of race are indispensable to understanding Albertan history during this period, and indeed, discussion between Carnegie funding organizations and UAlberta regularly addressed racial matters; W. S. Learned (1933) referred a Museum of Natural History research project to the CCNY on the "racial origins" of Canadian Indigenous peoples. A curator (who Learned does not name)

> had convincing assurances from well-informed observers, that there is a striking similarity between parts of [music of Indians in northern and northwestern Canada] and Buddhistic ritual music to be heard in certain parts of China. This fact, if it is one, raises suggestive queries as to the racial origins involved and throws some light on the former home of these Indian tribes that have apparently appeared in Canada in recent times.

This is one of the few mentions of Canadian Indigenous people in the correspondence between UAlberta and Carnegie. This project was of interest to UAlberta President Robert C. Wallace, whose own support of eugenics illustrates his thinking on race as a factor in Canadian society. As recent scholarship has emphasized (Kaler, 2017; Kaye, 2003; Vernon, 2020), the Canadian Prairies during the settlement period and early 20th century were far from the "leveled" social space sometimes implied in popular perceptions of the Prairie West: Racism and racial hierarchies were persistent and pernicious elements of how the region was conceptualized in this period and beyond.

The Fine Arts Division and UAlberta Extension Work During the 1930s

From the initial grant to the department onward, Extension work in Alberta increased tremendously. An important leader in the Department of Extension's activities was Elizabeth Haynes (Haynes, 1933). Haynes was hired as an instructor in the department following the Carnegie grant, and undoubtedly, the understanding was that a great deal of work and travel would be required in the role. Haynes's efforts led to the expansion of dramatics education and activity throughout the Province of Alberta. In her first year as instructor in drama in the department, she visited (from one to four times) 21 different rural communities, in addition to various places throughout Edmonton. Haynes's travels to rural communities across the province elicited an overwhelming response. Extension's annual report from the first year of the grant stated that

> it is very evident that there was a real need for this work. The response has been amazingly wholehearted in all parts of the country districts. The most fundamental work has been done in the field of drama, where [Haynes] has been taxed almost beyond her strength by the calls that have come to advise and assist in dramatic productions. (Board of Governors, 1933)

The circulation of plays via Extension's library services is one quantitative indicator of the increasing interest in drama that the Fine Arts Division was encouraging (Fine Arts Division, 1935). In the first year after the Carnegie grant, 1933, 419 communities were being sent plays for amateur productions. The following year, the number of

communities had increased to 483, with 4,285 plays being circulated. By 1935, these numbers had increased to 597 communities and a total of 5,575 plays circulated (Board of Governors, 1933–1935). The University's student paper, *The Gateway* (Pharis, 1936), reported in 1936 that "during the winter the Extension Library sends out plays to about 6000 people each year and could send out more if copies of plays were available. There has been a steady increase in the play-reading public of Alberta" (p. 3). The increased availability of services related to drama was extraordinarily effective.

In tacit agreement with CCNY's interest in introducing "standards" for artistic appreciation, the Department of Extension was active in adjudication of theater in the province. In the last year of Carnegie funding to the Department of Extension, 1936–1937, it was noted that the department provided adjudication "at 18 local dramatic festivals. This service for adjudication of oral reading and dramatics has been very much appreciated" (Cameron, 1937). Advice by mail on dramatics was a major feature of Extension activity. From 1932 to 1935, roughly 5,000 letters of advice on drama were sent across Western Canada (Corbett, 1935, p. 31). In the year 1936–1937 alone, it was reported that 1,900 letters were written to people inquiring about issues related to dramatics (Cameron, 1937). The performance and writing of Canadian plays were also encouraged—starting in 1932 and proceeding annually, a prize was awarded by the Department of Extension for the best Albertan plays in an open competition.

Community Outreach Through Radio and the Banff School of Fine Arts

The CCNY also made a similarly influential donation to one of UAlberta's most treasured institutions: the radio station CKUA. In 1934, CCNY donated music study materials that included over 800 records (Keppel, 1934). (The University of Saskatchewan, Acadia University, and Mount Allison University received similar "Music Study Materials"; Tippett, 1990, p. 145.) Carnegie funding had notable effects on CKUA, from its material facilities to the amount of programming it provided. Aside from the Carnegie music set, this funding enabled the establishment of a Sunday afternoon series headed by locally acclaimed musician Vernon Barford, which was greatly appreciated by the radio audience (Corbett, 1934; Walters, 2002, pp. 33–34). In the first year of the Carnegie grant, Elizabeth Haynes gave lectures on the history of theater over CKUA, and dramatic performances were hosted on the air. In the 1930s, a Sunday evening music hour also became a regular event that used the Carnegie collection of records. By 1939, the university's leaders had come to see the station as "one of the characteristic features of the Department of Extension, indeed of the Canadian radio world and [it] must continue to develop and expand" (Board of Governors, 1939, p. 13).

The culminating achievement of this work in fine arts extension was, from the perspective of both CCNY and UAlberta, the Banff School of Fine Arts. It was consistently flaunted in UAlberta correspondence to Carnegie; it was a major feature of UAlberta's annual reports; the CCNY itself consistently cited it as among its greatest successes in the funding of Canadian adult education. The school, currently known as the Banff Centre for Arts and Creativity, continues to support the arts in Alberta to this day.

In 1936, Carnegie was convinced to renew its $10,000-a-year grant for 2 more years, 1936 to 1937, thereby enabling fine arts extension work to continue. However, the CCNY did not renew the grant to the Extension Department after 1937. Alberta was still in the midst of the Depression, and the university could not continue many of its Fine Arts Division activities without these funds—even during the time between the expiry of the 3-year 1932 grant and the beginning of the 1936–37 grant, fine arts extension work largely shut down from August 31, 1935, to January 1, 1936. UAlberta's president attempted to restore the much-needed funding, and even then-premier of Alberta William Aberhart sent the CCNY a letter supporting the continuation of the grant (Aberhart, 1937; Keppel, 1937; Kerr, 1937). This continuation, however, did not occur. Although Carnegie funding on UAlberta extension work had a demonstrable impact, and the CCNY saw this work as a success story, the corporation maintained its firm stance on avoiding continuing grants.

Clearly the Carnegie funding of UAlberta's Extension Department affected its capacity. To expand its activities during the devastation of the Great Depression was no small achievement, and the intense labor of Extension's staff is testimony to the belief

in the department's mission. Although Extension activity, given its demand in the province, would likely have continued through the Depression without the Carnegie grant, the creation of a Fine Arts Division would have been unlikely, if not impossible, without these external funds. Extension activity was a fundamental part of how UAlberta understood itself and its function within the province. Perhaps no better summation of that sentiment can be found than in how Donald Cameron concluded the 1940–1941 *Annual Report on Extension*:

> To anyone who takes the time to examine the manifold activities of the Department, it must be apparent that through its Department of Extension UAlberta is making a valuable contribution to the life of this Province. There is no corner of the Province too remote and no group of people too small to be reached in one way or another by the University, thus it becomes in a very real sense a University of the people, serving them, guiding them, and establishing that community of interests and sympathy which must exist between an institution of higher learning and its constituency if the greatest values of democratic life are to be preserved. (Board of Governors, 1941, p. 33)

The Indigenous people's silencing and erasure through these comments must again be noted; the treaty making processes between the Canadian Crown and Indigenous peoples occurring over 1871–1921 resulted in the dispossession of people from their lands and their forced removal to reserves without traditional food supplies. There is no indication in the historical records that either the Department of Extension or Carnegie, during the years of our survey, had any programs or concerns for these acts of colonial power.

Discussion—Community Engagement Past and Present

Carnegie funds built upon and supported existing ingenuity and created the conditions for larger impacts. Ultimately, it was the labor of people in Alberta that brought the university to various parts of the province (though not all parts). Following the limitations of the Carnegie grant's discontinuation, in the record year of 1941–1942, the Department of Extension is reported to have reached over a million people through its various activities (Board of Governors, 1942). The legacy of Carnegie funding is no doubt part of what made such a remarkable scope of activity possible. As we have sought to foreground, in the process Carnegie also became an active agent in cultural education of Prairie people, an education that bore the imperialist and racist assumptions of the liberal, "reforming" White settler–colonizers of the time.

It must be said that, as the UAlberta case study demonstrates, Carnegie funding could be remarkably free of explicit caveats. Aside from the annual reports on how the money was being used, and more informal regular meetings with CCNY executives, there was little in the way of requirements by CCNY once a grant was made. Report writing back to Carnegie accounting for the grants, however, gives some indication as to what the university *thought* Carnegie might want to hear. One example of this is the matter of centralization. E. A. Corbett (1936), in his annual report to the Carnegie Corporation, wrote that "with the renewal of the Carnegie Grant for 1936, it was felt that the time had come to introduce a greater centralization in the dramatic instruction afforded through this Department." Centralization, insofar as it was seen to produce efficiency, was a consistent preoccupation of CCNY efforts in Canadian higher education; the most substantial example of this impulse was in the CCNY's efforts to facilitate the creation of University of the Maritime Provinces, centered on Dalhousie University, with other maritime institutions as satellites. This proposal aroused some support, but an equal amount of discord, in the provinces, with the University of King's College and Mount Allison University being the only institutions to pursue a federated arrangement (Brison, 2005, pp. 46–51; Rosenfield, 2014, pp. 84–105).

We want to be clear that our argument in this article is far from a paean to some "better" way of handling Extension work in Alberta's past. However, by looking to the past, we seek to highlight some of the ways community engagement could be conceived of at present, and how it remains to be reimagined into the future. Communities within Alberta and beyond need university knowledge and support as much now as

ever, but they also need to see themselves—and their knowledges—represented in research, teaching, and service agendas. This need is most acute for Indigenous peoples, whose work both inside and outside the academy to decolonize imperial forms of knowledge production and cultural expression continues to challenge unidirectional engagement strategies from the university. Although Carnegie philanthropy in Western Canada can be fairly critiqued as yet another site of settler colonialism and racist erasure of Indigenous cultures and knowledges, the question remains: How does UAlberta today serve its host communities and province in a time of crisis? Does it collectively have the will to support Indigenous communities, and marginalized peoples, as they create greater sociocultural and economic opportunities for their communities into the future? Can they rely on the university to be a place where their aspirations are supported, their cultures recognized, and their dreams for their future nourished?

Philanthropy and Community Engagement

No contemporary American source of philanthropy is as concerned with Canadian higher education and the plight of the people of the Prairies as the Carnegie Foundation was in former times. This present absence might come as a relief to some, as philanthropy itself has come under increasing criticism from within and outside the academy, especially following the 2008 financial crisis and rising global wealth inequality (among many examples, Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018; Giridharadas, 2018; Thelin & Trollinger, 2014; Tompkins-Stange, 2016; on wealth inequality more specifically, see Bjørnholt & McKay, 2014; Piketty, 2013/2014). The extraordinary accumulation of wealth by Amazon's Jeff Bezos and other American billionaires during the pandemic (Stebbins & Suneson, 2020) has only raised the ire of these critics even further. The environment of today's corporate philanthropy has important parallels to that of a century ago (a parallel to Andrew Carnegie's "Gospel of Wealth" might be Bill Gates and Warren Buffett's "Giving Pledge," for example), despite tremendous differences (not least in the political climate). Just as today the Canadian institutions working with the representatives of the Carnegie Classification for Community Engagement *pay* for the peer review of their institutional engagement activities, rather than *receive* money from the CFAT for those activities as they did in the 1930s, so too does UAlberta pay money to Google for use of its educational platforms without any philanthropic return. Our case study of Carnegie largesse has demonstrated that philanthropy does not have to involve the recipient in compromising accommodations to benefactor whims. Nonetheless, it also suggests that current philanthropy is also likely to carry cultural and epistemological assumptions that are not always in the best interests of local peoples, particularly Indigenous peoples. After all, the land on which UAlberta stands was bought as a River Lot (River Lot 5, one of the 44 large lots that once spanned the North Saskatchewan River). The larger historical process in which the university was created was one of colonization and massive settlement, with the river lots—overwhelmingly owned by Métis peoples, as well as other Indigenous peoples—gradually being transformed into urban space. Community engagement is never a neutral activity, and today needs to be anchored in the knowledges, cultures, and aspirations of those engaged.

Community Engagement Reimagined for the Postcolonial Era

This historical case study of the Department of Extension activities in the era of the Great Depression demonstrates how philanthropy can provide the necessary resources to innovate the community engagement function of the institution—that rickety third leg of postsecondary education, alongside research and teaching, which remains so vital in securing ongoing public support for those research and teaching efforts. Community engagement in fact, in its many guises, has always been funded at UAlberta via a combination of philanthropic funds and government funds, and often in mutually supporting ways. The Community Service-Learning program, of which the first author is the current director, has benefited greatly from more local sources of philanthropy to sustain its programming expenses beyond salaries. These gifts have, in turn, created the conditions for an expansion of staff and university resources into the program over its 16-year history. Our community engagement and outreach during the pandemic, ironically enough, turned once more to local university radio, just as the Department of Extension did in the 1930s, as a mechanism to reach marginalized learners (e.g., the incarcerated) in their time of isolation and

exclusion from contemporary technologies owned by some of the wealthiest companies on the planet.

Community engagement activities and scholarship, and the visible concern for people beyond a community of scholars attached to the institution, are almost always well regarded by the wider citizenry and governments, and create the community goodwill to enable the institution to pursue in freedom its equally important curiosity-based research and teaching. This is particularly the case as universities and colleges internationalize their internal communities. Provincial taxpayers appreciate an open university serving their children's and their own ongoing adult educational needs in rapidly changing economies.

Of course, the postsecondary field of 2020 in Alberta is a lot more complex than it was in the 1930s, and many urban and rural universities and colleges beyond UAlberta are engaged in research, teaching, and service for their host communities. Contemporary digital technologies, shifting economies, and broader urbanization patterns have changed the traditional outreach and extension function so that what had been linear spatial advancements into hitherto "unserviced" communities are now more complex, mutually beneficial engagements. Communities themselves are increasingly diverse in their expectations and aspirations, and the community engagement function necessarily is tailored to specific Indigenous, Francophone, and newcomer populations, among others. It is significant on this point that in the recent academic restructuring of UAlberta's faculties, Native Studies and Campus St. Jean are to "remain stand-alone faculties to preserve and enhance their connections to key communities and partners" (Chisholm, 2020, Motion 2, para. 2).

Yet for the Canadian provinces and their oldest universities and colleges, the decolonization agenda is proving more complex and painful than many settlers might have imagined or would have wished. The scale of the cultural genocide through the Residential School system (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015) has become apparent once again this past summer, with what feels like a new intensity. The long-known yet deeply hidden history of buried children at these school sites has been revealed anew to the Canadian settler population and they, perhaps more acutely than ever before, are feeling the moral imperative for renewed and more just relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Such truth telling and bearing remains the greatest challenge for all institutions in Canada, and the higher education–community engagement agenda must squarely confront this reality within the postsecondary sectors of the provinces. Initial indications from the community engagement scholars and professionals engaged in adopting and adapting the Carnegie Classification System for Community Engagement for Canadian use are that the institutional questionnaire is too generic to capture the progress of institutions in the radical task of decolonizing community engagement and postsecondary education more generally. For the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification to speak meaningfully to the Canadian postsecondary field, it will need to be reoriented to concerns for decolonizing institutions, in addition to speaking intelligibly to French Canada. Absent these culturally specific reformulations of the purposes and processes of community engagement, the Carnegie Classification risks becoming another mechanism for the ongoing suppression of Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies, and a barrier to reconciliation efforts.

Nonetheless, this reimagined community engagement function requires new models of financial sustainability in order to build a renewed social contract for the university in a postpandemic era. Sophisticated outreach and engagement functions across research, teaching, and service, acting in mutually beneficial ways, as per the contemporary Carnegie Classification definition of community engagement (Simon Fraser University, 2020; see also Saltmarsh & Johnson, 2020), will need ongoing support from both governments and philanthropists. The postsecondary institutions themselves also need to renew their commitments, pressing forward in new acts of justice and reparations for their historical leaders' roles in Indigenous colonization and cultural genocide.

Conclusion

Our case study has suggested that, where public funding was impossible to access, private philanthropy facilitated community engagement activity that had long-term impacts many Albertans see as positive. However, the erasure of Indigenous peoples

and their aspirations were accomplished simultaneously, if not directly by the UAlberta and postsecondary institutions (although this point is debatable), then indirectly but efficiently through a wider colonization process in which UAlberta was an active participant. Carnegie funding thus was not entirely free of discursive, epistemological power and obligations in terms of directing the activities of UAlberta. Yet this case study suggests the funding was remarkably free of caveats that would constrain the university's ability to pursue its ends as it saw fit. This observation is not to uncritically endorse philanthropic funding, especially if it would straitjacket our ability to meet our obligations to the process of reconciliation, to social justice, and to our environmental responsibilities, or absolve government of ultimate responsibility for the financial well-being of a public institution. But we ask: Given the historical reliance of Canadian higher education on philanthropy to fulfill its community engagement functions, what alternatives are available? What alternatives can we, as scholars, university employees, and citizens, *make* available?

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Asylum Seekers in Higher Education in the United States: Emerging Challenges and Potential Solutions

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Abstract

Asylum seekers are generally excluded from welfare provisions, social support, and higher education (HE) in their host countries. The depth and impact of these exclusions is barely known, as this population remains invisible and underserved. This article aims to deepen understanding of the challenges asylum seekers face in accessing HE in Western countries and present potential solutions. Existing literature highlights (1) socioeconomic challenges such as poverty, unrecognition of qualifications, low language proficiency, and mental health issues; (2) institutional barriers; and (3) good practices such as policy advocacy, scholarships, alternative admission paths, staff and faculty training, community collaboration, and asylum seeker involvement in policy and decision-making. We pose critical questions on the role of higher education institutions in addressing migration challenges and facilitating integration through access to education. An ongoing student-run initiative at a private U.S. university serves as a case example to offer further directions for research and practice.

Keywords: asylum seekers, higher education, refugees, access to higher education, community collaboration

It was still cold outside, winter weather lingering in New York City, when we met with this group of students brought together by a desire to promote justice through innovation. The name of the group: Resettled Refugee Students Practicum. Their goal: to increase the visibility of current challenges faced by refugees and asylum seekers in higher education institutions and engage different university groups in an honest analysis of what universities are versus what they should be. Based on shared experiences of exclusion and invisibility, this group started with the thesis that higher education institutions were hard to get in and hard to stay in for students with lived experiences of seeking asylum. These institutions were not providing safe spaces for these students. Particularly in the United States. Particularly at that time: It was February 2019, a time when the political administration, and particularly the U.S. government, was doing anything in its power to restrict immigration policies and keep migrants out.

A few questions emerged very quickly during that first meeting: How to protect people who would be willing to share their stories? How do we even know who they are and what their challenges are? How to collect and use students' stories of struggle, trauma, and resilience in a higher education institution (HEI) context to make universities a place of refuge and safety, where learning is the primary goal, and where supporting students to engage in learning is the primary function? How to engage universities in consistent, coherent, and successful advocacy efforts to challenge current immigration policies? More importantly, how to claim access to education *as a right*? And, finally, how to build an argument when research on the topic is limited at best and invisibility becomes a protective mechanism?

Later on, one student shared with us how after she revealed to her professor that she missed a class because of an important meeting with her attorney about her asylum case, the professor started using the student's status to constantly single her out during classes, with the best of intentions, and have her "teach" about the challenges of forced migration, when all the student wanted was to participate in learning and feel safe in the process. All she wanted was to be a student. After that meeting, we decided we need to do more to raise these critical questions and create opportunities to identify challenges faced by students from asylum-seeking backgrounds in HEIs in the United States. This reflective essay critically discusses findings from the existing literature in response to some of the questions raised by the students and invites scholars, practitioners, and policymakers to reconfigure the role of HEIs in innovatively and effectively addressing complex issues such as forced migration.

Overview: Asylum Seekers in an International and U.S. Context

Asylum seekers are a neglected and unrecognized population at individual and institutional levels in the United States. Often subsumed under the umbrella of "immigrants" or "refugees," asylum seekers face specific challenges that are obscured by the temporality and precariousness of unrecognized refugee status. For instance, asylum seekers are not considered a specific and separate group of forced migrants in local or federal welfare policies in the United States, and the population is hard to reach by service providers and researchers due to their lack of attachment to public or private agencies (Karoly & Perez-Arce, 2016).

Although the U.S. Refugee Act (1980) and the previous temporary acts to admit certain groups of refugees included provisions for direct support in the form of temporary housing and living expense subsidies, as well as supplemental social services such as language training, health, school, and small business programs, asylum seekers were excluded from any federal government–funded social support provisions (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2015). The limited benefits available to asylum seekers are uneven and very restricted. Specifically, nondetained asylum seekers in the United States with active asylum claims may access the labor market 180 days after lodging an asylum application, urgent care and other health care insurance programs (e.g., Medicaid, depending on their U.S. state of residence), English classes, some limited social services not specific to asylum seekers, and limited legal support provided by local nonprofit organizations funded primarily by local governments and private donors (Meissner et al., 2018).

Many asylum seekers cannot receive their employment authorization even after the required 180 days due to delays in their cases related to lost documents, requests to reschedule appointments, and other causes. Thus, asylum seekers cannot support themselves by working for at least 6 months or, in fact, much longer, and they do not qualify for any essential welfare services and government assistance. One of the most pressing needs is legal counsel, which is not guaranteed to asylum seekers, making them scramble for scattered and very limited free and pro bono services.

As a result, asylum seekers are generally disconnected from service providers (e.g., social workers, counselors, health practitioners) and educators, or the institutions responsible for serving this population, specifically in Europe and the United States, due to complex barriers at the macro, meso, and micro levels. The punitive and deterrent asylum regimes in Western countries, the neoliberal logic of welfare provision manifested in the structure and settings of social services, and the issues of temporality and mobility ingrained in the tenuous status of an asylum seeker, all prevent encounters and meaningful engagement between asylum seekers and practitioners and educators, leaving asylum seekers with little recourse for claiming their rights (Boccagni & Righard, 2020; Robinson & Masocha, 2017).

One of the places asylum seekers are excluded from are HEIs. HEIs play various roles in society, from production of knowledge to educating professionals and producing nongovernmental societal actors (Jungblut et al., 2020; Toker, 2020) to facilitating an effective and full integration of immigrants in their host countries (Batalova & Fix, 2019). More recently, as core key members of the civil society, HEIs have responded to the recent increase in numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in the world, especially in Europe and the United States, through research (producing and reviewing migration data) and advocacy

(engaging with other members of the civil society on policy practice efforts at local, national, and global levels). Most of these initiatives focus on "refugees," sometimes subsuming asylum seekers under the term. A recent call between a group of universities in Europe and the United States, following a conference on refugees' access to higher education (HE), outlined concrete steps HEIs could take to assist refugees directly, including providing scholarships and tuition waivers, creating connected programs, and offering alternative paths to admission to accommodate lack of formal education documentation (UNHCR, 2019b). Wider policy initiatives clearly have framed the role of HEIs in fostering integration, with Germany establishing a government collaboration with university partners and funding universities to develop new programs or open current ones to refugees (Kracht, 2017).

In the United States, initiatives such as the University Alliance for Refugees and At-Risk Migrants (UARRM), launched in 2018 to unite researchers, practitioners, and policymakers, and the Columbia University Scholarship for Displaced Students (CUSDS), launched in 2019, are examples of organized efforts (Columbia University, 2019; UARRM, 2018) to advocate for and support refugees' and asylum seekers' access to higher education and the integration of asylum seekers and refugees through HE. The new initiatives will eventually produce evidence of what works well for refugees and asylum seekers, including research on the tailored approaches for each of these groups. Gathering this evidence, however, will take time. Although a growing body of academic research is focused on access to HE for resettled refugees, including refugee students (see, for example, Ramsay & Baker, 2019; Sheikh & Anderson, 2018; Streitwieser, Duffy-Jaeger, & Roche, 2020; Streitwieser, Loo, et al., 2018), much less is known about how asylum seekers' access HE and the barriers they are encountering in HE systems, especially in the United States.

To address the lack of a comprehensive policy response from the U.S. government to the challenges of asylum seekers in the context of the current enormous displacement of people, colleges and universities could provide vital support to forced migrants, especially asylum seekers. This essay presents major themes synthesized from the existing literature on the access of asylum seekers to HE in Western countries. It identifies significant challenges and barriers and good practices and recommendations that focus on needed wraparound service provision and political advocacy. The essay concludes with a call for a more active role for educators, practitioners, and researchers to analyze and adapt existing good practices in the U.S. context of education and to engage in practice and research that promote recognition and inclusion of asylum seekers, starting with their own HEIs.

The rationale for this reflection and call for more engagement stems from the current ongoing work of the coauthors: The first two authors have been building a community–university group to explore the issues of access and success of asylum seekers in HEIs since 2018, and the second author has also been providing education counseling, including navigating HEIs and finding private and alternative funding for asylum seekers.

The critical questions posed by this essay are relevant to educators and researchers, but also to practitioners who regularly interact with immigrants and refugees in their work. For example, social workers and counselors are often on the front lines of service provision to immigrants while also present in counseling offices on campus. However, there is little to no communication on issues affecting asylum seekers *outside* the university campuses despite the significant impact of such issues on their ability to start and complete their HE. Practitioners, researchers, and educators need to engage in a concerted effort to understand the challenges asylum seekers face, specifically in accessing and completing HE in Western countries, and intentionally include them in reviewing potential solutions that can increase access to HEIs and relevant support services. By promoting the right to education for all, HEIs can actively contribute to increasing safety at local and international levels, ensuring a full and effective integration of asylum seekers in their host countries, thus improving democracy.

Terminology: Who is an "Asylum Seeker"?

The U.S. Refugee Act of 1980 (codified in the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act, which is in line with the 1951 U.N. Convention on the Status of Refugees, i.e., the Geneva Convention), defines a refugee as

> any person who is outside any country of such person's nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. (Sec. 201(a))

An "asylum seeker" in a modern and narrow legal sense is a potential refugee whose claim for protection ("asylum") is not yet decided and who is inside the country where that asylum seeker is claiming international protection (UNHCR, 2014). Every Western government has a process in place for reviewing the merit of asylum claims, called refugee status determination (RSD). RSD follows national refugee laws, which are often based on the Geneva Convention (if a signatory), the U.N. Convention Against Torture, and other refugee policies specific to each country's legal documents (Hamlin, 2014; Schoenholtz et al., 2014).

The U.S. international protection procedures include the asylum procedures, with a marked distinction between "affirmative" and "defensive" asylum applicants. *Affirmative asylum* procedure applies to those who entered the United States on a valid visa and filed for asylum within one year, and who are interviewed by a U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) officer in a nonadversarial manner; it also applies to those who claimed asylum at a U.S. port of entry (i.e., at the border) who are interviewed to determine "credible fear" and either sent back or sent to appear before an immigration judge (i.e., in the Department of Justice's immigration court system; specifically, the Executive Office for Immigration Review [EOIR]). The asylum seekers who are referred to a judge can be either released until the hearing or sent to a detention center to wait for a hearing. Those who are in deportation (removal) proceedings because they overstayed their visas or entered the United States without inspection and were apprehended by the U.S. immigration authorities can file *defensive asylum* applications and request a hearing before an immigration judge (Human Rights First, 2014; Mossaad, 2019).

Status Recognition: Core Challenges for Asylum Seekers

In general, the United States is doing significantly less to support asylum seekers, with only about 39,000 people having been granted asylum in 2018, while there are 4.2 million asylum seekers worldwide (Mossaad, 2019; UNHCR, 2020). The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that between 2010 and 2019, the number of asylum seekers has been increasing due to the conflicts in Ukraine, Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan, as well as the deteriorating situation in Venezuela, with 880,200 Venezuelans having applied for asylum (UNHCR, 2019a).

These complex migration issues can be addressed effectively only through a multistakeholder approach; thus, the government's role is crucial to developing such an approach (Bruch et al., 2018). However, the current responses to forced migration in the United States are mainly characterized by increasingly restrictive governmental policies aimed at reducing the number of refugees admitted and drastically limiting access to asylum (Green, 2019).

In the United States, unlike in the European Union, Canada, and Australia, asylum seekers do not have access to any federal welfare services or minimum benefits such as housing, food, or clothing. However, some states provide basic healthcare insurance. Asylum seekers in the United States may apply for a temporary work authorization 6 months after lodging an asylum claim (Human Rights First, 2019). Asylum seekers are mostly left to fend for themselves and often exist and operate outside any formal systems of support. Many asylum seekers have experiences of detention and homelessness, among other systemic challenges in the societies where immigrants and asylum seekers are racialized and excluded (Green, 2019; Greer, 2013; Pascual, 2020). In general, precarity and uncertainty of an asylum seeker's temporary status and minimal social support services (if any) are standard across Western countries, allowing for comparisons (ECRE, 2020; Rymer, 2018).

Asylum seekers and service providers face deteriorating welfare efforts in industrialized countries coupled with the worsening political climate for immigrants in the

United States and in the West due to racist ultrapopulism, the post-9/11 environment, and the 2007 economic crisis (Dominelli & Ioakimidis, 2016; Green, 2019). Restrictions placed on movements of people caused by the COVID-19 pandemic undoubtedly will worsen the already problematic protection systems for asylum seekers.

Seeking protection is an unnecessarily lengthy process. Many asylum seekers wait for years for a decision on their asylum applications. In the United States, both the affirmative (USCIS) and defensive (EOIR) asylum systems have extensive backlogs, with about 400,000 affirmative cases pending in 2020 and almost 500,000 defensive cases pending (Office of the Citizenship and Immigration Services Ombudsman, 2020). Furthermore, RSD is still an "asylum lottery" in the sense that people's chances of getting a type of protection and status vary dramatically across the United States and European countries (see ECRE, 2020; or, for the U.S., Ramji-Nogales et al., 2011). The extensive oppressive policies that shape asylum seekers' trajectories, especially regarding entry and RDS, are highly legalized and subject to judges' discretion and attitudes (de Boer & Zieck, 2020).

Access to Higher Education: Exclusion and Unrecognition of Asylum Seekers

Based on 2016–2018 data, the affirmative asylees (USCIS provides detailed information on this category only) tended to be young, with over 60% of all asylees between 18 and 44 years of age; another third of this population were children below 18 years of age. The population had a 50–50 gender distribution (Mossaad, 2019). Thus, education, including higher education, is a salient human right that this population can claim.

Historically, civil society has stepped in to provide limited social services to this population, which was excluded from the central and local governments' welfare provisions. As part of the civil society, HEIs took an increasingly active role in, at the least, signaling the challenges faced by this population and indicating ways in which migrants in general, and asylum seekers in particular, can more effectively integrate into host countries. Motivations of HEIs in enabling access of asylum seekers to HE include moral and ethical obligations to the society, research and documentation mission, and visibility as experts in the field, as well as the role of HEIs in preventing marginalization of students and promoting integration while combating downward mobility and deskilling of this population (Jungblut et al., 2020; Lenette, 2016; Nayton et al., 2019; Toker, 2020; Vaarala et al., 2017).

Recognition and inclusion of asylum seekers in HEIs critically depend on their access to HEIs, which is the focus of our analysis. Once inside the HEI, students with asylum-seeking backgrounds face challenges that are mostly similar to those of other language minorities, including academic language acquisition, acculturation, and academic success and retention, with a lot of research and knowledge existing in these areas (see, for example, Hos, 2020; Kanno & Varghese, 2010; Sheikh & Anderson, 2018). Of course, migration-related trauma continues to affect students' ability to continue their studies and graduate, particularly in the absence of proper access to mental health care and other support services, and the ambiguity of rights as constrained by immigration status/status recognition creates added challenges for this population. Two critical issues linked to status recognition as a necessary step in accessing HE include unrecognized status (with many asylum seekers, although being de facto refugees and in the U.S.—fulfilling the criteria for asylum—actually not having their status recognized) and misrecognized status (due to administrative regulations, placing asylum seekers in the category of international students, which precludes them from accessing specific resources).

Our review of the literature indicated that research on the inclusion of asylum seekers in HE is naturally more extensive in the discipline of education, with Europe and Australia leading in their special attention to asylum seekers. Australian researchers have sounded alarms about the treatment of asylum seekers there, including unrecognition and lack of support and access to HE (in contrast to some European countries), with a sizable body of knowledge coming from this country (see, for example, Baker, 2019; Baker, Irwin, & Freeman, 2020; Baker, Ramsay, et al., 2018; Dunwoodie et al., 2020; Mangan & Winter, 2017; Ramsay & Baker, 2019; Sheikh et al., 2019; White, 2017).

With more progressive policies in Germany and the United Kingdom's Scotland, European countries have been engaged in bottom-up approaches to include asylum

seekers in HE. In these countries, for example, universities and local governments, rather than central governments, have been developing targeted initiatives to recognize asylum seekers and offer specific academic language programs, college preparatory courses on campus and online, and alternative admission policies with testing competencies in the absence of prior education documentation. They also have developed close partnerships with nonprofit organizations to provide comprehensive supports and services as part of the package to promote access and success of asylum seekers in HE (for specific initiatives and lessons, see Bacher et al., 2020; Halkic & Arnold, 2019; Jungblut et al., 2020; Unangst, 2019).

There is scant research from the United States on the access of asylum seekers to HE. A recent analysis by the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, the Institute of International Education, and UARRM of emerging initiatives in the United States that reach out and include refugees in HE pointed at many gaps in HEI policies and overall efforts. This analysis noted that the nascent organized outreach efforts targeted mostly resettled refugees and other refugees with more stable immigration statuses while excluding or not mentioning asylum seekers and their unique challenges (see, for example, interconnected research and reports, AACRAO, 2019; Institute of International Education, 2016; Streitwieser, Duffy-Jaeger, & Roche, 2020; Streitwieser, Loo, et al., 2018; Streitwieser, Roche, et al., 2018).

Asylum Seekers Accessing HE in Western Countries: Common Challenges and Good Practices

Issues of recognition and inclusion of asylum seekers in HE have been recently discussed and researched in the fields of education, higher education, and educational psychology, mainly in Europe and Australia. The European Union and some local governments have, with academics' help, produced reports on existing policies and issues. Most of the existing literature on the topic is thus limited to reports and white papers, pointing to the responsibility of HEIs in producing more scholarship in this field. Our review of the existing literature uncovered several major themes that summarized (1) socioeconomic challenges and barriers related to specific and unique circumstances asylum seekers face in accessing HE, such as poverty, issues with previous education and documentation, language barriers, and mental health challenges; (2) institutional and structural barriers related to government policies and stances and HEI policies; and (3) lessons learned from good practices and recommendations to tackle these challenges. In most of the literature, asylum seekers were noted as a distinct subgroup of refugees, though several studies focused exclusively on asylum seekers.

Socioeconomic Challenges

Poverty is a significant challenge for asylum seekers in general. For asylum seekers in the United Kingdom, poverty is compounded due to lower employment rates because of lack of work authorization for many, ineligibility for most welfare benefits, and low language proficiency (McKenzie et al., 2019; Stevenson & Willott, 2007). In Australia, asylum seekers often live in private housing and have to address housing issues without assistance from agencies, or are housed in poor quality housing and often risk homelessness (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2020). Food insecurity, child care expenses, and transportation costs were other issues closely tied to poverty in Australia and Switzerland (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Hartley et al., 2018; Sontag, 2018).

In Europe, refugees and asylum seekers are often unable to access their prior education records and documents from their home countries. Also, it was challenging to obtain the educational credentials required for university admission purposes, often due to interrupted education (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019; Jungblut, 2017; McKenzie et al., 2019; Sontag, 2018; Stevenson & Baker, 2018; Toker, 2020). The same high school diploma is treated differently in France, Germany, and Switzerland. Although the all-European Lisbon Recognition Convention recognizes refugees and asylum seekers' prior education, the provision has not yet been ratified or reflected in the national policies of 24 European countries (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019; Sontag, 2018). Furthermore, low proficiency in the host country's language prevented many asylum seekers from continuing their education in host countries, also leading to challenges with employment as well as poverty and overall isolation and marginal-

ization (Jungblut, 2017; Hartley et al., 2018; McKenzie et al., 2019; Stevenson & Willott, 2007).

The arduous and dangerous transits across the world and experiences of previous trauma and ongoing chronic stress related to the journey itself, individual and collective loss, and the liminality of the asylum procedure profoundly affect the physical and mental health of asylum seekers (Cohen et al., 2019; Eisold, 2019; Taylor et al., 2020). Asylum seekers accrued acute and often prolonged traumatic experiences before arrival, such as torture, violence, persecution, migration-related abusive incidents, and loss of family or community. These traumas were compounded by traumatic shocks on arrival, including family separation, detention, repeated traumatic interrogations, and the threat of denial of protection and deportation. All of these experiences created layers of traumatic impact and added to the challenges presented by poverty, in turn affecting asylum seekers' overall mental health and ability to function in society, with distinct implications for their learning abilities (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Hartley et al., 2018; McKenzie et al., 2019; Nayton et al., 2019; Sontag, 2018; Stevenson & Willott, 2007).

Structural and individual constraints also place drastic limits on access to mental health care. Both in Europe and the United States, asylum seekers have access only to basic healthcare, with mental health treatment beyond reach for most. The protracted trauma and complex emotional and psychological stress affect asylum seekers' ability to make use of even the minimal social and cultural capital available to them. This lack of access further impedes their proper use of information on HEI admission policies and existing financial support, as well as the capitalization of their prior education as an asset when seeking admission into a HEI (Sontag, 2018).

Institutional and Structural Challenges and Barriers

Within the current global context, governmental policies are rarely perceived as welcoming of asylum seekers and refugees. Studies reviewed identified a shared government hostility toward asylum seekers, with minor variations between countries. In Australia, government policies exclude asylum seekers from entitlements to free English classes and social benefits, further preventing them from accessing HE. Asylum seekers in detention and those with bridging visas were not allowed to access HE (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Dunwoodie et al., 2020; Hartley et al., 2018). Changing rules and volatile immigration policies add to stress and confusion; simultaneously, overall government policies further contribute to dehumanizing asylum seekers. Examples include selective provisions that demand disclosing personal financial status or other personal information and subjecting asylum seekers to detention, deportation, and lengthy procedures that serve to punish and deter (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Bosworth & Vannier, 2020; Hartley et al., 2018; Sontag, 2018).

In many European countries and Australia, asylum seekers have different and significantly reduced rights to HE compared to citizens, except in a few countries that include asylum seekers as a special minority group (most notably in Germany and Scotland). First, in most countries, policies do not mention asylum seekers or intentionally exclude them from HE through outright bans or restricted mobility and residency rights (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019; Jungblut, 2017; Sontag, 2018; Stevenson & Willott, 2007; Streitwieser, Duffy Jaeger, & Roche, 2020), creating a general barrier to access, making educational systems in Europe and Australia unresponsive to the needs of asylum seekers. A majority of countries in the European Union lack specific policies despite the large influx of asylum seekers in the region over the last decade (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019; Jungblut, 2017; Vaarala et al., 2017). Second, a general lack of flexibility in admissions policies, schedules, and curricula to accommodate asylum seekers' unique needs was reported in Australia and some European countries (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Toker, 2020; Vaarala et al., 2017).

Third, the reluctance of prospective students to disclose their temporary asylum-seeking status, and the lack of knowledge about this status, including unrecognition or misrecognition of asylum seekers in HEI policies, makes it difficult to meet asylum seekers' needs (Hartley et al., 2018; Sheikh et al., 2019; Stevenson & Willott, 2007; Vaarala et al., 2017). Fourth, the complex paths to HE and the specific delivery of admission services, from online applications and degree and course choices to registra-

tion and separation of financial assistance service from admissions and fee payments, present a barrier for asylum seekers with lower host country language proficiency. They are new to these systems and are not provided guidance usually available to other students through families, secondary schools, and counselors (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Jungblut, 2017; Hartley et al., 2018; Stevenson & Willott, 2009; Vaarala et al., 2017). Rarely do HEIs coordinate services with local social service providers or governments, as these systems have different goals (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Hartley et al., 2018; Sontag, 2018; Stevenson & Willott, 2007).

Fifth, and the most significant barrier, is the absence of funding for HE for asylum seekers. In Europe and Australia (and in the U.S., though data is lacking) asylum seekers often have to pay higher international student tuition rates due to their temporary status and the lack of specific policies at institutions (Hartley et al., 2018; McKenzie et al., 2019; Nayton et al., 2019; Stevenson & Willott, 2007; Streitwieser, Loo, et al., 2018). Many asylum seekers cannot afford the high cost of academic language preparation or standardized test fees such as English tests (IELTS and TOEFL; Jungblut, 2017; McKenzie et al., 2019; Nayton et al., 2019; Stevenson & Willott, 2007; Streitwieser, Loo, et al., 2018).

Because of the specific types of visas asylum seekers hold in Europe and Australia, student loans are generally not accessible (Nayton et al., 2019; Stevenson & Willott, 2007). In some countries, asylum seekers are severely limited in their work options and rights to welfare income supports, with these benefits not supporting HE aspirations and affecting their already dire financial situations and access to education (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Hartley et al., 2018; Jungblut, 2017; Sontag, 2018).

Good Practices and Recommendations

The targeted initiatives developed by local governments and HEIs to address asylum seekers' needs in accessing HE offer a few lessons and promising practices for what worked, informing the following recommendations. One overarching refrain in many studies was the need for a comprehensive approach to circumstantial and structural institutional barriers and the challenges that asylum seekers face. Specifically, to make HEIs more responsive to the needs of asylum seekers, the literature suggested a comprehensive program approach that includes adopting an institutional policy framework; recognizing the diversity and specific barriers for asylum seekers; building links between universities, community organizations, and asylum seekers; advocating for asylum policy changes by forming broader coalitions; ensuring universal access to culturally appropriate health and mental health counseling and treatment; and hiring dedicated staff at universities to ensure admission, retention, and employment outcomes for asylum seekers (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Sontag, 2018; Unangst, 2019). One study found that it was necessary to develop greater collaboration between university departments for language, financial, and preparation provisions for asylum seekers (McKenzie et al., 2019).

Due to the overall context of (mostly) hostile, increasingly restrictive government policies toward asylum seekers, it was suggested that asylum seekers' rights and protections be expanded through university-based macrolevel policies. These policies include expanding research to highlight violations, advocating through coalitions across universities, and engaging community organizations and refugees for policy change (e.g., for granting permanent visas to asylum seekers, addressing the backlog of asylum applications, and ensuring access to social supports available to all citizens; Jungblut, 2017; Hartley et al., 2018; McKenzie et al., 2019; Vaarala et al., 2017).

In addition to universities and community organizations, direct engagement of people with lived experience to influence policy and practice was seen as paramount (Fleay et al., 2019; Hartley et al., 2018). It was recommended that questions about financial situation and immigration status be avoided to respect students' confidentiality and humanity. Finally, staff need training on the challenges faced by asylum seekers, and cotraining of both refugees and educators is required to collaborate on streamlining college applications and offering alternative entryways and tailored and wraparound support services (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Hartley et al., 2018).

Six E.U. countries explicitly monitor asylum seekers' and refugees' integration into HE. For example, in a bottom-up approach, universities and asylum seekers organized to facilitate policy reforms in Germany,

where a point agency (DAAD) now monitors the implementation of asylum seeker integration into HE (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019; Fleay et al., 2019). Furthermore, researchers in Europe and Australia worked with their governments and local social service providers to collect data, develop reports, and eventually advance policies that specifically address the lack of information and guidance on HE for asylum seekers. These policies included recognition, recognition of qualifications and prior education, more access to higher level language preparation, and financing through special scholarships and bursaries for asylum seekers (Hartley et al., 2018; Jungblut, 2017; Vaarala et al., 2017).

Due to the precarious financial situations of asylum seekers, it was acknowledged as essential to fund scholarships that covered both study and living expenses through a diversified mix of philanthropic funds, alumni and other donations, staff donation schemes, universities' match funds, repurposed other scholarships funds, and central university and faculty funds (Hartley et al., 2018; Jungblut, 2017). Several universities already provided full scholarships for asylum seekers with or without a stipend for living expenses in Germany, the United Kingdom, and Australia (Ben-Moshe et al., 2008; Hartley et al., 2018; McKenzie et al., 2019; Streitwieser, Loo, et al., 2018).

Case Application: The Resettled Students Practicum

In 2017, with the support of the Social Innovation Initiative at a major private U.S. university in a large metropolitan city, a group of undergraduate students from the departments of anthropology, political science, and business were selected to participate in a year-long practicum initiative to find innovative ways to tackle challenges of students with forced migration backgrounds. Several resettled students and their allies formed the group that met biweekly during the academic year. They formulated the goals of their practicum as follows: to raise awareness of the current challenges affecting students with forced migration backgrounds among university students, faculty, and administration; to establish a platform to engage their HEI in developing innovative solutions to identified gaps; and to provide the data needed to inform policy changes and support best practices.

During the second semester of the initiative, researchers and practitioners, including the authors of this essay (a professor and two doctoral students), as well as an MSW student, joined the practicum. As the discussion expanded beyond the HEI to asylum seekers in the city, the nascent network emerging from this initiative expanded to include representatives from community-based groups of Venezuelans and LGBTQ+ asylum seekers.

Over the next 2 years, this group identified specific system loops and associated challenges, as well as existing resources; further, it expanded its membership to include more students and community partners, thus ensuring the continuity of this initiative. The Resettled Students Practicum made two notable achievements: (1) the storytelling project that engaged Theater students and students with an asylum-seeking or refugee background in developing three collective narratives focusing on challenges faced by students with lived experiences of forced migration in HEIs and (2) the successful advocacy efforts on expanding health insurance for international students, to cover students with a forced migration background: Using one of the stories developed, students met with several high-level administrators, making them aware of the lack of health coverage for migrant students through existing options. In response to their diligent advocacy, the university expanded current options to provide coverage for all international students—including asylum seekers and refugees.

The group engaged with student clubs across the university to organize events to distribute information and raise awareness. Several members also conducted a literature review on challenges for asylum seekers in accessing and navigating HE, collected data through a pilot survey on asylum seekers' access to HE, and shared resources among students and communities (information, access to educational events, etc.). Currently, the practicum functions as an interdisciplinary and community-grounded advisory group. A series of interviews and focus groups with students and administration is planned to identify needs and gaps in information and services as well as any successes and good practices inside the university.

The online pilot survey was translated into three additional languages and distributed among university students and commu-

nities, targeting asylum seekers who are current students and those who planned to enroll in HEI soon. There were 126 eligible responses. The survey results could be categorized under two core domains. The first focused on the importance of HE for asylum seekers (half of the 126 respondents expressed a desire to go to college or university in order to become self-sufficient or improve their financial situation, to be "useful" to society, to get back to their profession or get a profession, to further their education and improve their English skills). The second domain identified obstacles and challenges with accessing HE, such as lack of financial support, unstable employment to finance education, limited access to information about HE and educational opportunities, low English proficiency, time constraints, and lack of other resources such as childcare. The findings of the pilot survey align with the findings of the literature reviewed earlier in this essay regarding current challenges for student asylum seekers in accessing HE while adding a new component on barriers in considering HE by asylum seekers in a metropolitan city in the United States.

While on pause due to the COVID-19 pandemic, in 2021, the information events and campaigns will be continued through student clubs and other university events to raise awareness of the challenges identified in the literature and gathered from advisory group members, including students from asylum-seeking backgrounds and asylum seekers in the community.

Eventually, by seeking and developing innovative solutions to the complex problems identified, the group hopes to change the discourse on asylum seekers in private universities, shifting from otherization, unrecognition, and exclusion, and transforming HEIs into safe and brave spaces that are conducive to inclusion and recognition. Survey data and additional qualitative findings will be used to support inclusive and innovative platforms for teaching and advocacy for asylum seekers across disciplines, starting with our university.

Conclusion and Implications

This review aimed to scope the existing literature, identify challenges asylum seekers face in accessing HE in their Western host countries, summarize good practices and recommendations that can be adapted in the U.S. context, and describe an initiative at a large private university that started to tackle these issues. It is the ongoing work generated by people with lived experiences of forced migration, currently enrolled in HEIs in the United States, that drove the analysis we presented here, aiming to engage scholars, students, and practitioners, as well as legal, health care, and higher education administration in the United States in a critical conversation on the right to education as a human right for all. The scarcity of research on this topic speaks to the need and responsibility of scholars and practitioners to reframe their research agendas and include the voices of asylum seekers in HEIs in the United States to develop evidence-based policies and programs that address the identified challenges. One starting point we recommend is a concerted effort engaging all relevant stakeholders listed above toward the recognition and inclusion of asylum seekers as a distinct and growing population of displaced persons in the United States in research design, discussions, and policy documents. As we learned from the Resettled Students Practicum initiative, when students are engaged in documenting their challenges and participate in research to provide evidence on current obstacles and best practices, the collective results of such work are successful and can improve access and participation of students with a forced migration background in all activities at the university level. Furthermore, this work could better inform curriculum development for specific fields of study (such as legal studies, social work, education, and entrepreneurship) to equip frontline professionals to work toward developing programs and policies that promote the rights of asylum seekers, particularly the right to education as an important factor in ensuring effective and full integration of this population in their host countries. As one of the students in the Resettled Students Practicum initiative shared with us, there is an acute need for a better understanding of forced migration and of the responsibilities of higher education institutions, particularly in relation to the complexities of asylum processes and the type of support needed. In her own recollection, although universities are eager to provide mental health support to student asylum seekers or refugees (such services often being the only ones offered to them), they rarely address the complex causation of trauma, leaving students to deal with

legal, financial, and social challenges on their own. Using participatory approaches and working across disciplines to develop training for university employees—from admission to financial services to counseling and mental health—that is anchored in the actual experiences of students who are asylum seekers, could effectively address the institutional barriers that are presented in the literature and identified by the students in the case example provided.

The following recommendations shared across studies can guide U.S. research to improve higher education and social work research and interdisciplinary policies and practice: Ensure that asylum seekers are recognized as a unique group in society and HEIs, provide information and guidance on HE, and provide targeted scholarships and fee waivers; work closely with specialist refugee support organizations and asylum seekers' community groups to build capacity among admissions and other staff at HEIs; provide alternative admission routes to formal HE entry qualifications; engage people with lived experience of seeking asylum to inform related policy and practice in HE; appoint a dedicated staff member to assist students from asylum-seeking backgrounds; train all frontline staff on issues relevant to asylum seekers; and provide specific mental health and counseling services in communities and HEIs. Social work and other frontline professional education should prepare students to seek and work with this particular population and provide interdisciplinary learning opportunities, significantly increasing legal and educational systems' knowledge and skills.

As evidenced by this article, although research on asylum seekers worldwide is limited and inconsistent, data are even more scarce on this topic in the United States. Better research is needed to understand the unique needs and challenges of potential students with asylum-seeking backgrounds in accessing HE, especially in the United States. As HEIs play a central role in integration strategies at the global level, with the ongoing implementation of the two global compacts on migration and refugees (United Nations General Assembly, 2018; UNHCR, 2018), and at the regional level (the E.U. and U.S. emerging best practices and solutions mentioned in this essay), it is imperative that we rethink HEI roles in addressing forced migration and contributing to the integration of refugees, applying evidence-informed lenses to reframe these roles. Emerging networks, partnerships, and collaborations between asylum seekers, university admissions counselors, student financial services, and mental health counselors, as well as faculty, the larger student population, and activist groups in HEIs, are an important vehicle for transforming HEIs into inclusive, safe, and brave spaces, engaged with the challenges of forced migration, and actively participating in developing solutions to these challenges.

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The Intersection Between the Internationalization of Higher Education and Community–University Partnerships: A Case Study From Mozambique

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Abstract

Higher education strategies focusing on either internationalization or community–university partnerships are often regarded as distinct from each other and dichotomous. The former usually are concerned with international knowledge, the latter, with local knowledge. This article presents a case study to argue that the two approaches can intersect, presenting an opportunity to improve the process of learning and teaching in higher education. As part of its strategy to internationalize, Lurio University, Mozambique, is part of a partnership through the Consortium of New Southern African Medical Schools (CONSAMS). Lurio University also has an established community engagement program, One Student One Family. Drawing on relevant literature, we argue that universities can benefit from viewing these strategies as interconnected and complementary approaches that bolster knowledge processes and advance learning. When both approaches are used to inform curricula and improve pedagogy, synergetic and much improved higher education systems can be achieved.

Keywords: internationalization, community–university partnerships, knowledge production, Mozambique

Higher education internationalization has drawn much attention in recent times, with arguments for and against integrating an international dimension into the postsecondary education system (Brannelly et al., 2011; British Council, 2015; de Wit, 2011; de Wit et al., 2015; Knight, 2004, 2008, 2015; Ndaruhutse & Thompson, 2016; Power et al., 2015). In addition, a significant body of literature on university social responsibility and community-university partnerships describes the benefits and challenges of faculty and students working to develop mutually beneficial sustainable partnerships with local communities (Bhattacharrya et al., 2018; Chastonay et al., 2013; Garde Sánchez et al., 2013; Jorge & Andrades Peña, 2017; Kraft & Dwyer, 2010; McIlrath et al., 2012; McIntosh et al., 2008; Pires et al., 2015; Tshishonga, 2020; Vasilescu et al., 2010). Such educational approaches involving students gaining hands-on learning experiences in communities are sometimes referred to as service-learning programs (Zlotkowski, 1998).

These two areas of focus (internationalization of higher education and community–university partnerships) are often presented as distinct from each other and analyzed in isolation. Some researchers have explored the intersection of international and community-based pedagogies; for example, Aramburuzabala et al. (2019) offered important insight into this relationship based on the European higher education context. However, internationalization of higher education and community–university partnerships are often regarded as entirely separate concepts and unrelated to each other in terms of the underlying phi-

losophies, objectives, and implementation strategies. We argue that the polarization of these approaches is unhelpful, and that when they are regarded as interconnected and complementary, the combined effect can enhance the production of knowledge and the learning and teaching process. This interconnection is achieved by improving and developing university practice and higher education systems and by promoting exchanges at both the global and local level.

It is important to recognize the broad extant literature on international service-learning, which is conceptually a form of community–university partnership undertaken internationally (Bringle & Hatcher, 2011). Although much of the literature on this topic focuses on endeavors by universities in North America and Europe, evidence suggests that institutions from a range of contexts and countries have historically supported international service-learning initiatives (Berry & Chisholm, 1999). International service-learning presents a number of challenges, including the potential for neocolonialism, power imbalances, and ineffective partnerships (Kahn, 2011). However, there are also arguments for its strengths. For example, Bringle and Hatcher (2011) observed that it "holds the potential and may be a pedagogy that is best suited to prepare college graduates to be active global citizens in the 21st century" (p. 3), and Alonso García and Longo (2013) argued that service-learning should be regarded as a vehicle to educate global citizens as part of an integrated curricular process.

In this article we consider the relationship between the internationalization of education through "high level" partnerships and "grassroots" community engagement, which are regarded as separate domains. The case study presented to explore these concepts does not involve international service-learning, but we recognize its importance and the relevance of debates around community development, international partnerships, and experiential education.

We present a case study from Lurio University, a relatively new institution (established in 2007) based in the north of Mozambique. For context, Mozambique borders Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Eswatini. The national language is Portuguese. Mozambique's population exceeds 30 million, with a higher education gross enrollment ratio of 7.3% in 2018 (UNESCO, 2021). There are seven full universities in Mozambique (Africa Universities, 2021). Lurio University has in recent years been strengthened significantly by actively pursuing both community–university partnerships at the local level and internationalization through partnerships with other universities. The bodies of knowledge gained at both the grassroots and international levels are regarded as equally important and considered essential components to achieving synergistic progression for the university and its partner universities, improved health outcomes for the local communities, and better learning outcomes for the students.

Community–University Partnership

The term "university social responsibility" refers to a higher education sector–specific form of social responsibility. As universities do not exist in a vacuum, they have social dimensions and are increasingly playing an important role in society as educators of future leaders and policymakers. The need to integrate social responsibility into what universities do is thus greater than ever (Jorge & Andrades Peña, 2017). Garde Sánchez et al. (2013) defined university social responsibility as the university's capacity to disseminate and implement a body of principles and general and specific values through actions involving management, teaching and research, and university extension. Its purpose is to respond to the needs of the university community and the country as a whole. University social responsibility works to strengthen civic commitment and active citizenship. It involves taking an ethical approach to developing a sense of civil citizenship by encouraging the students and the academic staff to provide social services to their local community to achieve local and/or global sustainable development (Vasilescu et al., 2010). Community engagement is an integral part of university social responsibility (Tshishonga, 2020).

The reasons for a university wanting to deliver or pursue social responsibility likely depend on whether it is a public or private institution, and the growth of the private higher education sector has complicated matters. However, research focused on public and private universities in America found a uniformity in the types of accountability activities both types of institution were involved in (Garde Sánchez et al., 2013). As the private higher education

sector continues to grow, further research is needed to establish the different approaches and challenges that private and public universities face regarding social responsibility.

With careful attention to program design that includes space for reflection and feedback, community engagement through community–university partnerships can develop well-informed students who are fit for purpose and can analyze and solve community problems (Kraft & Dwyer, 2010). Since its inception in 2007, Lurio University has employed community-based learning strategies to achieve one of its fundamental objectives, local community development. Community-based learning strategies have been shown to both improve student competency in community-based care and facilitate long-term health impacts on participating communities (McIntosh et al., 2008). To develop successful students, training must be geared toward labor market demand (Thompson, 2016). The earlier an undergraduate student can be exposed to community work, the better their skills in community work are thought to be (Bhattacharrya et al., 2018). Community immersion has been found particularly beneficial to students studying for health-focused degrees. Such approaches improve future health professionals' ability to respond to health problems of individuals in their complexity, as well as improving their capacity to work in partnership with communities to improve health outcomes (Chastonay et al., 2013). Such transformative learning is particularly important for health science students who, once they have graduated, will be working in low-resource settings (Pires et al., 2015).

At Lurio University, Community Health is a compulsory module in all semesters of all six degrees offered by the Faculty of Health Sciences (Medicine, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Nutrition, Optometry, and Nursing; Pires et al., 2015). The practical component of the Community Health module is a program called One Student One Family. It is a vehicle through which faculty members and students experience practical interaction with families living in neighborhoods surrounding the university. The majority of these families are living in extreme conditions of multidimensional poverty. Under the program, each student is assigned both a local family and a multidisciplinary group made up of students from all the disciplines delivered by the Faculty of Health Science. Under supervision by a qualified professional from any of the six fields, the students carry out home visits, provide community-based public health education, offer advice on health problems where appropriate, and refer family members to the national health system as necessary. This community-based model facilitates multidirectional and transprofessional learning.

"Transprofessional learning and education" refers to learning skills from a wide range of actors, including those outside the immediate discipline of the student (Field et al., 2020). Transprofessional education is needed to develop health professionals who serve in an increasingly interconnected world. It helps to break health workers out of their silos while enhancing collaborative and nonhierarchical relationships in effective teams. It can contribute to the development of a common set of values around social accountability (Frenk et al., 2010). Under the One Student One Family program, the students from different disciplines learn from each other, as well as learning from the communities they are working with. This multidirectional and transprofessional learning is illustrated in Figure 1.

This community-oriented educational experience provides critical training and orientation for future generations of Mozambican healthcare workers. Importantly, students and faculty members also learn from indigenous knowledge. In higher education, the knowledge of urban dwellers is often prioritized at the expense of rural dwellers (who are often the most marginalized). The location of most universities in urban centers can reinforce and reproduce dominant urban discourses. Students and staff from universities may be considered "outsiders" to local community cultures and societies. Chambers (1983) argued that many outsiders may be hindered in learning from rural poor communities by many forces (real or perceived), including power, professionalism, prestige, a lack of contact, language barriers, prejudice, and cultural difference. Modern, scientific, or medical knowledge can be regarded as universal in that it is taught all over the world and is available through widely distributed publications. It is in general supported and propagated by states. In contrast, local knowledge is often inaccessible. To learn about it, you must interact with the local people themselves. Grassroots knowledge exists in many forms—but hardly any of it is written down.

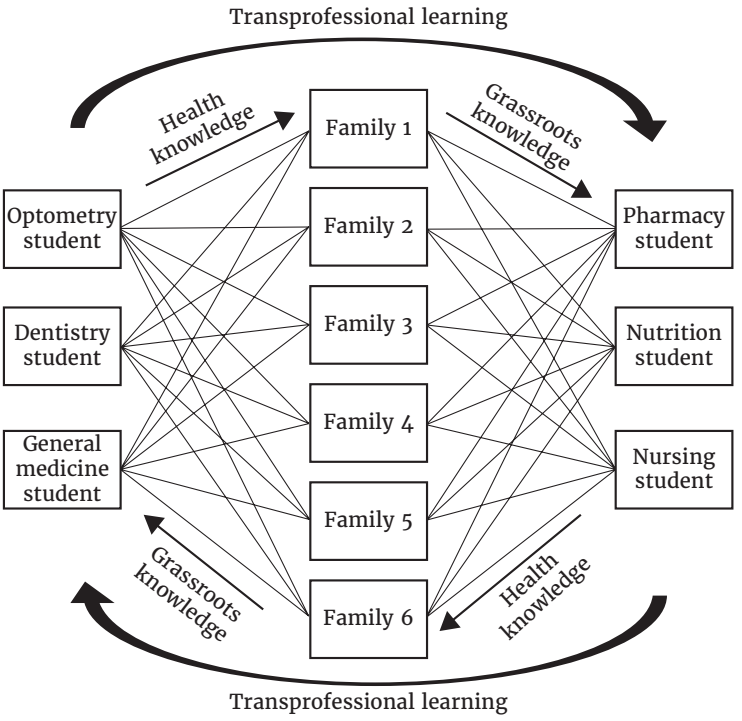

Figure 1. One Student One Family—Lurio University's Multidirectional and Transprofessional Community-Based Learning Model. Adapted from *One Student One Family and the Mozambique Eyecare Project,* by S. Thompson, 2011, paper presented at the African Regional Conference on Community University Partnerships and Community Based Research, Dakar, Senegal (https://doi.org/10.21427/nwvb-h868).

To benefit from local knowledge, staff and students must regard themselves as learners, and appreciate that local communities have something to teach them (Chambers, 1983).

According to Chambers (2017), the need to understand the realities of marginalized people has never been more pressing. Staff and students need to be aware and knowledgeable of the local environments where they will ultimately work. Local realities must be understood in order for staff and students to "know better." However, knowing on its own is not enough. Staff and students must take their newly found knowledge and act upon it. Face-to-face interactions facilitate listening and learning from people (particularly those who are marginalized) in their living environments and enable staff and students to be in touch and stay up to date with ground realities of the local communities (Chambers, 2017).

Interaction between students and staff from Lurio University and people from a wide range of social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds in the local communities results in multidirectional flows of knowledge. The program allows the university to engage in a creative way with the community and enables students and staff to learn about people's lived realities at a grassroots level. As well as providing a service to the community that is integrated with the health system, the experience bolsters the students' theoretical understanding of health problems. They gain a real understanding of the everyday challenges people face when trying to access health services. The community members involved are treated with respect, and their knowledge is valued.

The last 25 years have witnessed a massive increase in demand for and delivery of postsecondary education (Thompson, 2020). With increasing numbers of students completing basic and secondary education, it is likely that the demand for higher education will continue to grow, although the COVID-19 crisis has resulted in significant uncertainty for the sector. The pandemic has reinforced the demand for well-trained health professionals. In countries with limited

resources, the challenge will be increasing both the coverage and the quality of education at a lower cost (Thompson, 2016).

With the necessary investment and support, community–university partnerships can offer an innovative way for universities to deliver cost-effective higher education, by strengthening their learning architecture and improving the delivery of effective learning strategies for their students. The One Student One Family program provides an example of this approach. Some of the perceived successes of this program include strengthening transprofessional learning toward more effective health care teams; promoting economic and national development; providing services to the community through engagement and outreach; promoting ethical approaches to research and learning; developing social cohesion and a sense of citizenship and belonging by strengthening local communities; and, perhaps most importantly, expanding knowledge by providing a mechanism for people who normally do not get a platform to make their voices heard.

However, the program also has some perceived disadvantages and has experienced challenges. These include significant variability of learning experiences across different community sites and different supervisors; the significant time required to travel to community sites; the logistics required to group students and arrange travel; the difficulties of scheduling for an entire year; a shortage of tutors and facilitators; the unfamiliarity of faculty with teaching within this type of program; and language barriers. In addition, some students have had negative attitudes about the experience, based on perceptions about quality (Ferrão & Fernandes, 2014). Further research is needed to evaluate and substantiate these perceived advantages and disadvantages. The findings of such research could inform mitigation strategies to address the disadvantages of both this program and similar programs from other contexts.

Internationalization of Higher Education Through Partnerships

Simultaneously with looking "inward" to learn from local communities, Lurio University is looking "outward" to learn from other higher education institutions located in different countries and operating in different settings. These partnerships represent Lurio's involvement in the internationalization of higher education—a theme that has come to dominate much of the discourse relating to the higher education sector in recent years.

The concept of internationalization of higher education is both broad and varied. Knight (2004) argued that internationalization could be divided into two different streams of activities. One includes internationalization activities that occur on the home campus; the other relates to activities that happen abroad. Knight (2008) went on to define internationalization of higher education as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (p. 21). This definition was expanded on by de Wit (2011), who emphasized the importance of regarding internationalization as a process to improve the goals, functions, and delivery of higher education, rather than regarding it as a specific goal. De Wit et al. (2015) elaborated further by arguing that the process has to be intentional "in order to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and staff, and to make a meaningful contribution to society" (p. 29). An integral part of internationalization of higher education is international linkages, partnerships, and projects, as well as international academic programs and research initiatives (Knight, 2004).

Such partnerships can improve the quality and relevance of higher education and can exist on many levels (Ndaruhutse & Thompson, 2016). To be successful, partnerships must overcome imbalances in resources, funding to initiate but not sustain the partnership, poor monitoring and evaluation, cultural differences, and weak research capacity of some universities (Power et al., 2015). This point is particularly pertinent when considering universities in low-income settings. Higher education is a fiercely competitive environment heavily dominated by universities in North America and Europe. Partnerships can be pathways that can allow smaller, less established universities to expand their research capacity (Brannelly et al., 2011).

As well as competition with other universities, other interlinking factors such as globalization and market processes encourage universities to develop strategic partnerships (de Wit, 2011). When looking to internationalize, some universities make the

mistake of believing that a high number of international agreements or network memberships helps make them prestigious and attractive. Success will be determined instead by the university's capacity to deliver effectively on each partnership it develops. In general, a smaller number of fruitful and active partnerships is better than a larger number of partnerships that are not much more than paper-based agreements. International agreements between universities should reflect functioning academic collaborations, rather than being used as a status symbol (Knight, 2015).

Partnerships for development in higher education aim to accelerate poverty reduction through developing the capacity of higher education institutions in low-income countries. By doing so, such partnerships can promote sustainable development. Many such partnerships focus on developing and integrating strategies to increase access to tertiary education, introduce new degree courses, improve the quality of teaching and learning, and enhance research outputs. Many of these partnerships are funded by overseas development aid (British Council, 2015).

As part of its strategy to introduce and benefit from the internationalization of higher education, since 2012 Lurio University has been a member of the Consortium of New Southern African Medical Schools (CONSAMS). This is a partnership of new medical schools in Namibia, Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique, and Lesotho, working in conjunction with two facilitating northern partners in the United States (Vanderbilt University) and Finland (University of Oulu). The aim is for the universities to support each other through sharing of knowledge, faculty, resources, and innovative approaches. CONSAMS promotes health-worker capacity building through interprofessional and transprofessional training programs that operate at an international level (Eichbaum et al., 2014).

The CONSAMS partners have worked to establish an interdependent network that offers functional support. In practice, this support is in part provided by working groups with representatives from all partners to strengthen medical education, training, and research. Partners exchange knowledge on university–community partnerships, strengthening curriculum reviews and exploring pedagogical approaches; de-

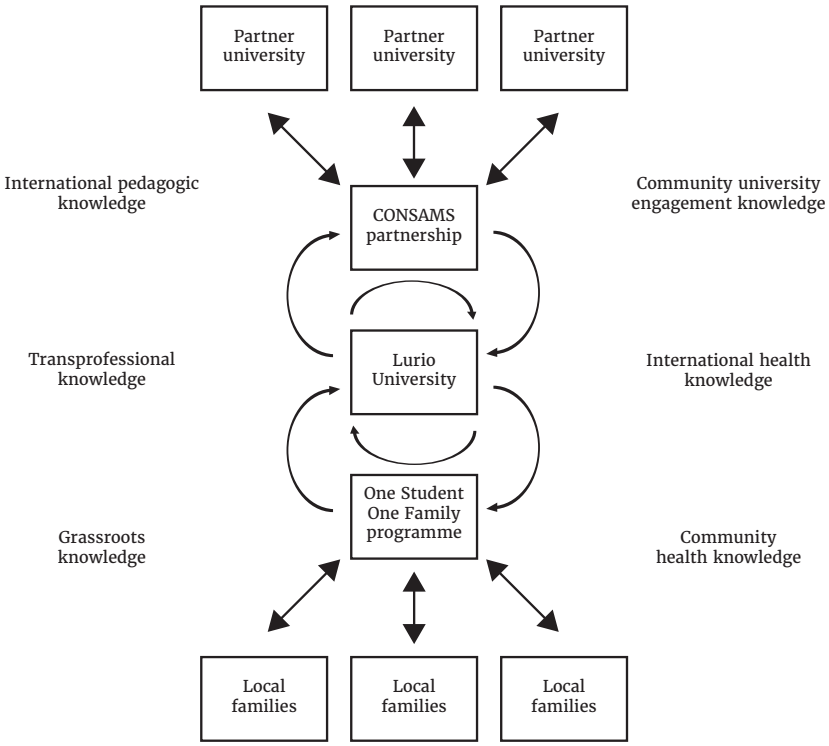

Figure 2. Interconnected and Complementary Flows of Knowledge Associated With Internationalization of Higher Education and Community–University Partnerships

velop interprofessional training programs and bolster postgraduate training programs; and work together to improve the recruitment of clinical faculty. The main roles of the northern partners have been to assist with recruitment of faculty, provide funding, and prepare grant applications (Eichbaum et al., 2014).

Under the partnership, a number of relationships between partner universities have flourished. For example, the University of Oulu in Finland has for several years been supporting interprofessional programs with the University of Namibia and Lurio University, which involves students of medicine, nursing, pharmacology, and optometry. In this multidirectional and transprofessional learning process, Lurio University has been able to share with the international partners grassroots knowledge relating to public health gained from the One Student One Family program. In turn, Lurio University has also benefited from the knowledge shared by the partner institutions. For example, the University of Namibia School of Medicine has shared learnings from their university–community program in which students relocate for a period of months to a rural area where they work in a local clinic and live among local families, learning about people's lifestyles, diets, and medical issues. These placements facilitate understandings of the socioeconomic and cultural determinants of health. Grassroots knowledge is respected and valued, and is shared via the international partnership, feeding into the higher education strategy of partners to inform curricula and improve pedagogy.

The new medical schools that have committed to work together under CONSAMS have strengthened their ability to face challenges and succeeded at educational innovation. The CONSAMS partnership has been instrumental for newer medical schools in their efforts toward strengthening healthcare provision by enhancing training, facilitating relevant and locally based research (Eichbaum et al., 2015). Further research is needed to analyze power dynamics of the program and to develop an understanding of the systems and strategies in place to address power imbalances.

Internationalization strategies that involve partnerships, networks, alliances, and consortia between higher education institutions are thus regarded as an effective strategy for strengthening knowledge and developing higher education capacity. When such partnerships intersect with knowledge gained from community–university partnerships, we argue that universities can start to realize their potential to deliver highly educated, socially aware professionals—future leaders and policymakers. Future research is needed to illustrate these arguments with empirical evidence.

Another observation is that international partnerships are usually centered on specific individuals (local contact persons) who might not share the intended outcome(s) set out in the university strategic plans. Consequently, partnerships centered on individuals are likely to collapse the moment that the key individual leaves the university, is transferred, or is taken out of the program. For example, the collaboration between CONSAMS and Oulu University decreased significantly when Oulu University's local contact person moved to Turku University, Finland. To continue to benefit from the collaboration with Finland, CONSAMS had to amend its constitution to include Turku University as a full member of the association. This experience demonstrates that international partnerships must be part of university strategic goals and must be supported by top management of the university to avoid the partnership being based on one individual. Universities are also encouraged to look for alternative financial support, in advance, to ensure the continued sustainability of international partnership beyond the initial funding used to establish the partnership. Universities in a consortium are better positioned to look for further funding because of international relationships they have established, and they can leverage the success stories in the initial program for more funding. These learnings are also relevant for community–university partnerships.

Flows of Knowledge

The success of these models' intersecting to bring about positive change rests on two key factors. First is acceptance that universities and their staff are on a journey to improve, rather than having already reached a point of excellence. This approach can be linked to de Wit's (2011) position that internationalization should be regarded as a process rather than a goal. This case study suggests that Lurio University recognizes that it is on a journey and continues to seek improvement through both international

partnerships and grassroots community engagement. The university engages with both of these strategic areas simultaneously in an interconnected way to gain maximum benefits for its staff, students, partners, and the local community.

Second, it must be realized that all sources of knowledge are important and can play their part. From grassroots knowledge to international knowledge, all should be respected and be used for the betterment of higher education and the community environment. This approach can be linked to Chambers's (1983) argument about the importance of university staff and students valuing indigenous technical knowledge—a concept he expanded on later by stating, "Only people themselves have expert knowledge of the complexities they experience" (Chambers, 2017, p. 191). If staff and students are to understand the realities of the local communities and learn from their experiences, they need to interact with local families and value the grassroots knowledge they possess. As illustrated in Figure 2, flows of knowledge happen at different levels, but all are important to strengthen the university as an institution.

Local people who are part of the One Student One Family program impart their knowledge of local customs and lived realities to the students. The students, in turn, share their knowledge of community health to the community. The students share cadre-specific knowledge with each other within their groups. The university then shares knowledge and experience of community–university engagement with partner universities through a partnership. The partner universities in turn share their knowledge of community–university engagement relating to the context and community where they are situated. The cycle repeats itself, with all stakeholders enriched by the mutual benefit of knowledge exchange and learning from experience. This process creates an authentic, integrated learning cycle for all parties, based on lived experiences.

Conclusion

To conclude, if universities want their staff and students to "know better," they must question whose knowledge counts for them. Grassroots knowledge must be valued equally alongside international knowledge. Strategies that focus on either the internationalization of higher education or community–university partnerships should be regarded as complementary and intersecting, rather than competing or contrasting. The case study of Lurio University shows that both strategies and processes can produce knowledge at different levels that can achieve synergetic and much improved higher education systems.

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The Effects of Resource Dependency on Decisions by Public Service Administrators to Offer Local Government Training in Service to the State

Dissertation Overview

Stacy Bishop Jones

Abstract

For administrators of higher education public service and outreach (PSO) units at public research institutions, the opportunities for service to their states are broad. These administrators' efforts in research, technical assistance, and training address critical needs in their states. Yet all units face limited resources, and the administrators face multiple decisions about investments into new programs. In my dissertation *Effects of Resource Dependency on Decisions by University Public Service Administrators for Service to the State Through Local Government Training* (2019), I explored how resource dependency influenced decision making by university PSO administrators looking specifically at training programs offered in service to the state through local government training programs. The impact of some external stakeholders proved to be a driving force in decisions related to local government training offered by the PSO unit.

Keywords: public service organization, local government, local government associations, resource dependency, effectiveness

Constraints from state revenue, competition for state resources, and the public's attitude toward universities all contribute to an unpredictable resource environment for the university (Zusman, 2005). To survive financially, universities must strengthen relationships with their state governments (Weerts, 2000). Working on state public challenges is one way a university may tighten its connections; as Weerts (2011) said, "In order to become a state priority, colleges must become a solution to a problem, not another problem to solve" (p. 2). These statewide problems also affect local governments, which may seek the assistance of a university public service and outreach (PSO) unit to address the challenges.

A university PSO that offers government training in its service must ensure that its training programming anticipates and meets the needs of the public servants in its state and contributes to the effectiveness of the government organization (Getha-Taylor & Morse, 2013). The results of training offered by university PSOs can lead to increased knowledge and skill development for government participants. These attendees return to their communities and quickly implement process improvements, improve efficiency, supervise better, manage financial resources, govern more openly and collaboratively, and ensure the long-term viability of their community. However, investing in the launch of new training programs, whether workshops, seminars, classes, curriculum, or certificate programs, often requires a significant financial investment, needs assessments, costly labor resources, the development of knowledge and research in the needed areas, expanded marketing, and a delay in other programming due to limited resources.

The purpose of this research is to inform university administrators about the effects of resource dependency on their decisions to offer local government training through

their PSOs. This research also documents some effects PSO administrators may see on their external state resources from their choices to provide local government training. I examined three research questions:

1. What do university PSO administrators consider as they make a decision to launch or expand a training program?
2. How do external stakeholders influence the university PSO administrators' decision to launch or expand a local government training program?
3. How do influences internal to the university affect the PSO administrators' decisions about launching or expanding a local government training program?

Overview of Conceptual Framework and Relevant Literature

Conceptual Framework

This dissertation explores the decision-making criteria for developing new local government training by university PSOs dependent on state government resources. Pfeffer and Salancik's (1978) resource dependency theory framework for understanding the environment's effects on an organization informs decision-making for university PSOs. As an organization is deprived of a critical resource, such as state funding for operations, the organization will seek new resources. Since the PSO is dependent for survival on resources that it cannot create or produce internally, the PSO administrators look to the environment for those resources. This resource dependency may impact the offering of local government training programs. Resource dependency theory is based on three primary concepts: (a) organizational effectiveness, (b) the environment and its effects on resources, and (c) the constraints the environment places on an organization (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). This framework includes social contexts, strategies for autonomy and the pursuit of interests, and issues of power and dependency (Davis & Cobb, 2010).

Literature Review

Research on university PSOs that serve local government is a subset of a larger body of knowledge around the public service missions of universities and colleges and is also a subset of the body of knowledge around continuing education in public administration. University public service is often categorized by the market sector in the state that is receiving the service: community, local government, state government, business, or industry (Crosson, 1983). Six categories emerged from the literature (Table 1).

Research Methods

This basic, qualitative study focuses on the experiences of PSO administrators at three U.S. research universities as they considered the effects of resources on their decision-making. This research also includes document analysis from websites of the universities and from training profiles provided to the Consortium of University Public Service Organizations (CUPSO) to further identify influences and decision-making for the PSO administrators.

For this study, the following definitions in Table 2 identify the varying levels of administrators at a university.

For this study, I conducted interviews with university public service organization administrators from three research universities that are also members of CUPSO. The sample selected for this research represented three research universities that participated in the national 2017 review of training programs conducted by CUPSO and were active members of CUPSO as of March 2019. Twenty training programs representing 16 institutions were included in the CUPSO review, and seven represented land-grant university programs.

This study used two data collection methods: qualitative interviews and qualitative document review. The participants for semistructured interviews were the university PSO director, their training manager, and the senior university administrator over the PSO function at the university, either the provost or a vice president. Given that each university was organized differently, I worked with each PSO director to determine the appropriate training manager at that institution for the interview and to select the appropriate senior university administrator who worked with the PSO unit. The University of Georgia Institutional Review Board provided human subjects approval for this study.

Data collection occurred from March to May 2019. Interviews were conducted in spring

Table 1. Literature Categories

Literature categories	*Key outcomes and concepts*
Historical perspectives on public service at universities	Through outreach and engagement, universities developed partnerships between the academy and the outside world that helped build community partnerships through resources, respect, responsiveness, academic neutrality, and a recognition of contributions (Kellogg Commission, 1999; Weerts, 2005).
Frameworks for university PSO	The frameworks for university PSOs are varied and affect their service to state and local governments (Sellers & Bender, 1979; Ward, 1983).
Profiles of university PSOs that conduct training for local governments	The literature includes some studies that look more closely at the structure and organization of university PSOs by state or university (Battaglio, 2008; Phillips, 1977). Between Phillips and Battaglio's studies, the number of local government training programs by university PSOs increased, suggesting significant investments of university resources in the development and execution of these programs.
Training needs for local government officials	The training offerings varied based on the size and structure of the local governments (Slack, 1990) and the subject matter priorities for the local government managers, supervisors, and employees (Haas, 1991; Vanagunas & Keshawarz, 1985; Whorton et al., 1986).
Training programs managed by a university PSO available to local governments	The types of training vary according to content, participants, and the latest research. In the literature, various structures for local government training programs were present (Azzaretto et al., 1981; Phillips, 1977; Spindler, 1992).
Evaluation of the effectiveness of training efforts for local governments	Dunn and Whorton (1987) found university PSO government training programs lacked professional norms against which to measure. The lack of norms could be problematic in evaluating performance and effectiveness or lead to a lower perceived value by the university (Dunn & Whorton, 1987, p. 9).

2019 at the CUPSO annual conference in Portland, Oregon, if the interviewees were in attendance. For the interviewees not attending the CUPSO annual conference, I arranged an interview at their university office.

As a part of this basic qualitative study, I completed a document analysis. The first documents to be analyzed were the training programs named in the national CUPSO training program review. In 2017, members of CUPSO began completing voluntary, detailed profiles on many of their most significant training programs to share best practices and information for other universities considering new programs. These documents, stored in a membership section of the CUPSO (2019) website, included descriptions of training programs, the rationale for starting a training program, the intended audiences for training, the budget for the training program, the development and membership of an advisory committee, the historical narratives for beginning the program, and results or impact from the trainings. The profiles were analyzed and reviewed for the similarities of responses across the programs.

During the semistructured interviews, I asked the administrators to identify their

Table 2. Definitions of Levels of University Administrators	
Term	*Definition*
Senior university administrator	May hold the title of a university vice president or associate provost, has responsibility for the PSO functions at the university, and local government training is one portion of many, varied responsibilities.
Public service organization director	Has the responsibility for a PSO unit that focuses on serving government clients through applied research, technical assistance, and training.
Training manager	Holds the primary responsibility for specific training programs offered by the university PSO that serves local government clients.
University public service organization administrators	A collective term that represents the individuals who are senior university administrators, PSO directors, and training managers.

most significant local government training program. I analyzed documents available on the university's website or in printed collateral marketing materials about the program based on the answer. I reviewed the university's website for other local government training programs not mentioned as the most significant one by administrators and the marketing information or materials on those programs as an additional data source.

To manage the data, I used coding to retrieve specific pieces of data more easily and to develop categories and themes from the identified segments of data. While I created categories and themes through analytical coding, I continued to pay attention to any bias I may have brought into the study. The analysis included looking for themes reflected in the interviews or the CUPSO profiles as another method for validation. The triangulation of semistructured interviews, document analysis from training program profiles, and document analysis from the university website information and collateral was a focus in this research.

Key Findings and Conclusions

This research yielded six main findings showing influences on decision making (Table 3); however, I did not find that all six were of equal influence or were weighted the same by PSO administrators as they made various decisions.

To depict my conclusions, I use a metaphor and visual image that illustrates the relationships and elements impacting university PSO administrators' decisions as they consider local government training programs (see Figures 1 and 2). Each university PSO may have its own collection of local government training programs that I described as residing in an open container inside a transparent *box of influences*. All around the PSO training open container is a permeable, transparent, flexible box with sides that allow air to flow in and out. The open container is not full, but it does have content that represents all the current local government training programs the PSO offers in the state.

The bottom of the transparent box supports the container and keeps it upright. This bottom side of the box represents the university that supports the PSO and serves as its foundation by providing labor and resources that give the training container a fixed location inside the university.

The walls of the box represent the environment's constraints on the PSO in regard to the training its PSO administrators may pursue. The box has four side walls: a wall of metrics, a wall of labor representing faculty and staff, a wall of finances, and a wall of the marketplace. The top of the box is the university's mission. Since the box is permeable, the significant influences of external actors can push into the box despite the influences of the walls. These external stakeholders and their demands push into the box and directly impact the container of training programs by either delivering a request for local government training, changing the scope of a training program, or even pushing directly past the container and avoiding the PSO altogether. Those external influences are government

Table 3. Key Findings

Finding	*Examples of supporting data*
External influences	
Finding 1: The influence of external stakeholders was a dominant consideration when working with government associations.	The request of an association to start a training program was cited most frequently as the reason for the start of local government programs. One senior university administrator said, "[We] don't want to lose associations; we see them as low-hanging fruit. Why are associations important? They serve people too. Like we do. They are a source of research, studies and are partners to get things done. They are a source of revenue too."
Finding 2: The state legislature exerted the most influence as external stakeholders when involved with the PSO programs.	Some state legislation required the PSO to work with a particular statewide, local government association like a state's municipal league. Other state legislation stated specific roles of the PSO in delivering a training program for local government officials. Legislative mandates at times led to the PSO developing programs in which the PSO currently had no expertise. An administrator shared, "Sometimes they [the legislature] create a requirement to do something which we have no expertise in, that's really—that's strange. So, we're just lucky that they think of us as somebody who would do some of that stuff."
Internal influences	
Finding 3: The metrics used to evaluate the effectiveness of a training program also affected PSO administrators' decisions.	The measures cited most frequently by the PSO administrators in interviews were not needs assessment results but the counts of people attending a local government training, the longevity of a training program, or the end-of-program evaluations.
Finding 4: The influence of the mission of public service provided a guiding compass for decisions.	In my interviews, the historical roots of the PSO were evident and highly influential as the PSO administrators talked about their university's land-grant history or the unique history around their institution as a core element of how they addressed the mission of their own PSO's work.
Finding 5: The organizational location of the PSO contributed to the variety of internal influences the administrators experienced or avoided as they made a decision.	Operating outside the more visible teaching and research functions of their universities, the PSO administrators described maneuvering with autonomy as they grew or expanded their local government training portfolios.
Finding 6: The access to financial and labor resources at a programmatic level remained a strong influencer on the decisions that administrators made.	The decision to start a new training program or expand a training program was constrained by finding a current faculty member interested in the client group or new topic. The administrators described having to make enough revenue to cover the program's cost but also expressed their desire for a program to have some dollars left over to support other public service programs for more rural or less affluent local government agencies' officials.

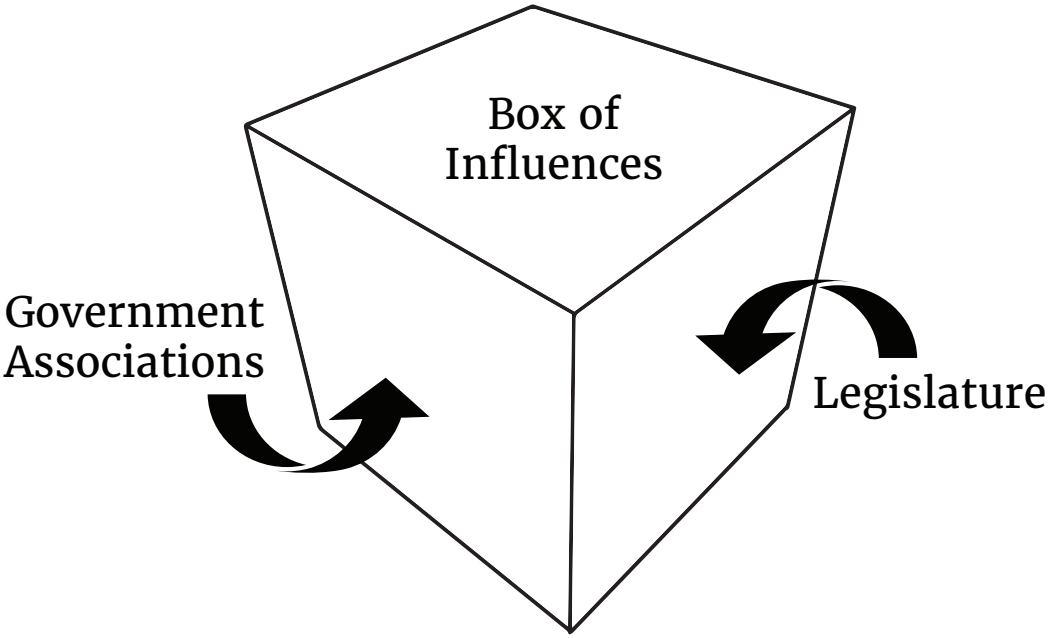

Figure 1. Exterior View: Box of Influences on PSO Administrators' Decisions to Offer Local Government Training.

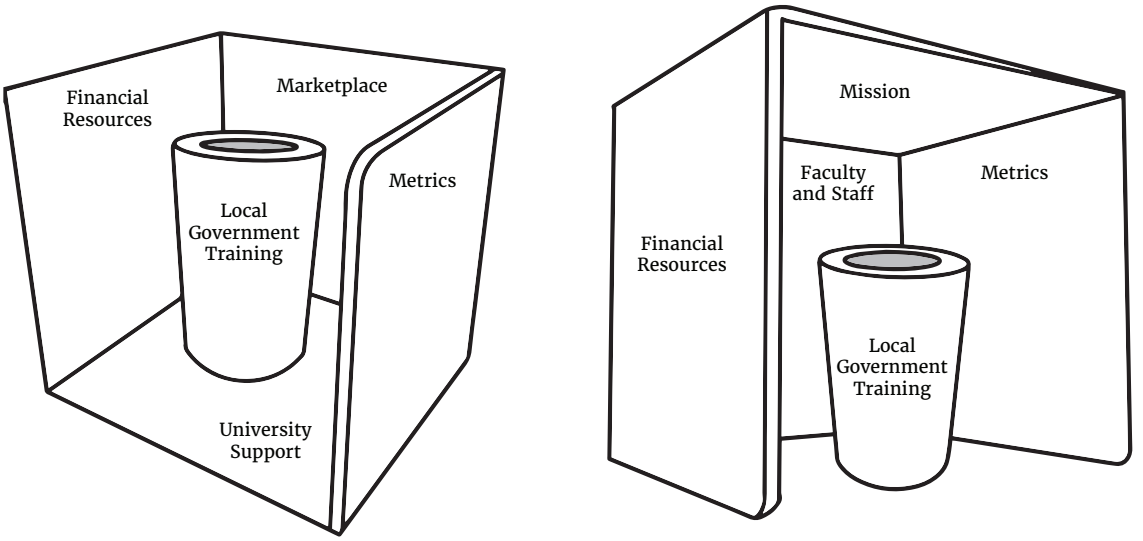

Figure 2. Interior Views: Box of Influences on PSO Administrators' Decisions to Offer Local Government Training

associations and the legislature.

As the metaphorical box shows, the environment, both inside and outside the university, affects the PSO administrators' decisions, as described in Table 4 and Table 5. The internal influences of faculty and staff impact the decisions of administrators based on interest and support for local government training. The availability of financial resources to launch the government training with reduced financial risk also impacts the PSO administrator's decision. However, when the influence of the external stakeholders, the state legislature, or local government associations is present, administrators' decisions are most significantly affected. The PSO administrators respond more to those influences than to the internal forces. Resource dependency constraints are evident in the actions taken as the government associations and legislature request local government training. The PSO administrator manages those external exchanges and their demands on the university PSO. In these cases, the PSO administrator's responses may be more political and less market-focused.

Despite the challenges of resource dependency, PSO administrators that offer local government training expect that the work they are performing is a service to the state. The PSO administrator balances the internal influences of faculty and staff, financial resources, metrics, the market, university support, and the mission. In that balancing act, the PSO administrator also experiences strong external environment influences from the state legislature and local government associations. The university PSO administrator exercises leadership in decision-making by evaluating the resources from internal and external stakeholders to make a decision to serve the state in a new or expanded local government training program.

Significance for the Community Engagement Field

In a changing economic climate impacted recently by the COVID-19 pandemic, university PSO administrators who provide service to the state through local government training face challenging decisions about programs they already offer and those they may launch or expand. Understanding and accounting for the internal influences and the strong external influences provide the university PSO administrator with additional information to consider before entering the market with a new training program.

A university PSO administrator who looks at this study's metaphorical box of influences can understand the constraining influences of the box. The walls of this box create a structure that responds predictably to its environment, as described using Pfeffer and Salancik's (1978) resource dependency theory. The box is permeable; two external forces, government associations and the legislature, push on the walls. Working from inside the box, the PSO administrator feels the winds of the associations and legislature when they enter the box. With the knowledge that the PSO must generate its revenue to sustain its existence, these external forces impact the PSO administrator's decisions to address local government training. This dissertation includes a suggested checklist with scoring for PSO administrators as they consider adding a new local government training program based upon the metaphorical box of influences.

In the competitive landscape of continuing education, including training for adult learners in a noncredit environment, the findings in this study were surprising in that the external marketplace of individual consumers was not a more significant influence. As training programs assess enrollment fees, most new programs are evaluated for implementation based on considerable market research to reflect the potential return on investment. In my findings, I discovered that the PSO administrators decided to proceed on local government training programs as a response to external stakeholders—for example, requests for the program by state legislatures and local government associations—rather than external market research. Internal resources also impacted the PSO administrators' decisions. External marketplace requests were just one of the internal resources considered and were not considered as strong as external association or legislature influence.

Recommendations for Practice Resulting from the Study

This study's findings, and the checklist developed in the dissertation, may be informative and directly useful for university PSO administrators who are considering new local government training. As these PSO administrators continue to depend on resources external to their organization,

Table 4. The Box of Influences on PSO Administrators' Decisions to Offer Local Government Training

Elements of the Box of Influences	*Example*	*Resource dependency framework*
The floor of the box: The influence of being part of a university	Sellers and Bender (1979) found that the university's mission, organization, delivery methods, administrative influence, funding, staffing, institutional status and rewards, facilities, and program of work influenced how university PSOs served local governments. A PSO administrator said, "I'll have the legislators that will call randomly each month and will say what do you all need? And I will have to say you will need to ask the University . . . which is killing me inside because I know what we need, and I know that our needs will never meet the top of the list that [the university] sends out to the legislator for the budget."	Environmental constraints
The top of the box: The influence of mission	A senior university administrator said mission fit mattered: "On the market side, we're open to all kinds of market-driven opportunities, as long as they serve a need in the state that fits our outreach mission and our mission to benefit local government."	Constraint of actions
A wall of the box: The influence of the marketplace	Of the 30 CUPSO programs reviewed, all 30 were conducted in person, and none were in an online-only format. A PSO training manager said, "When it's the really small cities, usually, they don't have the technology, so we can't just put something online for them. They need to come in. But then, there may only be three people that are actually employed with that city. So, if you take one of those away, that's where it gets so difficult."	Understanding of the environment and its effect on resources
A wall of the box: The influence of metrics	The administrators, in interviews, in their CUPSO training profiles, and in their websites and marketing materials, struggled to show meaningful impact from their training programs.	How an organization can describe and measure its environment
A wall of the box: The influence of financial resources	The most frequently used method for securing funding is to sell a training program to an individual government official whose government then pays the fee for attendance and participation. An administrator said, "We do face challenges. Since the early days, we've sort of been on the precipice. The idea is that if you don't raise your revenues, you're in real trouble."	Constraint of actions
A wall of the box: The influence of faculty and staff	A PSO administrator said: "My role is not typically to say we're going to do this program. Sometimes it is to say, here's a program. Here's something I've been hearing. What do you all think? . . . The decisions about the programs that we launch are really, primarily—most of them, not exclusively—but most of them are decisions by faculty."	Constraint

Table 5. External Forces Acting Upon the Box of Influences

External forces	*Benefits*	*Challenges*	*Resource dependency framework*
Government associations	Legitimacy through current, valued information Revenue growth Increased capacity for instruction and curriculum development Improved metrics	Managing competition Managing association leadership transitions	The association, as an external stakeholder, evaluates and assesses the appropriateness and usefulness of the PSO local government training programs.
State legislature	May require or mandate the training for a group of officials by the PSO Individual legislators in their route to the state legislature often encounter PSO local government training	Some legislative mandates for the training of local government officials are passed into law without any awareness by the PSO administrators	Those outside the organization judge an organization's effectiveness and its activities.

being aware of the influences and their effect on decisions is critical. Movement to the wrong market or a delayed movement to the market demanded by external stakeholders could significantly impact the reputation of the university PSO. University PSO administrators' close relationship with the associations representing local governments provides a strategic opportunity for these administrators to anticipate growing learning needs in the local governments and position themselves to partner and not to compete. Maintaining visibility before the state legislature as a part of the university's mission in public service and outreach also creates additional opportunities for service to the state, as this exposure leads legislators to value the work and expertise of the PSO faculty and staff who deliver local government training. Knowing the effects of these external stakeholders, PSO administrators need to focus on relationships with these key external stakeholders. Finally, PSO administrators must also increase their ability to measure effectiveness as these same external stakeholders increase their demand for this information. The distribution of external resources from these bodies is impacted by the metrics and impact demonstrated.

About the Author

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Carlson, K. T., Lutz, J. S., Schaepe, D. M., & Naxaxalhts'i (McHalsie, A. "Sonny") (Eds.). (2018). *Towards a new ethnohistory: Community-engaged scholarship among the People of the River.* University of Manitoba Press. 304 pp.

Review by Patrick Koval, Lisa Martin, and Jessica Barnes-Najor

Towards a New Ethnohistory successfully combines ethnohistory with community-engaged research, providing excellent examples of mutually beneficial and meaningful research in collaboration with members of the Stó:lō Nation. These examples are often contrasted, implicitly or explicitly, with disengaged and harmful research practices, such as defacing burial sites or failing to consult Indigenous communities directly. Each chapter maintains the underlying criticism of harmful conceptions of objectivity while presenting a more empowering alternative.

The book's titular framework allows scholars to adopt these alternative practices in their own research. The text delineates tenets of the New Ethnohistory, many of which are shared by community-based participatory research (CBPR; Israel et al., 2001; Israel et al., 2017; Leung et al., 2004; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2011), a framework for engaged research applied within many disciplines.

The importance of these precepts is not restricted to a finite selection of disciplines but extends to all scholarly research that includes humans as subjects. Even at the most explicitly individual level, they resemble the principles of phenomenological psychology (Giorgi, 2010; Reid et al., 2005), a lens of analysis that prioritizes the experiential perspective in truly understanding both the world at large and the experiences of others. Each chapter outlines research that, in itself, successfully advocates for this experiential perspective. Chapter after chapter provides the lived experience of those involved, which could not be replicated using antiquated conceptions of objectivity (Montuschi, 2004).

The prologue to *Towards a New Ethnohistory*, by Naxaxalhts'i (Albert "Sonny" McHalsie), provides an excellent introduction to the volume. Although the relevance of many prologues is not immediately obvious, it is clear from the start that this prologue plays an integral role in telling the story of the Ethnohistory Field School. As a member of the Stó:lō Nation and an editor of the volume, the author shares impressions of the Ethnohistory Field School, the trust earned by members of the Ethnohistory Field School from Stó:lō Nation elders, and efforts to disseminate findings in partnership with fellow editors. The prologue speaks the truths of today while remaining hopeful for tomorrow, elucidating the role of community-engaged scholarship in a better future.

Keith Thor Carlson, John Sutton Lutz, and David Schaepe's Introduction to the volume, "Decolonizing Ethnohistory," does well in setting the stage for the rest of the book. It begins by describing the Stó:lō Nation and recounting a story representative of the research partnership between the Stó:lō and the Ethnohistory Field School, which is undergirded by strong relationships and cross-cultural collaboration. The subsequent sections within the chapter describe the role of the Stó:lō in the growth of the New Ethnohistory out of the old. The history of the discipline may be too specific for general audiences or those from disciplines other than ethnohistory, but the overall message regarding this foundational collaboration is an important one, particularly for its emphasis on community-driven research for generating research questions and interpreting cultural practices and stories.

The book applies this emphasis in Chapter 1, "Kinship Obligations to the Environment: Interpreting Stó:lō Xexa:ls Stories of the Fraser Canyon," which portrays performing research in a deeply rooted cultural context. Author Adar Charlton examines the stories of the Fraser Canyon and the integral re-

lationships Nation members experienced between themselves and all beings while offering, as a broader underlying message, a caution against seeking fixed interpretations for stories or practices. How Nation members share and receive these stories illustrates both personal interpretation and interpretation within the contemporary cultural context. Taking a lead from those in the community who are in the role of learning and sharing traditional stories, the author notes that "there is room left for multiplicity and personal interpretation" (p. 41) and the importance of "finding out what [the stories] mean for yourself" (p. 42). The process by which interpretations are documented in this chapter offers examples for research stemming from many disciplines.

Continuing in the examination of Nation members' relationships with their environment, Chapter 2, "Relationships: A Study of Memory, Change, and Identity at a Place Called I:yem," shares this complicated story in the context of colonialization. Conflicts over the natural environment resulting from peoples being uprooted by colonizers or various forms of bureaucratic intervention in turn spark conflicts between Indigenous peoples. They upset Indigenous historical ways of being that have survived through many generations. The chapter describes this phenomenon as it applies to the Stó:lō and Yale peoples' battle over fishing rights and the relationships that were strained because of it. As described by a Yale elder, the relationships were built upon traditional relational practices that emphasize respect for each other, for the land, and for the relationships within and across all. Chapter author Amanda Fehr concludes that it is important for Indigenous communities to explore their identity and relations outside colonial structures, returning to traditional relational practices.

Fishing sites continue as a topic of importance in Chapter 3, "Crossing Paths: Knowing and Navigating Routes of Access to Stó:lō Fishing Sites." This chapter captures how disruption of access to fishing sites, a central aspect of life for Stó:lō people, can produce cascading effects, impacting generations. Access to fishing sites implies not merely the ability to catch fish for economic gain, but the inherent right of the community to continue their way of life as a people. Author Katya C. MacDonald captures how the act of fishing is connected to the Stó:lō people's guiding cultural principles of communal living, generosity, and caring for elders.

The following chapter, "Stó:lō Ancestral Names, Identity, and the Politics of History," continues with the cultural principle of identity. Author Anastasia Tataryn depicts the importance of names—both to the individual and to the community—in understanding the roles and responsibilities of people and groups. Beyond the functional role they serve, names connect the people to their ancestors and histories. But these names do not simply create connections with what is gone. Naming ceremonies create *living* connections among the Stó:lō people. As with fishing, the use of names helps to foster a deeply rooted cultural identity and a sense of belonging to the living community of the Stó:lō Nation.

The focus on living traditions continues in Chapter 5, "Caring for the Dead: Diversity and Commonality Among the Stó:lō," which highlights the importance of respect regarding burial, reburial, and taking care of the dead within Stó:lō communities. Author Kathryn McKay uses anthropological data to determine how sacred burial practices have been impacted by settler colonialism. The demonstrated adaptation is coupled with interviews illustrating that the community knowledge and practices around death are still used today. The continuing relevance of the Stó:lō guiding principle of reverence for the dead signifies the immortality of these traditional values despite adaptation to a changing world.

A similar perseverance of traditional values is examined with respect to food in Chapter 6, "Food as a Window Into Stó:lō Tradition and Stó:lō–Newcomer Relations." The chapter not only weaves stories of what foods are traditional but also discusses the importance of how the foods are harvested or gathered. Nation members describe hesitancy to consume store-bought meat due to their uncertainty about its treatment as sacred in its hunting or, in all likelihood, its harvesting from factory farms. Their concern is not just about eating, but also about the relationship with and interconnectedness of the foods, the land, and the people that are nourished by them. When foods are consumed in this way, the food benefits all aspects of the person. Chapter author Lesley Wiebe documents the impact of settler colonialism on access to traditional foods and on the relationship to these foods.

As a testament to the Stó:lō Nation's mission to preserve tradition as a living thing as well as a connection to ancestors, Ella Bird's Chapter 7, "'Bringing Home All That Has Left': The Skulkayn/Stalo Heritage Project and the Stó:lō Cultural Revival," describes the struggles and successes of the Stó:lō to ensure that their culture survives and thrives. An integral facet of this program was the cultural recording and revival of the Nation members' own language. The program provided a chance for the Nation to write its own histories, refusing the characterization of "Indians" as a monolith and without the inherently clouded perspective of the colonizer.

Chapters 8 and 9, by authors Christopher Marsh and Colin Murray Osmond respectively, build on the previous chapter's documentation and revival of Stó:lō history and culture. These subsequent chapters serve as histories of pride and proclamation. Chapter 8, "Totem Tigers and Salish Sluggers: A History of Boxing in Stó:lō Territory, 1912–1985," begins the duo with recreation, documenting the significance of boxing in the Nation and the resulting presence of Nation members in the sport at the professional level. Chapter 9, "'I Was Born a Logger': Stó:lō Identities Forged in the Forest," describes the "work" complementing Chapter 8's "play" in its topic of Stó:lō men and their role in the area's logging industry.

Both chapters address important activities for Stó:lō men. These activities were sources of pride in hard work and sport. They served to disabuse others of the notion that "Indians" were lazy, weak, or useless. The chapters also address the tensions present in both activities. Osmond relays interviews with loggers grappling with the sense of conflict between the veneration of nature and wage work in an extractive industry. Marsh describes the potentially insidious mission of boxing as a means of encouraging assimilation within a Foucauldian lens as well as the reasons given by the boxers themselves. Although the use of Foucault's framework regarding games and oppression does not feel necessary or organic to the overarching narrative, this pair of chapters generally strikes a good balance between documentation and analysis.

Noah E. Miller's Chapter 10, "'They're Always Looking for the Bad Stuff': Rediscovering the Stories of Coqualeetza Indian Hospital With Fresh Eyes and Ears," serves as a proper bookend to the volume's Introduction in its description of the potential downfalls of postcolonial studies as a singular lens. Beginning with the title—"They're Always Looking for the Bad Stuff"—the chapter takes little time to lay out its contention that the identity of "the colonized" is reductionist when taken in isolation and must be properly complemented with identities affirming First Nations' agency. The author provides the example of an area tuberculosis hospital, which is at once a symbol of colonialism and a site cherished in memory. Miller's description of the hospital as "a site of contested meanings" succinctly conceptualizes the dynamic relationship of colonizer and colonized, which is often reduced to a relationship of unilateral action.

Similarly, the Epilogue, "Next Steps in Indigenous Community-Engaged Research: Supporting Research Self-Sufficiency in Indigenous Communities," by Adam Gaudry, carries the torch of the Introduction's enumeration of philosophical tenets within the New Ethnohistory, providing a path toward more engaged scholarly research and, as a result, better research.

Although each individual chapter provides a great contribution, the editors of the text do not completely make the book more than the sum of its parts. The only explanation of the 1969 White Paper in Canadian Indigenous history, a proposal of forced assimilation via the elimination of Indian status (Chrétien, 1969; First Nations Studies Program, 2017), is in an endnote after the Introduction. Further, the difference between nations and bands is not laid out. Both of these concepts are integral to many of the chapters, indicating that a general introduction to each would be a logical addition.

Moreover, elements that could form ties between chapters often go underappreciated. Maps and descriptions of regions/buildings appearing in multiple chapters (e.g., Stó:lō fishing sites, Coqualeetza Indian Hospital) could build a more three-dimensional representation of the Nation within the text. The Introduction and conclusion should do more to highlight these commonalities in location and sources of power, allowing a more complex narrative to be woven. As an example, Chapter 3 describes fishing sites passed down through generations as a means of access to food. More explicit connections to class and the potential requirement to find work elsewhere is a pre-

dominant theme in Chapter 9, which details Nation members' presence in the logging industry. Highlighting this connection would serve to helpfully bring together the narrative fragments in each discrete chapter.

Where this elucidation exists within the chapter, the thematic analysis shines. The emphasis on the dynamic relationship between colonizer and colonized, particularly as symbolized by the Coqualeetza Indian Hospital, provides a thread connecting several points made throughout the book.

Overall, similarities and interconnections among the chapters contribute to a larger message shared by the authors and editors; however, one chapter deviates from the rest in a seemingly contradictory way. Chapter 8's Foucauldian analysis appears as a non sequitur and does not contribute to the chapter or provide anything missing from Nation member testimony. The research represented in this book works best when Nation member testimony is allowed to speak for itself, with analysis reserved for the establishment of overarching themes. In contrast to this approach, however, Chapter 8 relies on isolating testimony for anatomical examination, a process that erases its significance or meaning. This outside lens of analysis renders Stó:lō history unable to speak on its own terms.

Even with infrequent missteps, *Towards a New Ethnohistory* adheres to the principles it sets forth in its Introduction. It is clear that the scholarship the authors have undertaken with the Stó:lō Nation is the product of strong and ongoing relationships. Nation member input regarding research questions and subject matter clearly reflects the collaborative nature of the scholarship.

The authors outlined the principles of the New Ethnohistory with an eye toward ethnohistorical applications; however, the principles' similarity to those of community-based participatory research (CBPR) warrants description, as it demonstrates the broad applicability of these ideals. Both emphasize long-term and deeply rooted collaborative scholarship with the goal of publication and dissemination to a broad audience. Both aim to center the community, allowing it to speak with its own voice. These similarities indicate that the principles of the New Ethnohistory can, and should, be applied broadly. From ethnohistory and sociology to social work, psychology, and human medicine, these principles center voices that often go unheard. And so long as these voices remain unheard, problems—and solutions—remain unidentified. With rare exception, within the New Ethnohistory, these voices speak for themselves. The scholarship is not *for* the community but *by* it, resulting in authentic depictions of oppression, pain, joy, and rebellion without contamination via the lens of an outsider. Through *Towards a New Ethnohistory*, the authors, editors, and community partners take these principles and make them their own. It is a process that all disciplines and all organizations working with marginalized or underserved communities should consider.

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Baldwin, D. L. (2021). *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower: How Universities are Plundering Our Cities.* Bold Type Books. 272 pp.

Review by Jake D. Winfield

In *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower: How Universities are Plundering Our Cities* (2021), Davarian L. Baldwin investigates the growing power of universities in the daily lives of city residents. The author uses multiple case studies and interviews with various stakeholders across the United States to explore the manifestations of this phenomenon, from urban planning and land ownership to policing well beyond campus boundaries. The driving question throughout this book is "What are the costs when colleges and universities exercise significant power over a city's financial resources, policing priorities, labor relations, and land values?" (p. 9). Baldwin documents how these costs are often paid by community members to benefit students, faculty, and institutions themselves. *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower* provides a critical, timely, and essential telling of the consequences of university-led development on neighboring communities, and through it, an examination of macro-level factors that influence scholars' ability to engage in partnership with local communities.

Baldwin begins by recounting a brief history leading to the current moment in which, he argues, urban life is dominated by the desires of higher education institutions. In the first chapter he shows that profit motives have always been present in U.S. higher education, from practices of enslavement to the economic motivations that helped establish land-grant colleges. He highlights how the anchor institution movement that began in the 1990s was based in part on higher education's role signaling a thriving local economy. Baldwin then connects these ideas to the current influence of higher education over land development and commercialization of intellectual property. Here, and elsewhere in the text, Baldwin goes beyond secondary sources by including interviews from various stakeholders. This chapter, for example, features interviews in which Drs. Henry Taylor and Ira Harkavy discuss their role in early scholarship on anchor institutions.

After presenting a historical landscape of the role of profit in higher education, Baldwin provides case studies of institutions, each with a different specific focus. These case studies emphasize phenomena in the past two decades, centering the harm to racially minoritized communities. The second chapter portrays Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, showing how small, elite colleges can utilize the language of community partnership to prioritize their own interests (p. 55). The third chapter, on Columbia University and New York University in New York City, contrasts how these institutions approached campus expansion projects, highlighting the "death of public authority" (p. 90) that is a consequence of the rise of universities in urban development. Moving to the Midwest, Baldwin offers practices at the University of Chicago as an example of how universities can deploy campus police and university amenities to control local communities (p. 129). The final case study examines Arizona State University–Downtown as a real estate developer in Phoenix's urban core (p. 167).

The variety of the cases allows Baldwin to highlight the different, and often complex, motivations underlying universities' engagement with their cities. Arizona State has expanded into real estate deals that provide the university with revenues from rent and patents to help offset decreases in state appropriations. Columbia and NYU articulated how their campus expansion projects were driven by their smaller "square feet of building space per student" (p. 92) compared to peer institutions; in contrast, Trinity often worked to remain separate from their neighborhood. These complexities provide the reader with multiple lenses to view other and future university-led

projects. Taken as a whole, this collection of cases provides a comprehensive approach to understanding how universities use their power to shape cities in the United States.

Like the first chapter, the case studies utilize interviews (over 100) with various stakeholders, including university presidents, administrators, faculty, employees of university-based community engagement centers, students, elected officials, and community members. These varied perspectives on the same series of events are one of the book's greatest strengths. Rather than settling for multiple perspectives as a mechanism offering balance, Baldwin deploys them strategically to push back against official narratives portrayed in interviews with university officials in powerful positions. The result is a critical perspective that consistently centers the voices of community members. For example, Baldwin interviewed Flores Forbes, an associate vice president with Columbia's Office of Government and Community Affairs. Forbes articulated benefits for the local community from an expansion project, including a community benefits agreement and workforce training for formerly incarcerated people. According to Baldwin, Forbes "saw no relationship between campus expansion and community displacement" (p. 106). Baldwin, however, provided documentation of changes in local demographics and housing prices both to the reader and to Forbes, concluding that the "residents will get priced out, despite Forbes's dismissal of displacement" (p. 107). This interrogation of power and rebuttal of official narratives appears consistently throughout the text, so the reader never confronts the unchecked perspectives of the universities alone.

The time Baldwin spent in these various case sites further strengthens this text. In Phoenix, for example, Baldwin visited in 2012 and 2018 to see how ASU–Downtown had developed and continued to shape areas near campus. This longitudinal view of campus expansion captures, from an outsider's perspective, how university initiatives changed a cityscape. Other cases gain from Baldwin's work as a faculty member (Trinity College) and graduate student (NYU), which helps ground cases and likely provided him with additional insight into the identities of essential stakeholders. However, observing Baldwin's connection to some institutions leads into a weakness of this book—Baldwin does not clearly articulate *why* these cases were selected. This lack of insight may lead readers to question how pervasive universities' power in cities really is. The concern is somewhat addressed through Baldwin's frequent use of secondary examples, like Yale and Carnegie Mellon, which he offers to supplement his overall argument, but clarity on why he chose to focus on these five universities for the bulk of the book could have helped readers better understand how expansive "UniverCities" are in the United States.

One of the key contributions of *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower* to community engagement is Baldwin's effort to further complicate community–university partnerships. A common thread through all the cases is the idea of "enlightened self-interest" (p. 39) as a driving factor in the rise of university-led development. The idea of enlightened self-interest has been articulated previously by other scholars focused on community engagement (Taylor & Luter, 2013). Baldwin's focus on the impacts of these changes on minoritized communities also echoes Derrick Bell's (1980) interest convergence thesis, which has been recognized as a factor that drives urban universities' interests in community–university partnerships (Winfield & Davis, 2020). Baldwin's book adds evidence to the notion that university engagement and urban development are not exclusively altruistic.

The text is not entirely pessimistic: It concludes with a road map forward. The epilogue focuses on the University of Winnipeg and its recent initiatives that have prioritized the local Indigenous people. Baldwin also provides other concrete strategies for resisting harmful university-led development, including strong community benefits agreements, binding community-based planning boards, establishing unarmed campus police, and enforcing payment in lieu of taxes agreements (pp. 210–211). The epilogue helpfully provides a road map to reimagine what higher education can do when in partnership with communities to revitalize cities.

Baldwin provides a detailed and varied perspective on how universities are leading urban development initiatives, and the high costs community members often pay. Readers of the *JHEOE* can utilize this text to reflect on their own institutions' practices and recognize how larger systems and the neoliberalization of higher education in the United States (Giroux, 2002) directly impact

scholars' ability to engage in equitable partnerships while institutions engage in double-talk. Community members can utilize this text to understand how universities came to lead urban development while also developing counternarratives to common talking points. Students may also find Baldwin's text instructional. Its critique on the reasoning of those in power provides insight into critical scholarship methodology, in both interviews and publication, that centers minoritized community members.

In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower arrives at a critical juncture amid the fallout of COVID-19 on city budgets and calls for higher education to defund campus police departments as part of the Black Lives Matter movement. Baldwin's book provides an analysis that questions the good in university-led urban development. As these practices become more commonplace, understanding how they can harm communities will be critical to the work of community-engaged scholars who seek equitable partnerships with local communities.

About the Reviewer

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O'Connell, D. J., & Peters, S. J. (2021). *In the Struggle: Scholars and the Fight Against Industrial Agribusiness in California.* New Village Press. 368 pp.

Review by Frank A. Fear

Pick up a copy of the book and turn immediately to the back cover. Reading it will tell you what to expect in *In the Struggle* and why the volume is important. It

> documents the stories of eight politically engaged scholars and their opposition to industrial-scale agribusiness in California. Their previously censored and suppressed research, together with personal accounts of intimidation and subterfuge, is introduced in the public arena for the first time.

Strong words are *censored, suppressed, intimidated*, and *subterfuge*. Not since the publication of Jim Hightower's *Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times* (1978) has the land-grant system and industrial agriculture been confronted with a book like this. For those unfamiliar with Hightower's contribution, he authored an example-filled indictment of specific forms of university-based agricultural research with the title illustrating the volume's theme. University scientists re-engineered tomatoes so that crops could be picked mechanically without the prospect of being squashed.

In the Struggle, like *Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times*, reveals that America's higher education system is not without cause for reproach. Institutions make choices, and sometimes those choices fail to serve the public good. *In the Struggle* tells that story by chronicling the work of courageous and persistent colleagues who fought the system. They disdained unacceptable circumstances, proclaimed alternatives worth fighting for, and then pushed against the power structure to serve the public good. This book goes well beyond the typical academic offering of *speaking* truth to power from a distance. *In the Struggle* is about *challenging* power through face-to-face confrontations.

The book is not only about what was done. It is also very much about the perspicacious people who did it. Walter Goldschmidt, Paul Taylor, and Dean MacCannell are top-tier academics who used well-developed research skills to serve the public good. Ernesto Galarza and Don Villarejo, scholar-activists both, are consummate academic–community boundary-crossers. Isao Fujimoto, with his wisdom-filled tutorials, reminds me of the best professors that I have known. Trudy Wischemann fought persistently for racial and economic justice and against mechanisms of oppression. Janaki Jagannath is a stellar example of new generational leaders required to sustain this work.

O'Connell and Peters write expressively about each of the eight figures, including how they got started in their work, the turning points they experienced, their ups and downs, and the emotions felt as they persevered in a landscape full of risk. To a person, they faced constant and significant pushback from parties that wanted them and their work "to go away." Professional stakes were especially high for those who labored in higher education. Colleges of agriculture and land-grant schools, in general, are tied tightly to industrial agriculture. To work at counter-purposes means biting the hand that feeds you—employers that hire your students, companies that fund your research, philanthropists who support your work, and university executives who "have your back" during challenging times.

That said, it is important to refrain from categorizing *In the Struggle* as *only* about politically engaged scholars who focus their work on California-based industrial agriculture. Colleagues working on other issues and in other locations will immediately relate to the accounts of these scholars' work. Kinship is a by-product of a common quest: "research combined with

community organizing and pedagogies aimed at empowerment, [which] threaten power structures" (p. 301).

That broader view of *In the Struggle* reminds me of the vital contribution made by Robert Staughton Lynd (1939) in his landmark book, *Knowledge for What?* Lynd's question is thought-provoking when applied to any field, including engagement. Why engage? When engage? How engage? Engage with whom? All questions point in a common direction, asking, *"What is our work really about?*

An answer was articulated clearly at the dawn of the Engagement Movement over three decades ago by Ernest Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation. Boyer (1994) called for creating The New American College. "Our colleges and universities are not collectively caught up in some urgent national endeavor" (para. 1), Boyer wrote. Boyer's proclamation was part of his overarching vision for higher education at the institutional and systems level. He also sought to elevate what many saw as "academic activities," including teaching and outreach, to forms of scholarship equivalent to research. Engagement as scholarship was an inviting, if not alluring, prospect (Boyer, 1990).

With decades separating today from what Boyer wrote—long enough to make a fair assessment—it is clear there has been limited progress toward what Boyer had hoped would become a reality. Among other things, "The New American College" never emerged as a national model, although inarguably, more engagement work is under way in higher education today than before. Meanwhile, Boyer's expansive view of scholarship has been adopted unevenly. Indeed, in *The Quantified Scholar*, Juan Pablo Pardo-Guerra (2022) argues that today's metrics do just the opposite of what Boyer had proposed.

Why did this happen? One reason is that a potent counterforce subverted progress toward achieving valued ends. Neoliberalism is that force. Neoliberalism privileges market forces and public policies that serve individual and private interests (Harvey, 2007). Catering to the appeal of personal gain, neoliberalism is a patron of what is best for the individual as it debases efforts to advance the commonwealth. In neoliberalism, society is an exchange system of producers and consumers, of sellers and buyers. Lester K. Spence (2011, as cited in James, 2014) summarized it this way: "[Neoliberalism] simultaneously shape[s] individual desires and behaviors and institutional practices according to market principles, while simultaneously CREATING the market through those individual and institutional desires and behaviors" (para. 7).

Now, after a half-century in place, neoliberalism has a firm grip on people and institutions—including higher education. William Deresiewicz (2015) chronicled the evolution in his provocatively titled essay, "The Neoliberal Arts: How College Sold its Soul to the Market," which portrays an arena where students are customers; college's primary purpose is to train for the workplace; and schools, faculty, and fields are evaluated using ROI (return on investment) as a metric.

The higher education story also includes neoliberalism's impact on engagement. Today, much engagement scholarship has the look and feel of scholarship conducted in other fields. These traits make the work easier to evaluate using standardized measures; they also contribute to ends that higher education values, including the inflow of grant funding and the outflow of articles appearing in high-impact publications. Both outcomes improve institutional positioning in a competitive market system.

Neoliberalism not only influenced higher education and engagement's evolution, but it did so by proceeding in a stealth-like manner, making it difficult to detect until its progression was significant and undeniable. Quoting Ernesto Galarza, O'Connell and Peters write, "There is a deceptiveness about social systems that beguiles those who view them, because of fondness, interest, or [other reasons]" (p. 112). That deceptiveness presents

> only the front end of a culture. . . . It is like viewing a kaleidoscope clamped firmly in a vice so it will not turn even slightly and scatter the charmingly frozen image. There is a certain peace of mind in peering at such images, as there is in gazing at seemingly immovable social institutions.(p. 112)

Neoliberalism's impact on higher education and its influence on engagement make politically engaged scholarship far from "just another" form of scholarship and one

among many engagement motifs. It is the preeminent scholarly approach to confront neoliberalism and its excesses. But therein lies the rub. We cannot expect higher education as an institution and system to put itself in the crosshairs by embracing politically engaged scholarship. Isao Fujimoto—one of the politically engaged scholars featured in the study—interprets it this way: For the university "to be accountable to the larger public rather than serve groups selected by nature of their manipulative advantages and concentrating power and money . . . the land-grant university itself [represents] a structure to be investigated, challenged, and transformed" (p. 216).

Those three words—*investigate, challenge*, and *transform*—scream for attention. Fujimoto contends that it is insufficient for scholars and higher education to focus only on the world *out there*—that is, to investigate, challenge, and help *others* transform themselves and their organizations, institutions, and professions. Academics have always been good at that. Fujimoto declares that *higher education* also must be investigated, challenged, and transformed—and one way to achieve that is through the exercise of politically engaged scholarship.

That is more easily said than done. And this difficulty explains (at least in part) why several scholars featured in *In the Struggle* began their careers in the academy but then left to advance their work elsewhere. Others operated consistently in nonacademic settings. The book coauthors' positioning reflects this dichotomy—Scott J. Peters in the academy and Daniel J. O'Connell outside it.

As a lifelong academic, my primary interest is seeing more politically engaged scholars populate the academy—seeing their work affirmed for what it is and valued for what it accomplishes. I believe that both ends are possible, not necessarily by forging new trails, but by observing how others have already accomplished those outcomes. Here are three examples.

I was reminded recently of the work of student colleagues from my graduate school days, namely, Tom Lyson (master's level) and Bob Bullard (doctoral level). Both went on to distinguished academic careers as politically engaged scholars, achieving national prominence and influence along the way. Lyson (2004) coined the term *civic agriculture*, and Bob Bullard (2005) launched the environmental justice movement. Lyson and Bullard did exactly what Boyer had hoped: They focused attention on "urgent national endeavors."

Clyde W. Barrow, a politically engaged scholar in local economic development, moved his work forward using tactics he refers to as "organizing small guerrilla bands" of like-minded colleagues (2018). Not convinced that other approaches will lead to much success, Barrow asserted that his preferred method "for the foreseeable future . . . may be all that is possible—but at least it is possible" (pp. 85–86). That said, Barrow found that this work requires political cover from administrators who are willing to "take hits" from influential stakeholders and unsupportive faculty members. Although blessed with that type of administrative support during his career, Barrow also found it uneven and episodic. He learned along the way the importance of developing survival skills to advance his politically engaged work and survive in what can be a hostile academic environment.

Another colleague, John Duley, was a consummate practitioner in that regard. Duley never sought or accepted a tenure-stream faculty position, preferring to occupy a series of shorter term and ad hoc faculty appointments. Over a career of 80-plus years that continued well into his 90s, Duley led numerous social justice initiatives and spearheaded various academic efforts, first in experiential education and, later, in service-learning, where he is credited with being a driving force of the national service-learning movement (Nurse, 2020; Palmer, 2021).

Duley sought and achieved *institutional space*, calling it "working from the (institutional) margins," satisfied to be (what he called) *in* but not *of* higher education (2014). Duley passed away in 2021 at the age of 100 years and, when I interviewed him a year earlier, he talked about how he positioned his work institutionally (Fear, 2020), first in the church (Duley was an ordained minister) and later in higher education. He positioned the institution as a platform for change, and not as a sponsor of change. It was Duley's way of responding to the politics associated with his work.

We are blessed to experience colleagues like Lyson, Bullard, Barrow, and Duley, as we are with O'Connell, Peters, and the eight protagonists featured in *In the Struggle.* My wish is to experience and celebrate more

colleagues like them, as well as to read and applaud more offerings like *In the Struggle*. Politically engaged scholars, and books that chronicle their work, show us what higher education needs to be in the Age of Neoliberalism—an answer to that all-important and enduring question, *Knowledge for What?*

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