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RESEARCH AND THEORY

PEDAGOGY

Analyzing Morton's Typology of Service Paradigms and Integrity

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Research on college students found limited support for Morton's (1995) hypothesis that students have a preference for one distinct type of service orientation (i.e., charity, project, social change). The findings did replicate previous findings that college students prefer the charity paradigm. A measure of integrity was developed and two dimensions were identified that possessed distinct correlates. As Morton predicted, as the degree of integrity increased the preference for a distinct type of service became blurred, suggesting that developing integrity should be an intentional educational goal and it might be aided by exposing students to all three approaches to community service. Implications for service-learning educators are discussed.

As a long-time educator and leader in service-learning, Keith Morton (1995) has provided an analysis of different ways in which college students prefer to engage in community service. He describes three service paradigms: charity (providing direct service to another person), project (implementing or participating in service programs through community service organizations), and social change (transformational models of systemic change). Morton also posits that college students who are active in community service have a preference for a particular type of service with which they are most comfortable. He provides critical commentary on the strengths and limitations of each type of service with accompanying analysis of implications for the design of educational programs. Furthermore, he contends that, unlike other analyses (e.g., Delve, Mintz, & Stewart, 1990; Elden & Chisholm, 1993; Illich, 1968; Lackey, Burke, & Peterson, 1987), these three types of service do not necessarily constitute a continuum of service (pp. 19-20). Rather, Morton presents the case that each type of service is a separate paradigm and each has "its own logic, strengths, limitations and vision of a transformed world" (p. 19), and contains "a world view, a problem statement, and an agenda for change" (p. 24). Therefore, it may not be reasonable for educators to have a developmental goal of challenging college students to move from acts of charity to planned projects toward social change.

Furthermore, Morton (1995) contends that how a college student engages in any one of the three types of community service can have differing levels of integrity or depth. To discuss integrity, he adapts the language of anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) and describes the conditions when integrity ranges from "thin" to "thick" (p. 21). Community service directed at charity, project, and social change lacks integrity, or is thin, when it is paternalistic, self-centered, produces negative consequences, creates dependencies and false expectations, and leaves others tired and cynical (p. 28). In contrast, high levels of integrity, across the three types of service, possess,

> deeply held, internally coherent values; match means and ends; describe a primary way of interpreting and relating to the world; offer a way of defining problems and solutions; and suggest a vision of what a transformed world might look like. (p. 28)

This level of integrity is described as "thick" because of the depth of integration between values and action.

Limited research has been conducted to evaluate Morton's (1995) typology of service preference and its implications for structuring service-learning courses and other educational programs. Morton (1995) and Bringle, Magjuka, Hatcher, MacIntosh, and Jones (2006) used a forced-choice procedure in which college students were asked to choose one of the three types of service for their current activities, "over the course of my life," and what others should do. Morton found charity to be the preferred paradigm when asked about current activities, but project was the modal choice for "over the course of my life" (p. 25) and as a recommendation for what others should do. Using the same items but collapsing preferences across the three items (i.e., current, over my life, others), Bringle et al. found that 48% of college students surveyed indicated a preference for providing charity or direct service, followed by 39% preferring service through project development or organizations, and 13% preferring social change.

Moely and Miron (2005) used two different approaches to measuring preferences for types of service: (a) a ranking of the importance of the three types

across four presentations of the three types of service, and (b) a rating on a five-point scale of the extent to which they would like to engage in each activity for descriptions of the three types of service activities in four sectors: education, health agencies, nonprofit organizations, and government offices. When respondents rank ordered their preference for the three types of service that were presented four different ways, the procedure yielded marginal reliability for social change and charity, and unacceptable reliability for project (i.e., alpha < .70). Their results showed that undergraduate students had a clear preference for charity and the mean ranks found the following ordering of preference: charity > project > social change. The rating procedure produced scales with marginal or unacceptable reliabilities, and a different ordering of preference: charity > social change > project. Across the two measurement techniques, they found mixed predictors of interest in charity (gender, high school service, Federal Work Study service) and social change (gender, year in college, experience with various kinds of service), with little convergence across the two measures of preference. The measurement of preference for project planning was not reliable enough to permit analyses.

Research Questions

Stimulated by Morton's (1995) analysis of community service and its implications for designing service-learning classes, this research identified the following research questions to address.

1. Can student preferences for type of community service be reliably measured? Morton (1995) presents no reliability data for his measures because he analyzed them as single items. Moely and Miron (2005) attained either marginally acceptable or unacceptable reliabilities for both of their measurement procedures. Bringle et al. (2006) collapsed across three forced-choice items. An alternative approach for measuring the three types of community service was implemented in this research and compared to these other procedures.

2. Do students have a preference for only one type of community service? Morton (1995) offers both qualitative and quantitative evidence concluding that students often showed a preference for one type of service and resisted being asked to do a different type of service. His evidence leads him to conclude that, "we come to service with a primary orientation, and work out of this orientation. Only occasionally, I would hypothesize, is a primary orientation given up for an alternative" (p. 28-29).

3. Can a self-report measure of integrity be developed? Presumably, the construct of integrity of service can be defined and the conceptual domain can be sampled with items that reflect key qualities delineated by Morton (1995) and clarified through discus-

sions with him. Such a measure of integrity would need to be applicable to those who favor each of the three types of service, without specific reference to a particular type, and possess sound psychometric properties (i.e., reliability, validity, factor structure).

4. Does preference for only one type of service diminish or become blurred with a high level of integrity? Morton suggests that the distinctions among charity, project, and social change become blurred as the integrity of the server deepens and becomes "thick": "At their thickest, the paradigms seem to intersect, or at least to complement one another" (p.28).

Methods

Subjects

Respondents (N = 217) were solicited from different groups of undergraduate students at a large urban campus, to reflect students from the general student population and also with varied levels of community involvement through either a service-learning course or Federal Work Study positions in the community: students enrolled in four service learning courses (n = 37, 16.8%); students enrolled in one course without a service component (n = 79, 35.9%); Federal Work Study students employed on-campus (n = 41,18.6%); Federal Work Study students employed in community-based settings (n = 32, 14.6%); Federal Work Study students employed as America Reads tutors in community-based settings (n = 28, 12.7%) (three questionnaires were uncoded). Respondents had a mean age = 23.3; 71.8% were female; 53.2% were Caucasian and 30.9% were African-American; and 46.8% were first-year undergraduate students, 15.9% were second-year undergraduates, 21.4% were third-year undergraduates, 14.1% were fourth-year undergraduates, and 1.8% were graduate students.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire contained items developed to measure intrinsic and extrinsic motives, leadership, familiarity with and interest in the nonprofit sector, interest in and preference for different types of community service, and integrity. Items included (a) the importance of intrinsic motives for selecting a career (e.g., improve society through my career; job is consistent with my personal values; six items, alpha = .83) and extrinsic motives for selecting a career (e.g., salary; provide for financial needs of my family; three items, alpha = .78); (b) questions based upon Astin and Astin's (1996) Social Change Model of Leadership (consciousness of self, congruence, commitment, collaboration, common purpose controversy with civility, citizenship) and traditional models of leadership (e.g., giving directions, coordinating

activities, proposing solutions, promoting communication; 28 items that loaded on an Efficacy factor, alpha = .89); (c) two items measuring familiarity with the nonprofit sector (e.g., had enrolled in a course that included the nonprofit sector; familiarity with the nonprofit sector), and four items measuring interest in and knowledge of the nonprofit sector (e.g., interest in taking a course on the nonprofit sector, interest in employment in the nonprofit sector; six-item scale, alpha = .79); (d) two items measuring past experience with community service (e.g., in high school, involvement of parents), and four items measuring future interest in community service (e.g., anticipated involvement after graduation; likelihood of contributing money and raising money for community causes; six-item scale, alpha = .70). Single items also measured: hours of community service during the previous two years, importance of faith to educational and career goals, grade point average, age, gender, and class standing.

All respondents were asked to complete those sections of the questionnaire. Respondents who had never been involved in community service or volunteer activities (n = 37) were instructed to stop responding at this point of the questionnaire and only those who had been involved in community service completed the final two sections (n = 180).

Morton's Types of Service. Modifying the previous research by Morton (1995) three sets of items asked respondents about their "confidence in my ability to. . .", "Over the course of my life, I would feel most comfortable having an impact by . . . ", and "I would feel most enthusiastic about recruiting others to . . . " (a) "provide direct service to another person", (b) "help set up and support community service organizations", and (c) "advocate for social change." Respondents indicated their preference on a six-point *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* response format. Each three-item composite scale had acceptable internal consistency (charity: alpha = .72; project: alpha = .84; social change: alpha = .90).

Integrity. Items were written that sampled the following components of Morton's concept of integrity: willingness to recruit other volunteers as a public declaration of interest in and commitment to community service; the degree to which friends know

Table 1
Items Used to Measure Integrity

1. Being involved in community service is everyone's responsibility, therefore, I feel comfortable recruiting others to be involved.*	Being involved in community service is a personal choice of each individual, therefore I would not feel comfortable recruiting others to be involved.
2. If I told those who know me well that I was signing up for a community service activity, they would be surprised.	If I told those who know me well that I was signing up for a community service activity they would not be surprised.*
3. When I am involved in community service, I focus on what I can accomplish that day.	When I am involved in community service, I am motivated by the fact that I can make a difference over time.*
4. I usually leave a community service activity with ideas for additional ways that I can be involved in the future.*	I usually leave a community service activity with a feeling of a job well done.
5. When I interact with those I am serving, I try to not get too involved in their personal lives.	When I interact with those I am serving, I am often concerned by the number of complex issues influencing their lives.*
6. When I am involved in community service, I focus on meeting the immediate need.	When I am involved in community service, I focus on the long-term impact of my involvement.*
7. My community service involvement is one of the most important things that defines who I am.*	My community service involvement is not one of the most important things that defines who I am.
8. As a result of my community service involvement, the direction of my life has dramatically changed.*	As a result of my community service involvement, the direction of my life has not dramatically changed.
9. When I serve another person I am thankful for the opportunity to help.	When I serve another person, I find that we have a lot in common.*

Note. * denotes thick alternative

about the respondent's interest in community service; interest in making a difference over time as a means for distinguishing life-course commitment to service (vs. an episodic approach to service); thinking about community service when away from it as evidence of how encompassing it is in their lives (vs. compart-mentalized); empathic responses; viewing service as part of an ongoing commitment; role of community service as part of one's identity; degree to which community service is transformational for one's life; and identification (vs. separateness) with those served (see Table 1). A format was used in which a high integrity ("thick") and low integrity ("thin") choice were placed at each end. Each choice was written to provide choices that were equally socially desirable. A six-point response format with the ends labeled *Describes me extremely well* was used.

Results

Factor Analysis

Factor analyses with Varimax rotation were conducted on the integrity items. There was not a one-factor solution. A two-factor solution included six of the nine items, with the remaining three items failing to form a third factor. Table 2 lists the items that formed the two-factor solution and their respective alphas. Although these alphas were low, because this was exploratory research on the concept of integrity, items for the two factors — Identity (alpha = .67) and Long-Term Commitment (alpha = .66) — were combined into scales that were assumed to be two somewhat independent components of integrity, $r(179) = .18, p < .05$. The remaining three items were excluded from subsequent analyses, although they may still be considered aspects of integrity that are distinct from the two components identified in this research.

Morton's Typology

A repeated measures MANOVA was conducted to determine if there were differences in preference for

Table 2
Factor Structure of the Measure of Integrity

Identity	Loading
Item 1	.69
Item 4	.60
Item 7	.79
Item 8	.64

Long-Term Commitment	Loading
Item 3	.74
Item 6	.77

Items Not Loading
Item 2
Item 5
Item 9

each of the three types of service. There was a significant effect, $F(2, 177) = 28.84, p < .01$. The means indicated that respondents had the strongest preference for Charity (mean = 4.64), the lowest preference for Social Change (mean = 3.97), with Project being intermediate (mean = 4.38). Each paired comparison was significant according to a t-test for dependent means.

As another type of evidence for whether or not students have a distinct preference for one type of service, the correlations between interest in the three types of service were calculated and all were found to be significant and positive: Charity and Social Change, $r(178) = .48, p < .01$; Charity and Project, $r(178) = .46, p < .05$; and Project and Social Change, $r(178) = .57, p < .01$.

As an additional strategy for evaluating the same research issue, tripartite splits (roughly, the highest one-third, middle one-third, lowest one-third) were conducted on the distribution of scores for preference for each of the types of service. Table 3 presents the contingency tables for the types of service taken two at a time. A criterion for evidence of a distinct preference for one type of service over the other would be contained in the cells that have a high preference for one type of service and moderate or low preference for the other type of service. These cells accounted for 27%, 27%, and 28% of all of the respondents. An additional criterion would be that a respondent was high on one type of service and low or moderate on both of the other two types of service. Twenty-six percent of the respondents matched this criterion (Table 3).

Integrity and Types of Service

To evaluate the relationship between integrity and types of service, four preference groups were created based on a median split of preference for each type of service: (a) low preference across all three types (i.e., below the median on direct service, project, and social change; n = 33, 18%); (b) preference for only one type of service (i.e., above the median on one type, below the median on the other two; n = 53, 30%); (c) preference for two types of service (i.e., above the median on two types, below the median on the other type; n = 39, 22%); and (d) preference for all three types of service (i.e., above the median for all three types of service; n = 55, 31%). A one-way ANOVA was conducted with the two components of integrity, Identity and Long-Term Commitment, as the dependent variables. In addition, the following nonorthogonal comparisons were tested: (a) preference for one type versus preference for three types of service; (b) no preference versus all others, and (c) preference for one type versus preference for two and three types of service. There was a significant effect for service preferences on Identity, $F(3,175) = 16.14$, $p < .01$, and on Long-Term Commitment, $F(3,175) =$

Table 3
Contingency Tables for Preferences

	Charity		
	Low	Moderate	High
Social Change			
Low	28	19	6*
Moderate	19	24	7*
High	8*	27*	42

	Charity		
	Low	Moderate	High
Project			
Low	27	16	8*
Moderate	13	31	12*
High	15*	23*	35

	Social Change		
	Low	Moderate	High
Project			
Low	31	14	6*
Moderate	11	24	21*
High	11*	12*	50

	Social Change		
	Low	Moderate	High
Charity: Low			
Program: Low	17	10	0*
Program: Moderate	4	6	3*
Program: High	7*	3*	5
Charity: Medium			
Program: Low	10	3	3*
Program: Moderate	5	15	11*
Program: High	4*	6*	13
Charity: High			
Program: Low	4*	1*	3
Program: Moderate	2*	3*	7
Program: High	0	3	32

Note. *Cells consistent with Morton's prediction of favoring only one type of service.

9.11, $p < .01$. In addition, each contrast was significant (see Table 4).

Exploratory Regression Analyses

Two sets of stepwise multiple regression analyses were conducted to determine which variables were related to strength of preference for each type of community service and for the two measures of integrity (i.e., identity, long-term commitment). In both analyses, the following additional variables were included as independent variables: efficacy, hours of community service during the previous two years, importance of faith to educational and career goals, grade point average, extrinsic motivation for service, intrinsic motivation for career, history with community service and interest in community service in the future, familiarity with and interest in the

nonprofit sector, age, gender, and class standing. For analyses of service preference (charity, project, social change) as the dependent variable, the two measures of integrity were also included as independent variables. For the analyses with the two integrity factors as the dependent variable, preference for charity, project, and social change were included as independent variables. Table 5 reports the results of the stepwise multiple regression analyses.

Discussion

Types of Service

Measurement. Different approaches have been used to measure preferences for different types of community service (Bringle et al. 2006; Moely & Miron, 2005; Morton, 1995). Rather than ranking or forced choice, in the current research respondents

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Table 4
Means and Contrasts for One-way ANOVAs for Preference for Type of Service and Integrity

Means (Standard Deviations)			
Preference for Type of Service	N	Identity	Long-Term Commitment
1: No Preference	33	2.80 (.907)	3.20 (1.13)
2: Preference for One Type	53	3.12 (.793)	3.66 (1.10)
3: Preference for Two Types	39	3.44 (.988)	4.01 (1.20)
4: Preference for Three Types	54	4.13 (1.09)	4.47 (1.24)
Contrasts		Identity	Long-Term Commitment
2 vs. 4		5.44*	3.58*
1 vs. (2, 3, 4)		4.12*	3.76*
2 vs. (3, 4)		3.99*	2.87*

Note. df = 175. *p < .01

rated the three types of service by indicating on a six-point scale their preference for "confidence in their ability," "over their lifetime," and "recruiting others." The reliabilities were all marginally acceptable and analyses found significant differences among preferences and the following rank order of student ratings of preference for service: charity > project > social change.

Concerning the first research question, the measurement procedure used in the current research is tentatively recommended over the other procedures because of its superior reliabilities. Nevertheless, there is convergence across all of the procedures (with the exception of two of Morton's results) that college students have a clear preference for charity and — with two exceptions in Moely and Miron's (2005) results — the lowest interest in a service paradigm directed at advocacy and social change. As Morton (1995) notes, the three different paradigms can have important and different implications for the design and implementation of service-learning courses. These results show that most college students are interested in direct service and service through projects within a community organization, which are presumed to be the most typical ways in which service-learning courses and co-curricular programs involve students. Thus, educators can continue to include these two types of community service activities in service-learning courses and know that students, in general, will view them as most attractive.

That social change elicited the least interest across all studies except two measures by Moely and Miron (2005) has two contrasting implications. First, consistent with Morton's (1995) recommendation that a student's preference should be honored, the presence of service activities focused on social change should be proportionately minimal in service-learning courses and community service programming. However, an alternative conclusion, which is consistent with observations by Boyte (1991), is that community service as it is typically structured in college may not be the best way to have students become

familiar with politically-oriented, justice-oriented, and advocacy-oriented activities and outcomes that are aligned with social change (a point with which Morton agrees, personal communication, January, 27, 2006). Cone (2003) reiterates this position by concluding that through service-learning "we are failing to help students understand that civic action involves more than direct service and that systemic problems require systemic solutions" (p. 15). Therefore, to correct for this deficiency, disproportionately more thought and programming may need to be dedicated to the design and implementation of ways in which students can increase their familiarity with, competency in, and motivation to work toward social change. Program initiatives such as the American Democracy Project (ADP), coordinated by the American Association of Colleges and State Universities in collaboration with *The New York Times*, and the Political Engagement Project, coordinated by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and Learning, make more explicit the vital importance of civic learning outcomes to increase participation in democratic processes, political activities, and seeking social change. Instructors of service-learning classes may also choose to intentionally incorporate community service directed at social change into their courses and design reflection activities that integrate course content with issues contained in this type of community service (e.g., social justice, policy analysis) to develop student interest in social change.

Not all courses may be well-suited for service experiences to involve students in social change activities due to limitations of time, student competency, learning goals in the course, community partner needs, or faculty interests. For many service-learning courses, direct service and projects within community organizations are most appropriate for all stakeholders. Nevertheless, identifying resources to cultivate civic learning through structured reflection (Gottlieb & Robinson, 2002; Perry & Jones, 2006) and supplemental readings focused on those who

Table 5

Multiple Regression Analyses of Integrity (Identity, Long-Term Commitment) and Preference for Types of Service (Charity, Project, Social Change)

	Cumulative R	Final Beta	F Value
Dependent Variable: Identity			
Predictor	Cumulative R	Final Beta	F Value
Project	.319	.27**	F(1,165) = 18.8**
Intrinsic	.368	.19*	F(2,164) = 12.8**
Dependent Variable: Long-Term Commitment			
Predictor	Cumulative R	Final Beta	F Value
Efficacy	.479	.329**	F(1,165) = 49.0**
Hours Served	.532	.216**	F(2,164) = 32.3**
Social change	.559	.188*	F(3,163) = 24.7**
GPA	.577	.146*	F(4,162) = 20.2**
Dependent Variable: Charity			
Predictor	Cumulative R	Final Beta	F Value
Intrinsic	.478	.386**	F(1,165) = 48.8**
Identity	.546	.214**	F(2,164) = 34.8**
Nonprofit Sector	.568	.174*	F(3,163) = 26.0**
Dependent Variable: Project			
Predictor	Cumulative R	Final Beta	F Value
Efficacy	.562	.427**	F(1,165) = 76.0**
Long-Term Commitment	.590	.169**	F(2,164) = 43.9**
Nonprofit Sector	.609	.175**	F(3,163) = 32.0**
Dependent Variable: Social Change			
Predictor	Cumulative R	Final Beta	F Value
Efficacy	.515	.298**	F(1,165) = 59.5**
Nonprofit Sector	.552	.201**	F(2,164) = 36.0**
Long-Term Commitment	.578	.182**	F(3,163) = 27.2**
Identity	.593	.159*	F(4,162) = 22.0**
Extrinsic	.607	.133*	F(5,161) = 18.8**

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

have advocated for social change in American society (Burlingame, 2004; Daloz, Keen, Keen, & Daloz-Parks, 1996) can be used to build a connection between (a) direct service and programs, and (b) social change, even when the community service activities are not focused on social change.

The three types of service also had common and distinct correlates associated with them in the current research. All three were associated with interest in and knowledge of the nonprofit sector. This shows the centrality of the nonprofit sector to community involvement and suggests that the general population of students has a strong interest in nonprofit organizations and will benefit from educational programs that increase their knowledge of the nonprofit sector (e.g., philanthropic studies, nonprofit management). Service-learning instructors can intentionally draw upon the knowledge base about the nonprofit sector (Anheier, 2005; Clotfelter & Ehrlich 1999; Hammack, 1998; Powell, 1987) to supplement existing course content so that students can deepen their understanding of nonprofits' role in society. Although it is easy to see the nonprofit sector's relevance to each of the three types of service, not all students will

seek careers in that sector. Educational programs should also include an examination of the relationships and interdependencies between the nonprofit sector, the public/government sector, and the private/for profit sector in addressing community needs.

The pattern of results for the multiple regression analyses also provided additional evidence of discriminate validity among the different approaches to community service, which is further endorsement of this measurement procedure for assessing interest in the various community service paradigms. Other than the nonprofit sector, there was no other correlate common across the regression analyses for the three types of service. Efficacy was a predictor for social change and project, indicating that the general capacity to effect change through one's actions (leadership, organizing, communication) is related to preferences for how one serves in these structured and goal-oriented types of service. Bandura's (1977, 1997) work on self-efficacy focuses on a person's capacity to take action toward a goal. These results highlight how efficacy is central to these two types of service. Educators, therefore, can work toward developing those competencies and skills that support the devel-

opment of efficacy in students enrolled in service-learning classes. Fortunately, a body of research exists that has construed efficacy within the framework of community service and has developed validated tools for further research (Ferrari, 2004; Reeb, 2006; Reeb, Katsuyama, Sammon, & Yoder, 1998). Furthermore, this finding reinforces the importance of matching competencies needed in a service site to the student's existing skills and motives, so that a sense of efficacy is cultivated in service-learning classes (Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Miene, & Haugen, 1994; Clary et al., 1998; Houle, Sagarin, & Kaplan, 2005).

Preferences for charity and direct service were associated with internal aspects of the respondent: intrinsic motives for a career and the degree to which service is a part of one's identity. These correlates highlight the importance of intrapersonal development and personal growth to educational goals for students most interested in personal, one-on-one forms of direct service. This group constituted the largest subgroup in this sample as well as in Moely and Miron's (2005) sample. Attention to personal growth and values as a dimension of service-learning course design may challenge faculty to extend learning outcomes beyond academic and course content. This finding, along with input from service-learning students, resulted in adding personal values to our definition for service-learning:

> Service learning is a credit-bearing educational experience in which students (a) participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs and (b) reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of personal values and civic responsibility. (cf. Bringle & Hatcher, 1995, p. 222)

This slight modification has been important in our work with faculty as we challenge them to acknowledge that both personal values and civic responsibility can be cultivated through service-learning courses. Ash, Clayton, and Atkinson (2005) demonstrated that pedagogical tools can be developed for service-learning classes that can improve students' higher order reasoning abilities and critical thinking skills relative to personal growth as well as academic growth and civic growth, and, and as a result, can improve the overall quality of their learning in a service-learning course. Furthermore, intrinsic motivation will be enhanced when students have the relevant skills to succeed and a sense of satisfaction about reaching intended goals (see Bringle, 2005).

Preference for social change, like charity, was associated with identity and also a long-term commitment to service and extrinsic motivations for a career. Service-learning students can benefit from relating service experiences to their personal and career goals through appropriate reflection activities tailored to the course content. Challenging students to see how their service relates to their career aspirations and identifying relevant professionals who have used their disciplinary expertise to work with community partners to address community needs can help students link community service to broader domains of career and long-term commitments. In this way, service-learning can contribute to developing civic-minded graduates and civic-minded professionals (Peters, 2004; Sullivan, 2005) who see themselves as social trustees of knowledge with a responsibility to work with others, both professionals and citizens, to address community needs.

Preference for One Type of Service. The results of the current research did not offer very convincing evidence for Morton's (1995) contention that students have a preference for only one paradigm. This conclusion on the second research question is qualified by acknowledging that the evidence from the current research was dependent upon a particular approach to measuring interest in the types of service and the criterion that was used to evaluate preferences. Thus, a different approach to measuring interests and a different criterion for evaluating preferences might support a different conclusion. Nevertheless, the procedure used in the current research (ratings) is a reasonable extension of prior measurement methods (forced choice, rankings), and had acceptable psychometric characteristics (i.e., reliability, validity, factor structure). Furthermore, asking for degree of preference overcomes the shortcoming of ranks and forced choice approaches because ratings allow respondents to express opinions about the degree to which they have preferences for each of the three types of service. These preferences were found to be positively correlated, whereas Morton's hypothesis would lead to the expectation that they would be uncorrelated or negatively correlated.

Furthermore, only a minority of respondents expressed preferences that were aligned with the expectation that they would favor one type of service and not favor the other two types. The modal response pattern was for respondents who had a preference for all three types (33% based on median split), followed by a preference for only one (30%). Some of Morton's (1995) recommendations for the design and implementation of service-learning were based on the assumption that students have a preferred way of being involved in the community and that educators should respect that preference and accommodate to them when, for example, selecting

service sites. Furthermore, research (Clary, et al., 1994; Clary et al., 1998; Houle et al., 2005) has found that satisfaction and persistence are greater when service activities match the volunteer's motive. This suggests, then, that there are potential costs associated with mismatches and students would benefit the most when care is taken by educators who design service-learning classes in matching site and volunteer. However, the current findings suggest that students' preferences were not as polarized and were less distinct than characterized by Morton. Therefore, the risks for inappropriate matches in service-learning classes are likely to be lower than suggested by Morton. Furthermore, the current findings imply that educators should design experiences that deepen the integrity of all three types of service, rather than categorizing students as favoring a particular type of service and deepening the integrity of only that approach, a point with which Morton concurs (Morton, personal communication, January, 27, 2006).

There were also a significant number of respondents who had low interest in all three types of service. Educators have often concentrated on designing programs for students who already have an interest for community involvement. Much more systematic work needs to be focused on how to design successful service-learning experiences for unmotivated students who are enrolled in service-learning classes. Bringle (2005) has detailed how Self-Determination Theory can be used as a guide for designing service-learning experiences to maximize the likelihood that students with low motivation for community service have rewarding experiences that develop, rather than undermine, intrinsic motivation. In particular, designing experiences that possess relatedness, competency, and autonomy will move unmotivated students toward intrinsic motivation.

Integrity

The measure of integrity resulted in mixed findings. According to this research based on this initial set of items, the construct was not unidimensional, but consisted of at least two dimensions (i.e., Identity, Long-term Commitment). Furthermore, the three survey items that did not load on these two factors, although they were not included in these analyses, could still be considered as aspects of integrity. The exploratory analyses of predictors of the two dimensions offer some evidence of the differentiation of these two dimensions, with different predictors being identified in the multiple regression analyses for the two components. These two aspects of integrity are tentatively offered as a research tool, acknowledging that there are aspects of Morton's (1995) discussion of the construct that were not included in the current

research (defining problems and solutions, vision of transformed world) and that the psychometric properties can be improved. This research used an approach that may or may not be the best method for measuring integrity. The measures are self-report measures and other approaches (e.g., behavioral indicators, Morton, personal communication, January, 27, 2006) might be preferable. Morton's discussion about the nature of integrity and its implications for educational practice fits well with work by Sullivan (2005) and Astin and Astin (1996), and there should be additional attention directed at alternative measures for the construct and accumulating evidence on different measurement approaches.

Integrity and Preferences. Consistent with Morton's prediction, preference for the types of service did become blurred as integrity increased. Those respondents with a preference for all three types of service and those with a preference for two types of service scored higher on both dimensions of integrity than did those with a preference for a single type of service. This effect was not the result of prior experience with volunteering or with interest in volunteering because partialling out the composite variable of prior experience and interest had little consequence when the ordinal variable of preference in zero, one, two, or three types of service was correlated with Identity, $r(175) = .46$; partial correlation $= .41$; and with Long-Term Commitment, $r(175) = .37$; partial correlation $= .32$. In contrast to the general thesis that educators should develop the integrity of only one type of service for those students with a single preference, this provides further evidence for the recommendation that the development of integrity might be aided by involving students in all three approaches to community service through curricular and co-curricular programs. Morton concurs, by noting,

> I agree that the original paper probably overstates its case. My thinking is now that the challenge is providing more opportunities for "deepening" across enough variety that students can, as you suggest, find an experience that tracks with their cognitive or affective map. So the goal is not an opportunity for a service "match," but an opportunity for greater depth. Thus, the reflection process is perhaps more important than the activity itself. (personal communication, January, 27, 2006)

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The Impact of Partnership-Centered, Community-Based Learning on First-Year Students' Academic Research Papers

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This article presents a control group study of the influence of a partnership-centered, community-based learning program on students' academic writing. The improved writing of first-year students in the Chicago Civic Leadership Certificate Program (CCLCP), we argue, results from the deeply situated learning that took place in the context of reciprocal, community-based relationships. We also argue that research on the impact of community-based learning should take into account the contemporary university's emerging paradigm of engaged learning and research, which calls for a redefinition of partnership and reciprocity.

Research in a Context of Partnership

Calls for more rigorous research on the impact of service-learning suggest that high-quality, quantitative evidence will persuade universities of service-learning's pedagogical value and thus promote greater acceptance (Bacon, 2001; Bringle & Hatcher, 2000; Bringle, Philips, & Hudson, 2004; Holland, Gelmon, Furco, & Bringle, 2005; Zlotkowski, 2000). Indeed, for those of us in the university, research characterizes "the kind of thing we do around here."[1] However, "the kind of thing we do around here" is changing in profound ways and this change shapes our study of service-learning classes and programs. To explicate the shifting context in which our research-based assessment occurred, this section outlines the ways that universities are reconstituting knowledge-making activities and reevaluating their roles in metropolitan communities. Considerations of the university's relationship to its community have been present in rhetoric and composition research for some time, and several key studies have built on sophisticated notions of reciprocity and partnership. To further lay the groundwork for the control group study presented in this article—a study that suggests that partnership-centered, community-based learning activities significantly enhance student writing skills—we will briefly introduce the Chicago Civic Leadership Certificate Program (CCLCP). We believe that the opportunity our program gives students to work within reciprocal community partnerships is the key to understanding why our program creates an academic advantage. Therefore, our description of CCLCP will emphasize how rec-iprocal partnerships have contributed to its development.

Both vernacular and academic sets of knowledge are contributing to new dialogues and unique perspectives that are resulting in radical changes in knowledge production. A transdisciplinary (Gibbons et al. 1994, p. 3) approach to research that is demand-driven, methodologically flexible, entrepreneurial, collaborative, and embedded in complex contexts is emerging. For example, a University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) professor has initiated the Chicago Public Art Group, which partners with "city agencies, private firms, and other organizations to produce community-oriented, site-integrated public artworks in which artists work with architects, designers, and engineers in the early planning stages" (Gude, 2000, p. 2). As part of its ongoing work, the art group seizes on a unique idea for developing a "place," begins by creating a dialogue among all stakeholders, and then continues by conducting research, exploring the site, working collaboratively to create a budget, actually making the space, evaluating its use, and celebrating its presence. This exemplifies how knowledge is produced in its "context of application" (Gibbons et al., p. 3) and must be evaluated for its contribution to that context. The contrast is striking to traditional, university-based disciplinary activity, in which knowledge production responds to internally-driven, scholarly agendas. This reshaping of knowledge-making activities has upset the routine of researchers who raided off-campus communities for data, and of universities that participated in the destruction of thriving communities under the banner of urban renewal

(Muthesius, 2000; Wiewel & Broski, 1999).[2] In currently materializing higher-education contexts, partnership and reciprocity form the basis of participatory research that creates community assets while enriching the knowledge work of the metropolitan university (Walshok, 1995; see also Feldman, manuscript). Holland (2005) predicts that engaged research will become an important measure of "academic quality and prestige." As research activities in higher education don the mantle of engagement, so do teaching and learning, often in the form of service-learning or community-based learning. Further, as Holland (2006) explains, changes in institutional mission also create consequences for teaching and learning. Universities have become interested in attracting students who want to participate as both knowledge workers and productive citizens in the emerging global context. Universities also are interested in improving teaching and learning outcomes, demonstrating accountability, and encouraging both civic-mindedness and professionalism in students (Holland).

Keith (2005) characterizes the challenges of developing service-learning based on an understanding of reciprocity that obviates the "server-served" relationship (p. 13; see also Feldman, 2003). She sees productive opportunities for student learning when reciprocity "emphasizes respectful listening of perspectives and histories, together with community-building and possibly advocacy in an environment that acknowledges difficult emotions and political choices that accompany these tensions on both sides" (p. 15). What is needed, Keith argues, is "to rebuild discursive and public spaces in local communities" (p. 17). In other words, students should do more than participate in direct service at local community-based agencies; they should participate in rethinking with partner agencies not only the quality of their services, but also the political and economic contexts in which services are delivered; and, finally, their roles in policy-making that contributes to change.

In higher education, the agenda outlined above cannot be carried out by individual faculty members and small groups of students; enactment requires an institutional commitment. The faculty member who, with community partners, collaboratively researches ways of providing low-cost housing, planning for lead abatement, evaluating or improving public transportation, identifying community assets, lessening the high-school dropout rate, or strengthening the capacity of not-for-profits, has at hand a ready-made, community-based context in which to introduce students to community-based learning. But if the faculty member's

community-based research is not valued in the institution, neither will be the teaching and learning outgrowths of that scholarship.

Community-based learning that arises from English studies and, in particular, from scholarship in rhetoric and composition, has generated a stream of research that focuses on the importance of reciprocal partnerships for student learning. This research builds on a theoretical predisposition that defines writing, and language use in general, as a consequential, meaning-making activity (Bawarshi, 2003; Crosswhite, 1996; Mailloux, 1995; Petraglia, 2000; Russell, 1995). Reporting on her community-based literacy research, Cushman (1996) writes about the problems of slippery discourse, the challenge of taking into account the perspectives of community members outside the academy, and the seductive nature of academic privilege. Cushman (2002) defines research-based service-learning as an intellectually challenging activity that synthesizes research with both teaching and building community capacity. She supports the argument we want to make: theory-based pedagogical efforts connected to rigorous, ongoing research and, we would add, assessment, have a greater potential to be accepted as "what we do around here." Linda Flower (2002) argues that the knowledge-making "we do around here" can be shifted to the broader landscape "out there." For Flower, notions of reciprocal partnerships bring into focus the competing social, cultural, and literary epistemologies at work when students enter a community. Flower argues for "transformative understanding" as an active, participatory practice that supports students as they move beyond good intentions to understand how one can use language as a form of praxis, that is, informed action (pp. 184-187).

Through analyzing a series of case studies, Deans (2000) illustrates how student writing can move from decontextualized classroom activities to participatory activity that contributes to real-world change. His three models for community-based writing—*writing for* the community, *writing about* the community, and *writing with* the community— provided the framework for the wide range of writing students do in the Chicago Civic Leadership Certificate Program (CCLCP). Much of the writing in typical service-learning courses constitutes what Deans calls "writing about" the community: students have an experience in the field and return to classroom to process and critique that experience in writing. Deans' case study of Bruce Herzberg's two-semester sequence of writing courses at Bentley College describes a version of "writing about" informed by Herzberg's dual commitment to social justice and to preparing students to comprehend and produce academic discourse. Herzberg's focus, Deans writes, is on critical peda-

gogy; he encourages students to critique "dominant social institutions (particularly schools) and dominant attitudes (particularly the ubiquitous American faith in individualism and meritocracy)" (p. 91). During Herzberg's second-semester course, students produce lengthy research-based papers about important social issues that are intended for an academic audience and, particularly, for the teacher (Deans, p. 97).

Service-learning's standard rationale for "writing about" is that learning occurs through a cyclical pattern of experience in the community followed by written reflection produced in the classroom (Eyler & Giles, 1999, p. 7, pp. 175-176). In classes such as Herzberg's, "writing about" encourages students to explicate and support thoughtful critique in carefully-constructed academic arguments, but when students are asked to use writing *only* as a way of recording and/or expressing their personal reactions to experience, they may not come to understand and appreciate writing's rhetorical power to give shape to situations and influence outcomes. In such cases, students easily misperceive writing as a mere conduit for carrying reports of experience to the teacher. We argue that writing does not reflect experience or feelings about experience as might a mirror; rather, writing is a tool for making meaning in social contexts. This premise has guided the CCLCP's emphasis on involving students in reciprocal partnerships to produce writing for partner organizations.

Program Design

The Chicago Civic Leadership Certificate Program (CCLCP) offers incoming UIC students the opportunity to add to their undergraduate work a dimension of civic participation through the study of writing, rhetoric, and urban issues.[3] CCLCP develops reciprocal partnerships with not-for-profit organizations during a curriculum planning process that focuses on meeting partner organizations' needs for research assistance and for written documents in diverse genres. In the current pilot program, students are earning a certificate and qualifying for paid, community-based internships by taking five classes (one each semester). Each class includes fieldwork that requires students to apply and/or to test classroom learning in the context of projects undertaken with and for partner not-for-profit organizations. During 2004-05, the first year of the three-year pilot program, two semester-long writing courses provided a foundation in rhetorical analysis and argument. Students designed and wrote documents during fieldwork experience with local non-profits such as Gads Hill Center, The Resurrection Project, and Changing Worlds. During the second year of the pilot, 2005-06, students took two courses in UIC's College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs, and worked on related research-based writing projects during fieldwork with nonprofit partners, including planning organizations such as the Center for Neighborhood Technology, the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, and the Metro Chicago Information Center. The final course in the sequence, "English 375: Rhetoric and Public Life," to be offered in Fall 2006, requires a capstone project, collaboratively designed by a student and a community partner of the student's choice, and implemented by the student to the partner's specifications. Students who earn the CCLCP certificate may apply for paid internships with the program's student-centered CityWorks Center, which will open in January 2007. Interns with CCLCP certificates will be very well-prepared to extend their work with community partners at local sites.[4]

Student learning in the CCLCP depends on writing activity that is carried out, at least in part, in the context of reciprocal partnerships. Reciprocity, for CCLCP, refers to the complex relationships developed among the program staff, faculty, students, and the not-for-profit organizations that partner with CCLCP for the purpose of producing written documents needed by the organization. This relationship exemplifies a "community of practice" (Wenger, 1998), defined as "groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis" (Wenger, McDerMott, & Snyder, 2002; p. 34; see Keith, 2005, for a useful discussion of reciprocity). For instance, a student working to produce a fact sheet for Gads Hill Center, a venerable social service organization and CCLCP partner, must become immersed in many aspects of the agency to design and produce the document. Such work transcends the "writing for" category in that it is reciprocal. In the process of working together to define needs and problem-solve, students and partners establish deep and ongoing relationships in which all participants contribute to social capital. These relationships cannot be characterized as simple information exchanges; rather, the exchanges that transpire in a community of practice build knowledge in the context of a joint, collaborative venture fueled by the understanding that reciprocity depends on consequential, long-term social relationships. Communities of practice, like the ones we hope to create for CCLCP students, provide what Vygotskian learning theorists call a "zone of proximal development'" in which "social relations provide a motive and a context for apply-

ing and acquiring knowledge" (Moll & Greenberg, 1990, p. 326). CCLCP students learn in situated contexts how writing works, and then can transfer that knowledge to other contexts in which they find themselves writing.

Our commitment to developing reciprocal partnerships influenced not only the design of the CCLCP but also our plans for assessment and research. It took months to lay the groundwork for CCLCP by developing partnerships with not-for-profit community organizations based on each partner organization's needs for specific research and/or written documents. Throughout this process, we worked closely with UIC's Great Cities Neighborhoods Initiative, which has a track record of creating and maintaining successful community-university partnerships. With CCLCP community partners as co-teachers, we collaboratively designed projects for students, who, immersed in the work of their organizations would go on to plan, design, and produce (mostly research-based) documents, needed by their community partner organizations. While classroom lessons concerned rhetoric, genre, effective writing, argumentation, and documented research, as well as urban theory and issues, students' lessons in the field invited a rich sense of participation in a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

What impact did the CCLCP students' immersion in reciprocal community partnerships have on their writing? The next part of this article traces the design of an assessment matrix that crystallized student learning goals, guided syllabus development, and focused program evaluation on student learning outcomes. Our student learning outcomes matrix proved heuristic; questions it posed led to further questions about whether students' participation in the language activities of community-based partners would have an impact on the students' *academic* writing. That question inspired the research we report in this article. Because CCLCP grew out of an established, university-wide, first-year writing program we had both the access and the set of writing criteria we needed to design a study comparing CCLCP students' academic research papers to the papers of a control group of students who did not participate in a community-based learning experience.

Assessment Matrix for Student Learning Outcomes

Developing assessment matrices offered an important opportunity to translate CCLCP's conceptual framework into clearly articulated, measurable goals. Our matrices, modeled on work by Gelmon, Holland, Driscoll, Spring, and Kerrigan (2001), address three areas: student learning, faculty development, and community partnership. Because this article focuses on the impact of reciprocal partnerships on student learning, we will confine our discussion to the student learning outcomes matrix (see Table 1). The task of identifying specific learning goals and asking how we might know whether they had been met began early and continued simultaneously with syllabus development during the summer before CCLCP's inaugural semester. Designing the learning outcomes matrix turned out to be a challenging, recursive process that tested our ability to translate theory into instructional activities that would support student achievement of CCLCP learning goals.

The first column in CCLCP's 2004-2005 matrix for student learning, labeled "We want to know...", presents our program's core concepts. The left side of that column categorizes the core concepts into the four main strands of CCLCP: rhetoric and academics, community-based writing and research, civic engagement, and leadership. The right side frames our core concepts as a series of questions. The task of posing these questions demanded that a baggy set of theoretical beliefs be written as testable questions, research questions, if you will. The exercise brings home, especially to writing teachers, the rhetoric at work in articulating learning goals for students. The second column, labeled "And we will know by...", asks for key indicators of student accomplishment. The third column identifies sources of data. Each instructional activity planned for CCLCP's writing classes would be tested against the learning goals identified in the assessment matrix and the goals would be shared with students so they would understand what we expected them to learn.

In the previous section, we sketched the ways in which our community-based learning project built on an institution-wide commitment to engaged scholarship and on discipline-specific notions about how reciprocal partnerships enhance writing instruction. Learning goals for CCLCP students came alive through writing projects with real-world impact. The projects were shaped by ongoing reciprocal relationships with community partners and enacted lessons about how language functions rhetorically in particular contexts. All this happened because of a question we asked ourselves about our matrix's first two conceptual categories, rhetoric and academics, and community-based writing and research. This key question was, "But how will we know whether students apply their rhetorical lessons in community-based contexts?" As we realized, the answer to that question lay in

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Table 1
Assessment Matrix for Student Learning Outcomes

We want to know...(Core Concepts)		And we will know by ... (Key Indicators)	Method
Rhetoric and Academics	How do students apply the rhetorical dimensions of situation, genre, language and consequences in the context of their work with at community agencies?	Articulation and application of rhetoric to specific situations.	Analysis of cover letters, field notes, other student writing; student focus group.
	How does writing and learning in this program facilitate writing and learning in other university classes?	Articulation of how students' understanding of rhetoric has facilitated writing and learning in other university classes.	Course surveys; student focus group; field notes, and other student writing.
Community-based writing and research	How effectively are the documents created for the community partners?	Feedback from community partners. Feedback from faculty. Student self-evaluation of changes in writing skills.	Community partner focus group; faculty interviews; analysis of field notes, student surveys, and other student writing
	How do students apply communication methods and skills to conduct research within various discourse communities?	Feedback from community partners. Feedback from faculty. Student self-evaluation of changes in research skills.	Student focus group; student surveys; analysis of field notes and other student writing.
	How do students adjust their communication styles to enable them to function optimally in both complex community-based and university-based situations?	Perceived change in ability to identify communication problems. Feedback from faculty. Feedback from community partners .	Student focus group; analysis of field notes and other student writing; faculty interviews; community partner focus group.
Civic Engagement	How do students value civic engagement for its impact on society at large?	Articulation of knowledge about community and public issues. Recognition of changes or possibilities for change in public life as a result of their actions. Understanding of community strengths, problems, resources. Identification of community assets and needs.	Analysis of research papers; student focus group.
	How do students integrate their civic engagement activities with their academic, career and personal goals?	Choice of a major that enables students to pursue civic engagement activities. Career decisions that enable students to pursue civic engagement activities. Extra-curricular activities that enable students to pursue civic engagement activities.	Student surveys; student focus group.
Leadership	How does participation in this program shape students' understanding of leadership?	Articulation of a dynamic definition of leadership that includes examples. Articulation of how leadership skills have been demonstrated by community partners.	Student focus group; community partner focus group.
	How does participation in this program shape students' ability to lead?	Sense of responsibility for solving problems and taking ownership of projects. Ability to collaborate with others and facilitate teamwork.	Faculty interviews; community partner focus group; student focus group.

our examination of the brochures and fact sheets first-semester CCLCP students produced for community partners; these documents demonstrate the extent to which classroom learning was enacted in a community context.

The learning outcomes matrix also poses the question, "How do students adjust their communication styles to enable them to function optimally in both complex community-based and university-based situations?" This question led us to examine students' ability to accomplish both community-based writing for their partner organizations—the kind of writing they attempted when producing brochures and fact sheets in their first-semester writing course—and written academic discourse. We looked for evidence of competent academic writing in the research papers produced in English 161, the second-semester writing course required of all UIC undergraduates, including those enrolled in CCLCP.

Question for Research

Our study investigated not only whether CCLCP students could competently generate an extended academic argument based on inquiry, but whether students' community-based learning experience had an impact on the quality of their end-of-semester research papers. Our First-Year Writing Program has established evaluation criteria for these research papers, so a panel of readers was able to refer to the same standard criteria when rating all the papers in a mixed sample of papers written by students in CCLCP's community-based learning version of English 161 and papers produced by a control group of students in traditional English 161 courses. We then compared the average scores of each group. We argued above that in addition to responding to calls for more rigorous research design, service-learning scholars should contemplate how to design research that captures the complexity of partnership-centered, community-based learning. The study presented here aims to test the effect of writing experiences situated in the context of reciprocal partnerships with not-for-profit organizations.

Both the CCLCP students and control group students were enrolled during the same semester, Spring 2005, in sections of English 161. It is important to note that the conceptual framework was the same for both classes. English 161 requires all students to participate in academic culture by conducting guided research, posing questions about important issues, and developing an argument in response to positions taken by others. We want students in this course to see themselves as participants in a consequential investigation, and to

position themselves within an ongoing conversation about the topic of their research. Each English 161 instructor develops a particular thematic inquiry and students may choose a class that suits their interests, although, of course, many students choose classes that best fit their schedules. Typical fields of inquiry for English 161 include immigration, community development, animal rights, gentrification, globalization, education, or issues centering on race or ethnicity, class, and gender. During the first half of the semester, students in traditional English 161 classes read about the class's broad topic in a variety of disciplinary and vernacular genres, and produce short papers demonstrating mastery of summary, synthesis, and analysis. Although English 161 students may explore their own communities or communities neighboring UIC by conducting interviews and examining archival materials, more typically their research is drawn from academic journals, scholarly books, and other material available though research libraries.

Classroom activities in the CCLCP section of English 161 paralleled activities in the traditional sections. However, a key difference occurred in the projects produced in the first part of the semester. CCLCP students completed community-based writing projects that responded to needs identified by their partner organizations, such as portions of annual reports, press kits, brochures, Web content, and feature stories. CCLCP students learned about summary, synthesis, and analysis by applying these skills to analyzing both documents produced by their partner organizations and academic readings on rhetoric and urban issues. Because CCLCP students learned to apply the skills of summary, synthesis, and analysis from the perspective of their community partners, students came to understand exigence and what it means to respond rhetorically to a real-world situation. Summary, synthesis, and analysis were no longer decontextualized intellectual strategies, but practices taken up in response to an organization's need to achieve usually concrete ends.

From the beginning of the semester, just as in traditional English 161 classes, CCLCP students began to contemplate their research paper topics. Most students consulted with their community partners and chose an issue related to their partner organization's work. A few students chose to write about service-learning itself, with a focus on the pedagogy of the CCLCP. About midway through the semester, instruction in both the CCLCP and traditional sections of English 161 turned to the origination of a research proposal. From that point, instruction increasingly focused on academic

inquiry and development of an argument-based, documented investigation that would result in a 10-to-12-page research paper. For the past ten years or so, UIC's First-Year Writing Program has relied on a criterion-based evaluation rubric for the research paper, developed collaboratively by members of the teaching staff. The rubric (see Table 2) identifies key course features that define program-wide instruction and evaluation. These criteria stem, at least in part, from the First-Year Writing Program's commitment to engaged scholarship. The work expected of first-year writing students parallels—in a broad, conceptual way—the scholarly work of faculty who investigate significant issues in their own disciplinary contexts. As such, the features of the rubric emphasize the contextual, participatory features of research, and our program's attempts to bring students into dialogue with authors and stakeholders concerned about the issue under study. Thus, our research paper evaluation rubric draws on the broad intellectual framework of engagement and sets the same goals for both traditional and CCLCP students. "Engagement," throughout the First-Year Writing Program, refers broadly to engagement with textual voices that have something to say about important civic and/or social issues. Instruction in CCLCP, we claim, with its strong focus on reciprocal partnership, adds an extra dimension and thereby offers a qualitatively different experience of engagement.

With the introduction of these specific evaluation criteria, we can fine-tune our research question. We were able to ask to what degree, on average, each set of papers adhered to each of the five research paper criteria established by our First-Year Writing Program.

Research Design

We began by constructing a control group of research papers to compare to CCLCP papers. A pool of 70 English 161 students was chosen from the universe of 1,864 students enrolled in traditional English 161 classes during Spring Semester 2005. None of the 70 students had been in classes taught by any of the four readers involved in this study. This pool was not constituted at random: CCLCP students had been recruited and admitted to the program based on ACT English subscores of 22 or more, so the traditional-course pool was matched to the CCLCP group on the basis of that score and also for gender and ethnicity. This strategy helped establish a viable control group, albeit not a perfect one. We were unable to control for variables such as previous service-learning experience, interest in community issues or volunteerism, high school preparation, second-language influence, prior instruction and quality of instruction in college composition, socioeconomic status, and year in college. We also were unable to control for the fact that CCLCP students had applied to partic-

Table 2

Evaluation Criteria for English 161 Research Papers

Evaluation Criterion	Description
Taking a position	The writer articulates a position or thesis that contributes to a significant public conversation. The position relates to key themes discussed in the class materials and work. The writer attends to the consequences of his or her position, its personal relevance, and the potential or real public impact.
Developing arguments in context	The writer understands that arguments emerge from important public and academic conversations in which participants respond to each other as if in dialogue. They question claims, ask questions about evidence, consider the appropriateness of the evidence, qualify their assertions, and respond to counter claims.
Using sources effectively	The writer identifies and reviews appropriate source material relevant to his or her position, characterizes the sources' arguments, discusses disciplinary methods and approaches, provides historical context, critiques the sources, and considers the sources' perspectives.
Engaging intellectual strategies	The writer demonstrates the ability to engage in a dialogue of ideas with the sources used in the paper. The work is enhanced by the ability to summarize, synthesize, and analyze. In addition, writers demonstrate how appropriate paraphrasing and quoting contribute to this dialogue of ideas.
Using language appropriately	The writer makes grammar and stylistic choices appropriate to the audience and purpose. The writer also cites sources appropriately, integrating the cited material into the writer's work.

ipate in the program and that the CCLCP cohort had "bonded" by studying writing together the previous semester. For the research study, we decided that roughly 50 percent of the papers from CCLCP cohort of 33 students would be reviewed, so 16 CCLCP papers were randomly selected for review. Sixteen control group papers were then randomly selected from the pool of 70 drawn from traditional English 161 classes. To prepare for the review, all identifying marks were removed from all the papers. Four English 161 instructors were employed to review the papers; three were graduate teaching assistants and one a teaching adjunct. Before teaching writing at UIC, the teaching assistants completed a semester-long graduate course on first-year writing pedagogy about the conceptual framework that drives writing instruction at UIC, designed syllabi for the courses they would teach, and practiced grading research papers using our program-wide evaluation criteria (see Table 2). The fourth reader, a full-time lecturer, had prepared to teach writing at UIC by attending intensive training sessions and developing detailed syllabi that were reviewed and approved by the First-Year Writing Program administration staff. While the instructors chosen to review papers for this study had significant and relevant training and experience, they had no connection to courses comprised by the CCLCP.

The readers met over three consecutive days in mid-August 2005. A portion of the first day was spent preparing to score the papers. First, the readers discussed each evaluation criterion to come to a shared definition. Next, they participated in a calibration exercise, individually reading a sample paper and rating it on a scale of one through five on each of the five criteria. The group then discussed the scores. This exercise was intended to help readers develop a common understanding of how to apply the standards against which papers were to be scored. After this calibration exercise and throughout the next two days, each reader read each of the 32 papers, scoring each paper on each of the five criteria in the evaluation rubric. This criterion-based scoring method was introduced into writing assessment by Lloyd-Jones in his essay "Primary Trait Scoring" (1977), and is described by Bizzell (1987) in her discussion of later work by noted composition scholars Faigley, Cherry, Jolliffe, and Skinner (1985). As Bizzell explains, primary trait scoring "focuses on a set of criteria derived from the kind of task posed" to students (p. 580). This approach, Bizzell notes, provides much more information than other methods, but is extremely labor-intensive.

During the three-day reading process two issues emerged. First, even though the 32 papers to be read were presented as a single, mixed sample, meaning they were not grouped by origin, early in the reading process readers noticed that they were dealing with two distinct sets of papers. Specifically, they observed that in one set of papers the research topics were much more clearly defined than in the other. (The clearly defined topics, as it turned out, emerged from the CCLCP papers.) Despite this observation, the readers were encouraged to continue applying the evaluation criteria to every paper, as they had been trained to do. A second, unanticipated, question arose about grading. Even through the evaluation criteria are used in every English 161 class, instructors frequently use them holistically, as a guide to assigning a single composite grade to each paper. Further discussion helped clarify that the readers should not imagine that they were scoring papers holistically, in the interest of arriving at a grade. Accordingly, they were instructed to use the full range of scores, one through five, to denote the degree to which a paper fulfilled each separate criterion.

Results

In this study we asked to what degree, on average, each of the two sets of research papers—from the CCLCP class and from the traditional group-adhered to each of the five evaluation criteria for English 161. We found a statistically significant difference in each average primary trait score between the papers produced by CCLCP students and those written by students in traditional classes (see Table 3). This finding suggests that CCLCP students' partnership-centered, community-based learning activities contributed to the relatively greater academic success of their final research papers. Inter-rater reliability, however, remains problematic in writing-related research on learning, and we are considering measures to strengthen this feature of future studies.

Research Paper Review

On each of the five criteria, the average score assigned to research papers written by CCLCP students in English 161 exceeded the average score earned by papers written by students in traditional English 161 classes. Table 1 displays the mean raw score and level of significance for each set of papers on each of the five criteria, along with the F score (analysis of variance) on each criterion. The differences are not slight, yielding F-scores ranging from 20.70 to 35.88. Despite the difficulty with inter-rater reliability, discussed below, the robust level of difference between the CCLCP students' papers and the traditional student papers suggest that the CCLCP students' community-based learn-

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Table 3
*Differences between Community-based and Traditional Writing Courses on
Five Primary Evaluation Criteria*

Criterion	n	Mean	F score	Sig. (*p*<.05)
Developing Arguments in Context				
CCLCP	16	3.73	35.88	.000
Traditional	16	2.42		.000
Engaging Intellectual Strategies				
CCLCP	16	3.72	34.61	.000
Traditional	16	2.39		.000
Using Sources Effectively				
CCLCP	16	3.67	28.78	.000
Traditional	16	2.52		.000
Taking a Position				
CCLCP	16	3.81	22.39	.000
Traditional	16	2.56		.000
Using Language Appropriately				
CCLCP	16	3.92	20.70	.000
Traditional	16	3.09		.000

ing experience contributed to their successful acquisition of an academic skill that will have long-lasting impact on their work in a wide variety of academic and professional contexts.

The contrast between the two sets of papers was so striking that we may assert that the decisive difference was CCLCP students' engagement in reciprocal partnerships developed with CCLCP partner organizations. As we argue above, reciprocal relationships result from complex, long-term associations that produce social capital through purposeful collaboration. The CCLCP experience differs from those service-learning activities in which students assist a partner organizations' service consumers and then return to the classroom to use writing to reflect on the experience. Much of the CCLCP students' writing occurred in the "context of application" (Gibbons, et al. 1994, p. 3) and thus emerged from the exigency of a particular situation. Situated learning activities based on the reciprocal relationships enabled by CCLCP added another layer to the typical English 161 experience. Presumably, students in all sections of English 161 study and write about consequential civic and/or social issues. Students in traditional classes even may venture into communities to gather first-hand information through interviews or obtain primary-source documents. However, as noted by the readers who participated in this study, CCLCP student writers' strong sense of involvement with the issues they investigated helped those students construct

cogent, well-supported arguments for clearly articulated positions on "their" issues.

Inter-rater Reliability

We expected the calibration exercise used with the raters to produce an acceptable level of inter-rater reliability (Shohamy, Gordon, & Kraemer, 1992, p. 31), but inter-rater reliability was lower than we'd hoped, and inconsistent across primary trait categories (ranging from .050 to .4159). The alphas were calculated using Krippendorf's alpha, a test that measures inter-rater agreement while accounting for error related to chance (see Table 4).

We compensated for low inter-rater reliability to some extent by averaging raters' scores (Hartman, 1982). There are other strategies as well: Wurr (2002), in a study of the impact of service-learning on writing skill, used fewer raters and employed an adjacency adjustment to achieve higher reliability by considering adjacent scores to be in agreement. In addition, in Wurr's study, when raters' scores were two or more points apart, the paper was submitted to a third reader's evaluation, and the three ratings were then averaged (p. 53). The low level of inter-rater reliability achieved in our study underlines the axiom that reader interpretation is both an important and hard-to-control variable, contributing to the great difficulty of assessing writing quality in any context. Some researchers argue that it is not only problematic, but also unrealistic to expect qualitative studies to meet the standards of inter-

Table 4
Inter-rater Reliability Alphas using Krippendorf's Alpha

	CCLCP	Traditional
Taking a position	.1977	.4159
Developing arguments in context	.0770	.2643
Using sources effectively	.0505	.1722
Engaging intellectual strategies	.0774	.3809
Using language appropriately	.1123	.1302

rater reliability used in quantitative studies (Harris, Pryor, & Adams, 1997). In "Can There Be Validity Without Reliability?" Moss (1994) challenges the assumption that a rigid notion of reliability is essential to assessment by advocating that we broaden our sometimes too-narrow psychometric understanding of reliability to include consideration of the broader context in which knowledge is being created. Nevertheless, we are seeking defensible methodological modifications, such as those used by Wurr, that might boost the inter-rate reliability of our next comparative study of writing quality.

Discussion

This study examines an elemental artifact of university student writing, the academic research paper, to draw conclusions about the impact of a partnership-centered, community-based learning experience. These data, 32 academic research papers, offered a way to study comparable writing products across different instructional settings. A wide variety of additional data exists that may, upon analysis, tell us more about CCLCP students' experience. For example, CCLCP students wrote field notes about their experiences, produced project cover letters for their teachers, filled out surveys, participated in focus groups, designed and produced documents for and with their community partners, and wrote argumentative essays about what they had learned. As CCLCP moves ahead, these data are being explored as suggested by our assessment matrix.

The research papers, themselves, reveal some features of what CCLCP students learned. The readers were called back together several weeks after the scoring exercise to "gloss," that is, to interpret, their scores on a pair of research papers. This follow-up conversation was intended to illuminate what qualities, precisely, distinguished the CCLCP papers from those produced by students in traditional classes. It is important to note that each of the two papers selected for discussion scored as average in respect to its group. The CCLCP stu-

dent's paper critiques his/her community partner's use of statistics in its public relations documents, representing an atypical case of a student who was not "on board" with the agency's approach to publicizing its mission. The student paper from the traditional English 161class focuses on the Holocaust. We do not have further information on the broad inquiry of the course because identifying marks were removed for anonymity's sake. For the same reason, we will refer to the community agency considered in the CCLCP paper as the "not-for-profit" (NFP). We include in Table 5 representative readers' comments relative to the first two research paper evaluation criteria. For each of these two criteria, we indicate the subject paper's average score and a typical response from one of our four readers. Beneath the reader's response, we include a section from the student text that exemplifies the rationale for the comment.

In commenting on *Criterion 1: Taking a Position*, a reader points out that the CCLCP paper makes an arguable claim and answers the "so what?" question, announcing why it matters if the writer's community partner misuses statistics in its public relations documents. The student paper from the traditional class proposes that the Holocaust teaches a lesson that is "needed to be learned and remembered," but never actually pursues or supports that claim. A reader points out, in discussing *Criterion 2: Developing Arguments in Context*, that the CCLCP paper guides the reader by establishing a meta-structure that the reader can track. The reader also points out that the writer needs to include more counter-arguments. (The counter-argument, or "naysayer" voice, is a challenging dialogic move that identifies what others might say about the writer's argument.) Students who learn in real-world contexts in which issues are in constant play will be more likely to recognize arguments and counter-arguments when applying classroom lessons in actual communities of practice. The student paper from the traditional class, unable to marshal supporting evidence, is trapped, if you will, by a personal story that she cannot connect to

Table 5
Comparison of Two Average Research Papers

Traditional Paper "Remembering the Holocaust"	CCLCP Paper "Interpreting Statistics: A Rhetorical Analysis of the NFP's Marketing Documents"
Criterion 1: Taking a Position: The writer articulates a position or thesis that contributes to a significant public conversation. The position relates to key themes discussed in the class materials and work. The writer attends to the consequences of his or her position, its personal relevance, and the potential or real public impact.	
Mean Score: 2.56 "Remembering the Holocaust" *Reader's comments:* …no one will disagree with it… lessons "need to be learned and remembered" not discussed in paper. *From the paper:* "The American tragedy of September 11 has made us aware that a single deed can obliterate from the face of the earth the civilization that has been built over the centuries, and that ordinary bacteria (such as anthrax) can strike fear into a population of millions. The tragedy of the Holocaust should be one of the biggest lessons that needed to be learned and remembered."	Mean Score: 3.81 "Interpreting Statistics" *Reader's comments* …clearly arguable thesis… joins a conversation…potentially relevant for the reader. *From the paper:* "To the point, the NFP displays vague results, incorrect statistics, and dismisses important information in their documents. As a result, the public may make less than a knowledgeable decision about whether they want to work with the agency. The goal of this analysis is to demonstrate the government funded agencies should not misinform the public about the effect of the work they complete because they are taking money from the state."
Criterion 2: Developing Arguments in Context: The writer understands that arguments emerge from important public and academic conversations in which participants respond to each other as if in dialogue. They question claims, ask questions about evidence, consider the appropriateness of the evidence, qualify their assertions, and respond to counter claims.	
Mean Score: 2.42 "Remembering the Holocaust" *Reader's comments:* "…glut of narrative because it isn't used in service to the argument, although narrative certainly could. . .Because the thesis isn't very powerful, the writer doesn't show how it might not be simplistic…" *From the paper:* "I have written a few essays on the Holocaust over the years. When the opportunity arises for me to write about history, the Holocaust automatically comes to mind."	Mean Score: 3.73 "Interpreting Statistics" *Reader's comments:* "Intro established a problem, it told how it was going to talk about the problem. Every topic sentence had its own part of the introduction. . . around page 5 ... a very, very sophisticated rhetorical analysis... didn't bring in enough counterarguments, but argument is clearly extended through the paper." *From the paper:* "NFP uses false statistics as a means of manipulating the public to believe in the work that they do on local economic development."

an ongoing, public conversation. His/her class, we surmise, did not provide him/her with the reciprocal relationships within which an argument might come to life as a vibrant response within a community of practice. We wish to offer several caveats here: First, our argument for participant-centered, community-based learning should not be taken as an argument that such learning never can happen in courses confined to classrooms. We do not wish to create a false binary between on-campus and off-campus locations for learning. Rather, as Deans (in press) puts it, we wish to focus on the activity undertaken in any particular location. Along these same lines, our critical comments about the student paper on the Holocaust should not suggest that this topic could not be successfully handled as a contribution to any of a variety of ongoing discussions.

Concluding Remarks

Much work remains to be done. Even so, this research project can be seen as the first layer of excavation into a site replete with rich resources for gauging and understanding the impact of partnership-centered, community-based learning. The next iteration of CCLCP will allow us to conduct a similar study with a more diverse group of service-learning students than those participating in the current pilot program. And, because we plan to include in the next iteration both a fall and a spring semester English 161 class, we'll be able to com-

pare two groups of research papers without the possible interference of a "cohort effect." We plan to review our options for achieving higher inter-rater reliability as well. As students proceed through the four courses that will be comprised by future versions of the CCLCP, we will be able to dig deeply into the questions suggested by our assessment matrix in search of the means to further characterize student learning.

As important, we are eager to explore the challenging questions posed by our assessment matrices about community partner and academic faculty outcomes. Many questions exist about the consequences, both intended and unintended, of the CCLCP program for not-for-profit, community-based organizations. Likewise, as more faculty become involved, we'd like to explore the link between our faculty's engaged research with partner organizations and participant-centered, community-based learning for undergraduates. Digging even deeper into our site, we can ask questions about the institutional home of CCLCP. Ever cognizant of UIC's shifting history of community relations—sometimes ironically, sometimes fittingly enacted on the actual site of Jane Addam's Hull House—we wish to explore the institutional change precipitated by the CCLCP, the first undergraduate program devoted to community-based learning on a campus that, since 1993, has carried out its engagement activities through its Great Cities program of faculty research and scholarship, research centers, economic development, and neighborhood initiatives.

The student learning outcomes we report in this article depend on the reciprocal partnerships developed as part of the founding conception of the CCLCP. We argue that the learning that transpired for CCLCP students, writing, as they did, in complex social spaces driven by real-world exigency contributed to the more cogent arguments found in their research papers. This finding has had an institutional impact at UIC. It signals to other faculty and administrators that partnership-centered, community-based learning, and research into its outcomes is exactly the kind of thing we should be doing around here.

Notes

[1] This phrase, "the kind of thing we do around here" and variations of it, such as "what we do around here" have been used to characterize the traditional work of academic departments. Notably, literary scholar and public intellectual Stanley Fish used the term to name the kind of work that should be done in English departments (Fish, 1995/1999; see also Olson, 2002).

[2] Most universities that have been present in urban neighborhoods do not come to these new understandings from a pristine past. UIC, like other urban universities, has had a complex and sometimes contentious historical relationship with its surrounding neighborhoods and efforts at engagement must overcome these historical difficulties.

[3] The Chicago Civic Leadership Certificate Program (CCLCP) pilot is funded by a three-year grant from the Corporation for National and Community Service's Learn and Serve America program, with an equal match from the University of Illinois at Chicago. Institutional Review Board permission was sought and awarded for research on this project under protocol 2004-0361, "Civic Leadership and Service." CCLCP's pilot has been generously supported by UIC Vice Provost for Undergraduate Studies Lon Kaufman, Dean of Liberal Arts and Sciences Christopher Comer, English Department Head Walter Benn Michaels, Dean of Urban Planning and Public Affairs Robin Hambleton, Great Cities Institute Director David Perry, and UIC Neighborhoods Initiative Associate Director Atanacio Gonzales.

[4] Future iterations of the Chicago Civic Leadership Certificate Program will include four courses instead of five. We learned through experience that students should complete the course sequence during their first two undergraduate years, creating more opportunity for their involvement with the soon-to-be implemented CityWorks Center.

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Different Worlds and Common Ground: Community Partner Perspectives on Campus-Community Partnerships

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This qualitative study includes focus group research involving 99 experienced community partners across eight California communities using community-based research techniques to capture community voices about their service-learning partnerships with different colleges and universities. Partners commented on their perspectives regarding motivations, benefits to the academic institution and to their own organization, impacts on student learning, and areas for improving partnerships. The analysis affirms the characteristics of effective partnerships of multiple well-established models of effective partnerships developed by higher education, but reveal that community partners have a specific sense of prioritization among partnership factors. In addition, partners revealed a surprising depth of understanding and commitment to student learning, the "common ground" of the service-learning experience. Community partners also voiced challenges and recommendations for their higher education partners to transform service-learning partnership relationships to bridge their "different worlds," and enhance learning, reciprocity, and sustainability.

I think a great partnership is when you stop saying MY students. They're OUR students. What are OUR needs? We share these things in common, so let's go for it.

—Community Partner

Yes, [the community-campus partnership] is about organizations, it's about students, but it is about common values that are much deeper. What we're learning to do, whether we're students or whether we're a non-profit, is doing something that is actually moving us as a community, a path of achieving process along the context of what we care about.

—Community Partner

What would we hear if we listened to community partners about their experiences in partnering with academic institutions? We know that engaging in relationships with members from local communities is central to the higher education agenda (Maurasse, 2001) and many scholars (e.g., Benson & Harkavy, 2000; Boyer, 1990; Bringle, 1999; Enos & Morton, 2003) advocate for community-campus partnerships to become a more intentional component of actualizing the service mission of higher education. In particular, community-campus partnerships have become recognized as linked to ser-

vice-learning initiatives for providing the service-learning experience for students and evaluating its impact (Bailis, 2002; Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Dorado &Giles, 2004; Gelmon et al., 1998; Jacoby, 2003; Jones, 2003). In the absence of community-campus partnerships, it is difficult to imagine how service-learning might even exist. The sustainability of community partnerships with higher education institutions requires attention to their motivations and perceptions of the benefits of the partners from their own perspective, however. While reciprocity of benefits for the community has long been an intended hallmark of service-learning practice (Ferrari & Chapman, 1999; Honnet & Poulsen; 1989; Keith, 1998; Sigmon, 1979; Waterman, 1997), service-learning practitioners often do not often know if, when, and how this is achieved.

To date, there are few published studies documenting the perspectives of community members in partnership with universities, and the field acknowledges that this area continues to be under-represented in the overall service-learning literature (Birdsall, 2005; Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Bushouse, 2005; Edwards & Marullo, 2000; Ferrari & Worrall, 2000; Giles & Cruz, 2000; Jones, 2003; Liederman et al., 2003; Sandy, 2005; Vernon & Ward, 1999; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2000). The growing number of academics

and practitioners who voice concern about the absence of the community perspective in the literature may be indicative of a growing openness to learn more about the perspectives of community members and a willingness to transform our practice in light of their input. However, Cruz and Giles (2000) indicate that there are complicated political and intellectual reasons why the perspectives of community partners continue to be under-represented in the field. The notion of "community" itself as a concept is contested (e.g., Stoecker, 2005; Tumiel-Berhalter, Waktins, & Crespo, 2005; Wellman, 2001), which has led to some paralysis in the research community at-large. However, the failure to grapple with understanding the community perspective may have potentially dire consequences because there is considerable room for misunderstanding between higher education and community partners, a divide that is evident in the language higher education practitioners often use.

A common metaphor used by service-learning practitioners to frame their thinking about the service-learning experience is "boundary crossing," or "boundary work," entering another world where different rules apply (Hayes & Cuban, 1997; Keith, 1998; McMillan, 2002; Skilton-Sylvester & Erwin, 2000; Taylor, 2002). Service-learning is often described as a metaphorical "bridge" between these two worlds or speech communities or, as Henry Giroux (1992) might describe it, akin to a "border pedagogy" where one must be familiar with the rules and norms of both so that we might become more effective border crossers. What do we know, versus what do we assume to know about these "other worlds" with whom we are entwined in the work of service-learning? Very little is written about the perspective of this "other world" that higher education wishes to engage. In an effort to facilitate better crossings for thinking and communicating together, Nora Bacon (2002) outlined the distinctions in theories of learning between higher education faculty and staff and community partner agency staff. Bringle, Games and Malloy (1999) also describe community-university partnerships as bringing together different worlds where academicians generally view knowledge as "residing in specialized experts, including disciplinary peers who are geographically dispersed and community residents [who] view knowledge as being pluralistic and well distributed among their neighbors" (pp. 9-10).

Higher education and "community" certainly do not represent monocultures, of course. There are distinctions in motivations and perceived benefits among various higher education practitioners (Holland, 2002) and we might well anticipate that there are diverse views about the motivations and perceived benefits of those individuals from agen-

cies partnering with institutions of higher education. The goal of this study is to better understand the diverse perspectives of long-term community partners collaborating with institutions of higher education, and to identify partner recommendations for ways to transform higher education practice to strengthen mature and well-established partnerships. This qualitative study, sponsored by California Campus Compact through a grant from the Corporation for National and Community Service, Learn and Serve America Higher Education, documented the partnership perspectives of 99 experienced community partners working with eight diverse higher education institutions in California. These partners were primarily supervisors and staff members from nonprofit community-based organizations and public institutions such as libraries, hospitals, and K-12 institutions.

As recommended (Cruz & Giles, 2000), our unit of analysis was the community-campus partnership, perceived through the lens of community partner eyes. Our research considers community perspectives on effective partnership characteristics as well as their own voices regarding the benefit, challenges, and motivations they have regarding partnership with an academic institution. Regarding partnership characteristics, we place this study in the context of four diverse models (Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, 1998; Holland & Ramaley, 1998; Liederman et al., 2003; Torres, 2000) of effective campus-community partnerships (Holland, 2005). Since those models were developed largely from a higher education perspective, the research question we addressed was how well the community partner perspective does or does not align with current models proposed by higher education. Regarding partner perspectives of the benefits, motivations, and challenges of their partnership with academic institutions, we place this study in the context of the work on partnerships such as Liederman et al. and Worrall (2005) but are breaking new ground regarding our method of documenting community voices from multiple institutions without the direct influence or involvement of higher education partners.

The need for this research was identified by practitioners in the field during a Fall 2004 retreat for service-learning professionals to learn from community partners how to improve their own practice. The research team worked to create a study design that would ensure the collection of purely community partner perspectives to significantly strengthen the academic literature on this topic of partnership relationships while assisting these experienced service-learning professionals in deepening their work. The study included community partners that would be considered to be in the advanced stages of partner-

ship that, to have such longevity, would have considerable knowledge of partnership dynamics, barriers, and facilitating factors. These partnerships are referred to as the "final" (Torres, 2000), "nurturing" (Dorado & Giles, 2004) or in the "cooperative" and/or "systematic and transformative" (Sockett, 1998) stages of partnership. Because of this sample selection, the conclusions here may or may not have implications for nascent partnerships. Due to staff turnover at some organizations, some of the participants themselves may have been new, although the partnership between the organization they represent and the higher education institution would have been well-established.

Literature Review

Many of the studies that have involved community partner perspectives on the outcomes and benefits of the partnerships have focused on various partners' experiences with a single higher education institution (e.g., Birdsall, 2005; Bushouse, 2005; Clarke, 2003; Ferrari & Worrall, 2000; Jorge, 2003; Miron & Moely, 2005; Schmidt & Robby, 2002; Vernon & Foster, 2002; Worrall, 2005). Some studies, such as Schmidt and Robby, and Skilton-Sylvester and Erwin (2000), describe the direct benefits to the "clients" the community partner entities serve, while others focus on the perception of benefits from the supervisors of service-learning students through evaluation data (e.g., Birdsall; Ferrari & Worrall). There are fewer studies that specifically look at the partnership itself as the unit of analysis. Dorado and Giles (2004) provide an excellent analysis of the stages and types of activities that tend to occur at three different levels of partnership that vary over time. Clarke created and piloted a 3-"I" evaluation model for community partners working with the same higher education institution designed to capture findings related to community impact as process. In a study sponsored by the Council of Independent Colleges, Liederman et al. (2003) spoke with 19 community partner leaders from around the country in a two-day summit to identify elements of partnerships, common benefits, challenges, and recommendations for practice. Similarly, Worrall developed a case study comprised of the perspectives of 40 community partners working with DePaul University in Illinois where she examined benefits, challenges and motivations for partners' involvement. Bushouse (2005) also identified benefits and barriers to campus-community partnerships among small nonprofits at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, and Miron and Moely used the partnership as the unit of analysis to examine community perspectives on agency voice, benefits to their organization, and perceptions of the university.

Structure and Methodology

Much of the value of this current study is its breadth in the context of diverse functioning partnerships. Service-learning coordinators at eight California campuses self-selected 99 advanced "nurturing stage" (Dorado & Giles, 2004) community partners to participate in 15 focus groups to discuss their perspectives on community-campus partnerships. To date, it is one of the largest multisite studies focused exclusively on community partners. The research team took extensive measures to ensure community partners' confidentiality and anonymity. While the community partners included were nominated by their partnering service-learning directors, higher education representatives were not present during the study, nor did any higher education partner have access to the data before the findings were approved by community participants. This effort to control for interpretations by the higher education voice is in some contrast to previous studies with community partners (e.g., Liederman et al., 2003), in which higher education partners were present during the data collection process. To ensure broad relevance of the findings, the sites were selected based on the history and diversity of the partnerships and their institutional context; a mix of urban and rural, four-year and community college, public and private, faith-based and secular, Research I and liberal arts institutions were included from diverse geographical regions of California.

We employed focus groups as our inquiry strategy because we wished to obtain data from a large sample across multiple communities and sought "meaning and sense-making" more than the precise numerical data that would be provided through a survey instrument. Because partnerships are by definition an inherently social activity, focus groups were best suited to obtain information, as we could make "explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group" (Morgan, 1989). Accepted standards for focus group processes and hermeneutic fieldwork (Herda, 1998; Marshall & Rossman, 1989) informed our theoretical orientation and design, and practitioners in the field at a California Campus Compact retreat helped shape the initial areas of inquiry. Informed by the relevant literature, a five-member research team, comprised of three facilitators, one recorder, and the Principle Investigator, refined the questions for the protocol, which were presented in a semi-structured interview format with guided participation by the facilitators. Participants addressed questions concerning their motivations, benefits, challenges, and recommendations that were similar to some of the areas of inquiry

that Liederman et al. (2003) and Worrall (2005) studied. Because this study was more focused on the transformation of higher education practice from the community's perspective, it contrasts with a recent publication developed by the national Campus Compact office designed to serve as a practical guide for community agencies interested in partnering with higher education campuses (Scheibel, Bowley, & Jones, 2005).

Because a level of familiarity with the subject matter is necessary for research conversations to be productive (Gadamer, 1960/1975; Herda, 1999) and a particularly high level of trust was required to do this research, we involved seasoned scholars in service-learning who were familiar with service-learning concepts and focus group facilitation. The facilitators were neutral in the sense that they were not employed by the campuses and did not have a vested interest in the findings of each of the groups. Small stipends were awarded to community partners for their participation.

Data were collected by charting participant responses on easel paper, note-taking, and audio-taping and transcribing participant responses. We generated categories and themes to identify patterns, because our goal was to discern a set of characteristics across all partner responses. For each question on the protocol, the researchers developed a relational scheme that clustered participant responses according to themes. Notes from the audio-taped sessions were provided to participants to check for understanding. Data were coded and analyzed using Atlas-TI software, and hermeneutic "constant coding" approaches (Herda, 1999) were used to check themes. Initial research categories were developed based on the protocol questions and additional categories and themes were developed after an analysis of the data. The team worked with community partners to check for understanding and completeness using methods derived from community-based practices.

The ethic of reciprocity, a hallmark of service-learning practice, informed the research design. One of the distinctions of this study in comparison to other studies of community partners is its place-based, two-tiered approach. The importance of location is often overlooked in academic research (Grunewald, 2003; Oldenburg, 1989; Sandy, 2005), and including this variable in our design had important benefits. We convened focus groups in the locations in which they partnered and included participants who all had experiences working with the same higher education institution. By doing so, we expected that participants would be more likely to discuss the concrete details of their partnerships, as they all shared something directly in common with one another, and researchers would be able to tease out

distinctions between different partners with the same higher education institution. There is evidence that the very act of convening the focus groups may have already begun to benefit the partnerships there. Participants shared ideas with one another and suggested solutions to directly benefit their particular partnerships at all focus groups. In keeping with key aspects of community-based research methodology (Stoecker, 2005), participants were involved with approving the thematic interpretations, finalizing the reports designed to inform and improve their particular partnership, and the "meta-analysis" that includes a cross-analysis of all the data generated from all of the focus groups. In keeping with accepted practices of hermeneutic and ethnographic qualitative research, direct quotations were shared with community partners to develop themes and categories for both the meta-analysis and campus reports, although space constraints do not permit much of them to be presented here.

Given the traditional wisdom regarding focus group research (e.g., Fontana & Frey, 2000; Morgan, 1998) and the fact that the participants in this study represent a "convenience" sample, to some extent, the findings are not generalizable in a statistical sense. However, we fully expect these findings to have broad applicability, particularly given the diversity and size of the sample and the controls inherent in our approach.

The following section will offer a discussion of the themes emerging from data analysis and place each theme within a discussion of prior literature and apparent import to the advancement of research on service-learning partnerships and their practices. Direct quotations from community partners from all focus groups are included to highlight themes.

Emergent Themes

Convergence with Characteristics of Effective Partnerships: Relationships are Foundational

> You can't assume the partnership will stay what it is. It needs to be fed.   —Community Partner

A major contribution in advancing community-university partnerships has been the various ways the field has defined the core characteristics of effective partnerships. Important examples include: Community-Campus Partnerships for Health (CCPH), (1998); Campus Compact (Torres, 2000); the Wingspread Report (Honnet & Poulsen, 1989), Housing and Urban Development Department's list of characteristics (Holland & Ramaly, 1998), and the study by Liederman et al. (2003) that describes the characteristics valued by community partners. Holland (2005) notes that while many of these lists

contain unique aspects related to the context in which they were developed, there is a high level of convergence in their recommendations that provides a vision of ideal partnerships. These lists include topics such as developing a mutually beneficial agenda, understanding the capacity and resources of all partners, participating in project planning, attending to the relationship, shared design and control of project directions, and continual assessment of partnership processes and outcomes.

The analysis of the characteristics described by the community partners in this study reveals that while they concur with these general principles, the language they use to describe them and how they prioritize them is often distinct. Aspects of valuing and nurturing the partnership relationship were uniformly stressed as the highest priority among all the groups.

> If you're just going to do an event, and another event and a project, a project, a project, it doesn't feel like you're connecting the dots. You're not growing anything. It has to be sustainable, and I think you only get sustainability when you're building relationships and there's a certain humanity to the whole thing.
> —Community Partner

These partners emphasized that the relationship itself is foundational to service-learning and that all collaborative activities or projects stem from this. This supports the claim by Dorado and Giles (2004), and Benson and Harkavy (2000), that community partners value the relationship with the university beyond a specific service-learning project. This finding also provides support for the claim posited by Skilton-Sylvester and Erwin (2000) that people can begin to cross the borders that commonly divide university and community members "through the development of caring relationships and reflection on those relationships" (p. 73). It is in some contrast to the study conducted by Bushouse (2005), who found that small nonprofit organizations were more likely to prefer arrangements with minimal required staff time, with presumably less emphasis on relationship-building.

Other highly valued characteristics described by these community partners, ranked in order of frequency, include: 1) *Communication among partners*, particularly clearly defined roles and responsibilities, ongoing, accessible lines of communication, flexibility, and the ability to say 'no;' 2) *Understanding partner perspectives*. While the lists generated by higher education researchers often stress mutual benefits, community partners were more likely to describe the need for understanding each partner's work cultures, responsiveness to partner needs, and caring about

mutual goals. Some partners stressed that higher education partners need to focus more intently on community needs; 3) *Personal connections*. Overall, partners did not often stress the need for formal structure or resources, although this may be partially explained by the fact that these experienced higher education partners already have this infrastructure in place. K-12 institutions tended to underscore the importance of written agreements and structure more frequently than community-based organization partners; 4) *Co-planning, training, and orientation*. Community partners described collaborative planning with faculty and staff, and agreed-upon systems for training and orientations for service-learners as one of the most critical areas to improve campus-community partnerships; 5) *Accountability and leadership*. These partners emphasized the need for adequate follow-through and accountability on the part of all partners, and shared, equitable leadership. Continuity of personnel is important.

Common Ground: Our Partners in Education

One of the most compelling findings of this study is the community partner's profound dedication to educating college students — even when this is not an expectation, part of their job description, or if the experience provides few or no short- and long-term benefits for their organization.

> I should add that I'm a frustrated teacher! I see [service-learning] as an opportunity to influence the next generation. I see it not just as we're getting those wonderful volunteers, but we have an opportunity to train and influence and sensitize people to deal with the issues the clients of our agency face. It can influence their family relationships, it's going to influence their career choices, and it is maybe going to help them deal differently with people they meet on the street.
> — Community Partner

> We are co-educators. That is not our organization's bottom line, but that's what we do.
> — Community Partner

Campus-community partnerships are commonly thought to be based on differences in self-interest and require negotiation to ensure these different needs are met (e.g., Bushouse, 2005; Scheibel, Bowley, & Jones, 2005). Enos and Morton (2003) suggest a continuum of "self-to-shared-interest," where partnerships function first as a "transactional" partnership with distinct objectives and then move toward developing shared goals to a "transformational" relationship. A recent study by Worrall (2005) affirms this perception of community partners, indicating that they first become involved with service-learning to gain access to additional resources and then stay

involved over time because they enjoy their role as community educators. In contrast, the community partners included in this study spoke of their shared goals regarding student learning at the *inception* of the partnership. They repeatedly stressed that educating college students was a more compelling reason for becoming involved in community-campus partnerships than more tangible "transactional" short-term benefits to their agency or organization.

While educating students was an initial motivation for these community partners, their commitment to educating students may have grown over time as they became more experienced. They demonstrated a remarkable awareness and level of student learning outcomes for career development, civic engagement, academic course content, diversity and multi-cultural skills, and personal development.

> [Students] come from the university hoping to help us build a house, but with service-learning in context, that same student would understand why there is a lack of affordable housing, what is the impact of a lack of housing on the community, on a low-income family, on a neighborhood. Part of the challenge is broadening the scope of what the specific work a student might be doing at an agency and helping them understand that in context. That is really a tough thing to do, and it seems like it is often our responsibility as community partners to help make those links.   —Community Partner

While community partners are devoted to educating students, and often perceive this as a way to "give back," community partners face significant challenges inherent in the work itself. These include grappling with issues related to the academic calendar and logistics, workplace preparedness of students, understanding the learning goals and their roles in the experience, and dealing with recruitment, supervision, placement, and evaluation.

Their understanding of the benefits of service-learning for students and higher education institutions as a whole largely mirrors the benefits documented by higher education, and include: exploring career options, building competency in diversity and multicultural communication skills, obtaining deeper knowledge of a particular issue or profession and the non-profit world in general, developing practical job skills and job leads, cultivating skills of engaged citizenship and lifelong serving, enhancing self-esteem and self-exploration, and developing a greater sense of connectedness in their college life. Many focus group participants noted that the service-learning activities at their agencies aid in the retention of students in higher education by providing a sense of connectedness for students. They indicated that it

seemed to be particularly important for students of color and first generation college students, corroborating other studies in the literature (e.g., Gallini & Moely, 2003). Community partners also believe higher education institutions are motivated to collaborate with them to improve the image of the campus and to obtain access to research sites and contacts.

Spectrum of Distinct Benefits to Partners

As a previous qualitative study with community partners affirmed (Bacon, 2002), relationships are a major vehicle through which learning and knowledge generation take place for community partners, and through which they accrue tangible benefits. While all partners demonstrated a deep dedication to educating college students, their description of other motivations and benefits for being involved in service-learning varied, and appeared to be on a continuum of those who spoke more about "brass tacks" benefits provided by individual college students, to those who described a need to contribute to the common good overall. The benefits community partners describe in this study can be categorized as 1) direct impact; 2) enrichment; and 3) social justice. The following outlines the most commonly described benefits:

1. Direct Impact

(1a)   Impact on client outcomes.

By engaging in relationships with nonprofit clients, college students have a positive impact on client outcomes, such as youth, English learners, the elderly, homeless, and disabled. As described in many other studies (e.g., Birdsall, 2005; Jorge, 2003; Schmidt & Robby, 2002;Vernon & Foster, 2002), college students are highly valued as age-appropriate role models for youth and given credit for raising educational outcomes and ambition among youth. Service-learners engage with people in various other settings as well, and provide companionship for the elderly and for other nonprofit clients such as the homeless.

> The college is right in our back yard for a lot of these high schools, it is great to have the college students come because then these kids will think about going to college. It shows that college is possible.   —Community Partner

(1b)   Sustaining and enhancing organizational capacity.

Service-learners are a critical part of the workforce of some partner organizations and help sustain and extend the capacity of K-12 and nonprofit organizations, often enabling them to take on new projects that would have remained "on the back burner." They also enhance the workforce in various ways by

becoming future staff, donors, and volunteers.

> Our program would probably not survive if we do not have service-learners. It's economics. We couldn't possibly hire the number of people we need to do our programs. —Community Partner

2. Enrichment

(2a) Staff and organizational development.

Another major benefit of partnering is staff and organizational development. When partnering with higher education institutions and supervising service-learners, partners reflect more on organizational practices, and gain from the intellectual assets of the academic institution by learning new information from students and obtaining greater access to academic research. Partners are often able to further their organization's goals by garnering greater access to the prestige associated with the academic institution, and it is often affirming, energizing, and enjoyable for staff to be involved. Some have even returned to college themselves.

> [Students] make us better professionals and they ask us the kind of questions that we have forgotten about. I am part of a consortium with faculty and students and social service agencies. Not only are the students looking at me but they are looking at me in comparison to the other agencies that they are interested in. In all levels it forces us to be more professional. We have to look at our ethical values because they ask those kind of questions.   —Community Partner

(2b) Increasing community capacity.

Social capital among community partner agencies is often strengthened when universities foster linkages among community partners with whom they are affiliated. This finding corroborates Gelmon et al.'s (2001) work and the study by Vernon and Foster (2002) that found that "service-learning and volunteer programs are conduits for building social capital in a community." The partners expressed strong benefits from being convened by the academic institution as a source for enhancing community networks and relationships.

> The university has brought us together as partners. That's a real important outcome of this university partnership and it has grown. It has brought different partners together from different towns, from the same town.
> —Community Partner

3. Social Justice

(3a) Motivated by the common good.

Some community partners described their motivation for being involved with community-campus partnerships as related to a common struggle for social justice and equity, a way to strengthen common values, build their community, and impact the greater good.

> Being a participant in social change. This should be the ultimate goal.   —Community Partner

> This may sound corny, especially these days, but the idea of service, the idea of doing something for the common good that benefits lots of people is my motivation [for being involved with service-learning]. And maybe you're not going to get paid a whole lot of money for it, and maybe you're not going to crawl up the career ladder doing it, but it is the right thing to do for society and the community.   —Community Partner

(3b) Transformational learning

At several focus groups, community partners spoke of the ways in which community-campus partnerships can transform knowledge by bridging the gap between theory and practice, providing opportunities for reflection and furthering new theory that can change both our knowledge and practice. This may speak to the development of new knowledge generation that connects the different ways of knowing in community-campus partnerships that Bacon (2002) describes.

> And it gets at, 'This is the pedagogy thing. But this is the real thing.' The college kind of lives in the world of theory, and we live in the world of reality, and we hardly get to think about the theory because we're rushing from work. This is a place to try on this theory or this practice and let's see if it works.   —Community Partner

> If I was a professor...I'd really want to work with a school, not just send students, but actually get myself in there, do data, measure, try on different things. And on the other side, as [K-12] educators, we do the same thing. We just sit in our classrooms and teach what we know.
> —Community Partner

4. Balance on the Benefits Spectrum

All focus groups included lengthy discussions on the many direct benefits to agency clients (1 above) and the enrichment opportunities for their organizations and for themselves personally (2 above). Both are powerful themes on motivations and benefits for community partners in the study. While issues related to social justice (3 above) were voiced by a smaller number of people overall—about half of the focus groups involved discussed social justice in detail—it is interesting to note that those community partners motivated by the hope for social justice describe this phenomenon in ways that faculty and students speak of social justice. The emphasis on social justice may largely be an individual preference, and their motiva-

tions are likely as varied as the motivations voiced by higher education practitioners, some of whom emphasize the role service-learning as pedagogy while others stress civic engagement goals or social justice (Holland, 2002). As Dorado and Giles (2004) posit, however, relationships in campus-community partnerships are influenced by institutional as well as individual factors. The "ease" of the partnership experience seemed to make a difference in whether or not individual community partners emphasized benefits that were more short-term or altruistic. Those partners who described themselves as actively struggling with the logistics of the partnership seemed to take the most "transactional" approach in ensuring their institution received direct short-term gains to make the partnership worthwhile. Partners that seemed to experience fewer of these obstacles often spoke more about desire to further the common good. A comparison of how these direct impact, enrichment, and social justice benefits voiced by community partners might correspond with the mapping of the relationships between learning and serving in Robert Sigmon's "Linking Service with Learning" (1994) could help shed more light on this in the future.

More Faculty Involvement in the Partnership

There is a profound missed opportunity when faculty are absent from the community-campus collaboration and their students' service-learning experiences.

> Communication with professors seems to fall apart. We would appreciate a heads-up from them about what they're going to do and what their goals are.   —Community Partner

> Maybe the faculty should have to do fifteen hours.   —Community Partner

Community partners indicated that their greatest challenge in partnering with campuses is to find ways to interact directly with faculty through ongoing, reciprocal relationships, become collaborators in designing the service-learning curriculum, and engage with faculty more deeply in the work of their agencies. As Gelmon et al. (1998) advise, community partners and faculty need to become more cognizant of community strengths and needs, to work together to come to agreement on a clear message for students, and to create more appropriate service-learning experiences that are linked to the classroom. There was an overwhelming clamor among these community partners that faculty should be more directly involved with their sites and work to better understand the culture, conditions, and practices of their community co-educators.

The impact of their weak connection with faculty is disturbing. All eight focus group sites indicated that it was fairly commonplace for faculty to create assignments that were illegal or inappropriate for their workplaces, and that curriculum or schedule changes often occur without their consent or prior knowledge, causing significant disruption for agency staff. Partners also report that they are rarely informed about assessment and evaluation outcomes for student learning. Recruitment processes, on-campus orientations for new and experienced partners, orientations for service-learners, evaluation, recognition, and celebrations were all discussed as important areas for improvement. These community partners also provided many examples of partnership experiences that worked well with faculty, including joint planning days prior to the start of the semester, on-going collaboration with a faculty member throughout the lifespan of a project, clearly defined responsibilities, and shared expectations and roles for students.

As Miron and Moely (2005) report, there are still significant benefits to community-based agencies and positive interactions with higher education partners in the absence of co-planning and authentic collaboration, but these partners indicate that the "status quo" with faculty relationships is often unacceptable. While faculty involvement, co-planning, evaluation, and celebration are all usually included as important characteristics of effective partnerships (e.g., Honnet & Poulsen, 1989; Torres, 2000), practicing these principles more diligently, and with a greater emphasis on co-teaching, may go a long way to demonstrating respect to community partners.

Higher Education Institutions as Citizen and Community Partner

All of the community partners at the participating campuses stressed that they would welcome more opportunities to network with their campus partner and partnering agencies. Experienced partners often desire more coordinated involvement in larger-scale community development initiatives, and some recommended that the campus take on a leadership role in bringing community members together.

> I would like to get out of the internship approach, to look at what has to happen for the broader purpose...I've been pushing for [the university] to take a larger-scale community-based look at some of these things, so students can interact over a longer time-span, allow a lot of students to [participate] and also have a more inter-disciplinary approach throughout the project.   —Community Partner

Perhaps because of the importance education institutions play in the development of social capital in

rural areas (Miller, 1997), it was predominantly community partners based in more rural areas who voiced interest in this. In urban areas, in contrast, the relationships community partners have with any one campus did not appear to be as critical for them because they routinely partner with so many higher education institutions. In fact, community agencies may help bridge connections among universities:

> We had a partnership with two universities. So these two universities and two sets of students never partnered and at the end of our program students were saying we should have one or two classes on social welfare for our child development department and vice versa. I know there is a linkage now with the professors and that had never happened before.   —Community Partner

A few community partners — in both rural and urban settings — voiced concern that higher education campuses and service-learning offices focus too much on individual courses and programs and not enough on the obligation of the higher education institution to participate as a partner in community matters. In support of their request, it might be interesting to learn if higher education partners grow more committed to community development as they spend more time engaging in service-learning work. This study's research team may not have had adequate representation among those who might work with academic institutions on longer-term community development projects in ways advocated by Harkavy (1999) and Bringle (1999) to address this adequately.

Diverse Views of Infrastructure

Experienced community partners may require different types of support from service-learning offices than new partners. Findings by Vernon and Foster (2002) reinforce the best practices literature (Campus Compact, 1999) by indicating that community partners, particularly those in the early stages of partnership, express much more satisfaction in their campus partnerships when there is a service-learning office to facilitate student placement and provide an accessible contact point. There is also convergence on this point in the four models of higher education literature (Holland, 2005; Campus Compact, 2000; Holland & Ramaly, 1998; Liederman et al., 2003; Torres, 2000). While the experienced community partners involved with this study expressed very high satisfaction with the staff of service-learning offices, described by one group as the "face and heart" of the institution, there is some evidence that service-learning offices, in an attempt to "make things easier" for faculty and community partners, often function as unknowing gatekeepers or barriers for these partners who seek to make authentic connections with faculty.

> Is it just the service-learning coordinator that cares about this program? —Community Partner

> I've never developed a relationship with a professor. I work with the service-learning coordinator primarily, and some students.
> —Community Partner

> [The service-learning office] keeps the list [of participating faculty]. They have a lot of concern that administrators come and get a hold of the list and recruit students before they assign them.
> —Community Partner

Community partners recognize that faculty are essential to their ongoing collaboration with the higher education institution and would appreciate more assistance in making those connections from the service-learning offices. These partners expressed a tremendous depth of awareness of academic culture and campus politics; some sites were worried that the service-learning offices do not have support of the higher education institution overall, and are viewed as inconsistent with campus culture and norms.

Access and Fairness

Focus group participants spent considerable time strategizing together on how to gain greater entrée to their higher education institution partner. In larger institutions, the service-learning office may represent only one of several possible connections for community partners. They are well aware that there are often special benefits associated with developing relationships with particular faculty members, departments, or programs that might even provide additional financial resources for them. This process can be mystifying even for experienced partners.

> To what extent are all the agencies aware of all these different opportunities? Is the university reaching out to community organizations, and not just with a piece of the puzzle but the bigger picture? I learned about things [from other focus group participants] I have never heard of before today.   —Community Partner

> There should be a more formal process for soliciting involvement. Right now, it is hit or miss based on a relationship that you are fortunate to have.   —Community Partner

The processes for making these connections are not necessarily funneled through service-learning offices and may not even be "public," as the agreements are often arranged through personal relationships between faculty and individual agencies. While recognizing that all partnerships are based on relationships, these partners expressed a great deal of

concern about fairness and many suggested there be ways to standardize access for all partners. Many hope for more access to campus classrooms, but also expressed concern about how recruitment processes for students are usually handled in these situations, often pitting them in a popularity contest with other organizations where the most enthusiastic guest speaker "wins." One partner commented, "I feel like I'm kind of in a roadshow to get students. It is not ideal." Some partners suggested more partner fairs and mixers, curriculum planning sessions, Web sites, videos, and other forms of communication infrastructure. One said, "We need a communication system that we could tap into."

Appreciating Differences across Partner Types

To strengthen campus community partnerships, many agencies and institutions stressed the need for better communication infrastructure that was sensitive to their particular workplace culture and organizational infrastructure. They point out that communication is not a "one size fits all approach." K-12 institutions, for example, may require processes and procedures that are distinct from social service nonprofits because they usually have different hours of operation and often more hierarchical and complex chains of command.

> It is pretty hit or miss with the [higher education student leader coordinators]. They're students, sometimes they don't get up until 4:00 in the afternoon, and well, that means we're probably not going to get to talk that day. —K-12 Partner

More research may be needed to identify the special needs of K-12-higher education partnerships because these are often mandated rather than voluntary.

> Maybe being in a university town — it's the elephant in the room. When you get involved at the [K-12] administrative level, part of our time is getting involved with the university. But it is not written into your job description. It's another unfunded mandate. —Community Partner

The Great Divide: The Mythology of Hours

Overall, community partners expressed a high level of frustration with mandatory hour requirements and did not feel that this was a particularly useful indication of student achievement or impact on the community partner site. Many felt that the designated hour requirement sends the wrong message to students and were sometimes distressed by the amount of paperwork this requirement generates. One partner said,

> I'm very concerned about the students that just want to get their hours done. That's not service-

learning...Some are just doing community service, and that's defeating the purpose.
> —Community Partner

An unintended outcome of the emphasis on hours seems to be a misunderstanding of the term, 'service-learning.' One partner commented, "The only difference [between service-learners and volunteers] is in the tracking of the hours; the service-learning students are much more interested in it if you are tracking their hours." Birdsall (2005) reported a similar finding.

Community partners were unanimous in expressing their desire to provide service-learning experiences of adequate duration that would be meaningful to service-learning students and for their nonprofit clients. Partners working with campuses that required less than 20 hours reported the most distress with the hours requirement and the most concern about the adequacy of the service-learning experience, in terms of the quality of the education experience for students, and the short- and long-term benefits for their organization. One said, "How valuable is it to the student to spend 10 hours someplace? What have they really learned?" Their concern corroborates the literature conducted with service-learning students and supervisors on the importance of time as a learning factor (e.g., Eyler, Giles, & Braxton, 1997; Mabry, 1998; Patterson, 1987). As expected, many other community partners with longer time commitments from service-learners sought to increase the time allotment as well. The time required for training, orientation, and background checks is sometimes longer than the duration of the service-learning commitment. A short-term commitment on the part of service-learners could even be harmful when working with sensitive populations such as refugee children.

Implications for Higher Education Practice

The community partners' emphasis on the importance of relationships points to further recommendations for transformations in higher education practice:

1. Value relationships. As service-learning coordinators are well aware, the need to cultivate positive relationships in campus-community partnerships is complex because of the sheer number and diversity of partners involved, and because partners and situations change over time. Community partners expect their higher education institution partner to connect with them personally. On the "macro-level," new practices may need to be instituted to ensure more equitable access to campuses, while on the "micro-level," partners must continue to engage in ongoing relationship-building. Rather than feeling inconvenienced by requests for participation, community

partners ask for more campus visits, more face-to-face meetings, and greater inclusion in orientations and planning sessions. These partners stress that building effective community-campus relationships involves communicating roles and responsibilities clearly, working to better understand different workplace cultures, demonstrating sensitivity about how to best communicate with one another, and expressing appreciation for one another.

2. Hold conversations regularly about partnership process and outcomes. The research team recommends that higher education institutions consider sponsoring or participating in conversations among all partners to reflect on their formal partnership arrangements, informal communication links, critique current practice, and collectively identify ways to strengthen partnerships, document impacts, celebrate achievements, and build networks.

3. Involve faculty more directly. This is the most critical area for improvement. Experienced partners need a way to connect with faculty to plan the curriculum, negotiate student placement, and assess and evaluate the service-learning experience. At a minimum, partners desire to see the syllabus and the specific learning goals and expectations for students so they can contribute to an effective learning arrangement. Partners want faculty to visit their sites and perhaps even volunteer to truly understand the partner's organization and assets. While they did not usually make specific requirements for recognition, their strong self-identity as co-teacher warrants attention from the academic institution.

4. Consider ways the academic institution can help build social capital. Because an important asset of community-campus partnerships involves developing connections among community agencies and the campuses, higher education institutions and service-learning offices may wish to find ways to participate in the long-term development of their community and to develop longer-term service-learning activities that involve the campus as a whole.

5. Develop new, more facilitative roles for service-learning offices. While the gate-keeping and coordinating function may be essential for beginning partners, expanding activities related to convening faculty, community, and students together for curriculum planning, evaluating, networking, and celebration is a more critical role for service-learning offices to play for advanced partnerships. Service-learning offices can also expand their role as an information hub for activities and opportunities sponsored by the academic institution and even serving as a community bulletin board for local events.

6. Address the hours divide. While tracking hours has been a favored way for higher education to document accountability and impact, community part-

ners often see this as an impediment. Appropriate duration of the experience and an emphasis on learning may be a more appropriate measure for achievement than hourly requirements.

Conclusion

> "[Service-learning] pushes forward this question about what education is for."
> — Community Partner

Longstanding community-campus partnerships are more than simply the "byproduct of self-interested action" (Maier, 2002, p. 23). Rather, they involve our inherent solidarities aligned with educating college students and an openness and sensitivity to the distinct benefits and challenges involved for all partners. While certainly not a roadmap for border-crossing, this study can deepen higher education practice by highlighting community partners' insights on the work to which we are all committed. Effective campus-community partnerships requires attention to and an exploration of both distinct needs and interests of higher education and community partners — the different "worlds" in which we live — as well as a recognition and appreciation for the inherent commonalities and motivations that bind us together. The day-to-day work of educating students, and in some instances, our aspirations for a more just world, provides common ground for our mutual engagement. The path by which we traverse this ground together is cultivated through our ongoing relationships with one another, and nurtured through open, respectful, and appropriate communication. To further this work, it is important to reflect together to improve our practice locally, and enable us to ask deeper questions together.

Topics on which we might begin to hold conversations include how to engage more deeply with faculty; recognizing partners as co-educators of students, with all the planning and preparation that entails; committing the academic institution to ongoing action as an institutional citizen in larger-scale community development projects; and finding ways to develop appropriate institutional infrastructure that supports and facilitates these shifts in emphasis and practice. In the "end," higher education and community partners may find that they have each become more committed to the mission, values, and goals of the other. We hope that others will be encouraged by this study to engage in future research conversations to deepen our work as service-learning educators and as participants in campus-community partnerships.

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Assessing Learning in Community Service Learning:
A Social Approach

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This essay advances a way of thinking about assessment that envelops both process and outcome. We assert that learning in community service learning and the assessment thereof might fruitfully be considered in communication with others (the students, constituents from the community, instructors, etc.). Concepts central to a social approach to learning are identified, and examples of ways to assess those concepts are advanced. Finally, methods of assessing the social dimension of learning are provided, including interviews and focus groups, the analysis of journal assignments, and the observation of videotaped interactions.

Community Service Learning (CSL) pedagogy, programs, and research by their very nature promote the idea of academic-community intervention—an interruption in the way things are that produces some sort of change for social betterment. How to assess both the quality and quantity of change, for whom and for what purposes, remains a central focus of CSL scholarship (see, for example, Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Lee, 2000; Driscoll, Holland, Gelmon, & Kerrigan, 1996; Levin, 2000).

In an essay that advances a theoretical and practical framework for conceptualizing the design of CSL research, Astin (2000) uses Wilber's (1995, 1998) four-quadrant model to distinguish the individual and collective as well as the interior and exterior dimensions of social life in terms of individual consciousness, individual actions, institutional culture, and institutional structures. Based on the four quadrants, among the fundamental principles of outcome assessment in CSL, Astin suggests:

1) *Research on service-learning needs to look at both individual and collective organizational/structural outcomes;*

2) *Service-learning research needs to look at program impacts on the exteriors and interiors of the individuals and organizations being studied. p. 99 [original emphasis]*

Astin's use of the model and suggestions for assessment are instructive for their reference to the systemic impact of change processes. Change in any one part of the community "system" impacts the others and thus cannot be studied in isolation. Individual actions are interdependent on those of the collective to produce meaningful outcomes for structures, organizations and institutions, which in turn provide feedback that affects actions and relations on an individual and collective level. For Astin, the implications

for assessment are clear: We must evaluate outcomes and change in general in terms of the interdependencies among all parts of the system.

In this essay we extend Astin's (2000) ideas about the systemic relationship among CSL constituencies to the assessment of learning as communication. That is, while we too see the importance of evaluating outcomes in terms of the connections among parts (constituencies) to form a holistic system, our concern for assessment envelops both process and outcome. Learning in CSL and the assessment thereof might fruitfully be argued to be constructed in *communication* with others, thereby complicating the divisions between Astin's version of the internal individual (cognitions, values, beliefs) and the individual's external actions (outcomes) as well as with the institutional culture and structure. That is, actions are always meaningful and meaning is made in (inter)action with others; the process of meaning-making is itself empirical, just as outcomes are social facts.

From this perspective, we see learning not simply as an individual activity but as a communicative process (see, for example, Dewey, 1925; Habermas, 1984) which cannot be separated from the experience of its occurrence. Viewing learning in this manner offers a window (or maybe a lens) into the CSL experience, because so much of what we and our students take away from those experiences in the community seems so rich, complex, and difficult to name, and thus to easily isolate, categorize, and measure. And yet, if learning is located in the ways we, along with others, make meaning of our experiences, how might we understand, much less assess, that learning has occurred?

This difficult question is the focus of our essay, and in what follows we build on the conceptualization of assessment in the service-learning field by introducing and applying an assessment framework that

embeds learning in the context of experience. In so doing, we do not wish to negate the contributions of cognitive and behavioral measures of learning. Rather, we wish to offer a different perspective—one that can complement more traditional approaches by locating learning outcomes in the context of their use. We call this perspective a social approach to learning and differentiate it from assessment procedures that assume learning as an individual act and thus an individual outcome. Both approaches (social and individual-based) lead to different and valid conclusions about the nature of learning and experience, and practitioners can substitute, supplement, complement, or compare the two approaches to assessing their projects. Nonetheless, to accept the concepts advanced in this article, the reader must believe that a more comprehensive evaluation of the process of learning in CSL is possible or desirable.

With a rigorous focus on interaction (defined here as expressed action and interaction between and among individuals, compared with cognition or recall of attitudes, behaviors, etc.), we hope to develop an assessment framework that provides a set of conceptual and methodological tools for the service-learning practitioner. By situating learning in the relational and contextual processes through which people make meaning, we also are able to situate community service learning as engaged practice—a practice that offers learning *in situ* through challenges to notions of power, identities, cultures, community, and change.

Loosely following Gelmon et al.'s (2001) suggested questions for assessment, we begin with a response to their question "What are we looking for?"[1] with a goal to assess learning as a social process, and in particular to apply such an approach to CSL projects. Typically, a CSL assessment program might ask what the academic and (sometimes) civic goals of the project might be and then measure those goals with methods such as surveys (pre and post), reflection papers, or journals and course evaluation forms. Goals might range from being able to identify and apply course concepts in a community setting, to improving university-community relations. Indicators (what is measured) might range from use of vocabulary to frequency of contact between students and community.

Other instrumental assessment measures are found in the correlations between course concepts and the skills learned. Although the evaluation of practices comes closer to analyzing learning as situated in context, the identified skills or competencies are rarely analyzed in the context of their use and their assessment is confined to the individual.[2] Assessing changes in identities or practices from this perspective assumes learning as the modification of an exist-

ing attitude or mental disposition within the self or the other person's mind, or the display or performance of a specific behavior or course of action. The preset definition of skills to be learned limits the possibilities of the other in interaction to contribute to what those skills mean in and to the interaction, their usefulness in coordinating meaning, and the moral outcome of the conversation. In CSL courses, in the case of shifting teaching, learning, and helping relationships between classroom and community, the relationships between social and cultural identity, skills, and moral outcome can be problematic.

Still, skills in and of themselves are important tools for assessment; our objective here is not to do away with them as measures of learning, but to note their traditional grounding in a self-contained predetermined "objective" outcome. Skills can be resituated as part of mutual rule constructions that keep people connected and working toward mutually desired outcomes in and for the community. Thus, while the individual or instrumental perspective is popular, valued, and often needed, we believe that other perspectives can open doors to other ways of knowing, learning, and evaluating that learning.

The rest of the essay is divided into concepts, indicators, examples, and methods of assessment. We first review the CSL literature on assessment for key terms and concepts with an eye toward how these concepts might be measured from a social approach. Next, from the conceptual bases for learning and communication identified in social constructionist and pragmatist scholarship, we identify concepts central to a social approach to assessment and methods for locating these concepts in CSL and classroom activities.

Literature Review

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a thorough review of all the ways in which student learning and community impact in CSL have been assessed, we begin with a brief review of the key concepts that have emerged to measure learning in the research to date. We can conclude from this brief review that great strides have been made to discover the myriad ways that learning in CSL is both similar to and different from learning in other educative experiences. Yet, we join a small group of others, also reviewed briefly here, who attempt to further push the boundaries of what is considered learning and how it can be assessed.

One key concept that has emerged in past research uses improved academic performance in the classroom and, more generally, academic engagement to indicate that learning has occurred through CSL (e.g., Astin et al., 2000; Gallini & Moely, 2003; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Hepburn, Niemi, & Chapman, 2000;

Hunter & Brisbin, 2000; Steinke & Buresh, 2002). Another key concept in the CSL literature on assessment is civic engagement, as evident by such indicators as attitudes about and interest in social problems or volunteering (e.g., Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Moely, Mercer, Ilustre, Miron, & McFarland, 2002; Perry & Katula, 2001; Roschelle, Turpin, & Elias, 2000; Yates & Youniss, 1998). A third key concept is respect and tolerance for diversity or a self-reported connection with others (e.g., Boyle-Baise, 1998; Gallini & Moely, 2003; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Hepburn, Niemi, & Chapman, 2000). Finally, past researchers have identified the development of skills, such as writing and speaking abilities, stemming from the experiential nature of CSL (e.g., Dubinksy, 2002; Tucker, McCarthy, Hoxmeier, & Lenk, 1998). We agree that each of these concepts is important in establishing whether and how individuals have learned or changed through a CSL experience. Yet, we also argue in this paper that despite the impressive array of outcomes of CSL explored in the literature to date, a social and contextual approach to learning in CSL can further illuminate the unique opportunities for learning that CSL invites.

In the current paper, one (among several) of the means of evaluation that we use to further the application of the social approach to assessment in CSL introduced here is a close and careful analysis of the open-ended, written responses of college student CSL participants. It is important to establish that such an approach has a number of precedents in the literature (e.g., Cameron et al., 2001; Ikeda, 2000; Litke, 2002; Valdez, 2001). Although some might dismiss such data as "purely anecdotal," we agree with these and other scholars that reflection papers and journal entries provide valid and important evidence of learning—especially as it is embedded in social experience. Indeed, employing thematic analysis of such rich and detailed data to study both the overt elements of students' experiences and observations as stated in their own words, as well as the underlying assumptions about or orientations toward identity, relationship, and community, should be considered among the techniques used to measure learning.

Next, we identify a number of contributions to the literature on assessment in CSL that places interaction between and among individuals as integral to learning, as we do here. Robert Coles, for instance, in his important work *The Call of Service* (1993), argues that moral character is developed when students think about themselves in relation to others, and such thoughts are enriched by interacting with others in CSL. Thus, the process of social interaction opens up opportunities for an individual's development that wouldn't otherwise be explored. Coles suggests that considering those around us and our obligations to

them is essential in CSL, and in this paper, we propose a model for assessing this type of learning.

Marchel (2003), in an exploration of the development of altruism in association with CSL, shows that varying expressions of and opportunities for altruism change with changing contexts and social interactions in the CSL experience. She suggests that the "path to altruism" is not necessarily linear and unproblematic. Rather, and similar to what we argue in this paper, she shows that the issue is complex and qualitative research methods reveal that the development of altruism is closely tied to the context in which it is experienced and measured.

In what is perhaps the closest parallel to the approach taken in the current paper, Artz (2001) advances the importance of the concept of dialogue between students and community members in CSL. The dialogue that occurs between students and community members in CSL has the potential to be transformative, Artz argues, and can exemplify practical, effective approaches to taking on abstract issues of social justice. Artz draws in part from previous work in which the importance of praxis in university curricula is presented (Frey, Artz, Pollack, & Pearce, 1996). Frey and colleagues (1996) assert that

> knowledge always is specific, contextual, and inextricably embedded in the flux of experience, rather than eternal, universal, and necessary. That is, we come to our knowledge about communication via our examination of particulars, via an effort to develop knowledge of how communication works in particular contexts, situations, and so forth, rather than through abstract reflection, distanced hypothesis testing, etc. (pp. 82-83)

We adopt a similar view of learning occurring in particular social interactions, in communication with others.

Finally, it should be noted that, although many studies have been conducted to assess the effectiveness of CSL for college students, relatively few have researched the community members involved in CSL (Eyler, Giles, Stenson, & Gray, 2001). When data are drawn from community members, they are typically confined to community members' assessments of the *value* of the CSL initiative (e.g., Bringle & Kremer, 1993; Cohen & Kinsey, 1994; Driscoll, et al., 1996) rather than pre- and post-CSL measures of the *actual impact*[3] of the initiative on the community. Admittedly, community impact is difficult to examine without community input into the measurement. When needs and goals are clear, however, multiple levels of analysis can be employed—as evidenced in our own past research (2003, 2004, in press) that examines the impact of a project-based CSL initia-

tive on both the students involved and the community addressed (and assess the relationship between the two). In the current essay, although data are drawn primarily from students involved in CSL, those data pertain to interactions with community members, rather than measuring what changes occurred within the students themselves.

Looking again at the many concepts identified in the CSL assessment literature—improved academic performance, academic engagement, civic engagement, values and moral character, altruism, dialog, and context—one can see that the attention to assessment of learning has focused primarily on students. Yet, even if we were interested primarily in the learning outcomes associated with student participation in a CSL course, as mentioned earlier, it is imperative that we assess those outcomes in the contexts of their use. In other words, in assessing outcomes we need to be reflexive about our actions, where reflexivity is a kind of looking back at the meaning given to a particular action, to assess its implications for future interactions. For example, if we were to assess commitment to service, we should begin by looking at the stories of commitment and change as they emerge in interactions between and within the various constituencies associated with a CSL partnership. Here we might focus on the development of new skills and abilities gained in interaction in novel situations—or in accounting for what one did in a particular interaction after the fact. This does not mean that we can *only* assess learning as it happens in conversation, but that we can and should use interaction as the basis for how people make meaning of their world, and thus learn from it. In the current paper, we offer a conceptual framework and a means of assessment that view learning as embedded in the contexts of social interaction.

Theory: Assessment in Context

Assessing learning from a social approach differs from other assessment approaches in that our learning goals are based on concepts that situate learning as *acting into* experience (Dewey, 1922) and *within* bounded social and cultural relationships. Although we will discuss the concepts in depth later in this paper, it is important to note the ways the CSL process exemplifies the contextual nature of social, cultural, and civic learning. Thus, the goals for assessment could range from acquisition and application of course concepts to an understanding of where and how cultural abilities, understanding of identities, and civic agency occurs.

To assess the latter, our framework looks at learning as a form of coordinated social action (Habermas, 1984; Pearce & Cronen, 1980). Our approach to learning and assessment may be derived from social constructionist (e.g. Goffman, 1959; Harré & Secord,

1972; Pearce & Cronen, 1980; Wittgenstein, 2001) and pragmatist (Dewey, 1922; Habermas, 1984) philosophy and scholarship. Central to this perspective is Dewey's pragmatic philosophy in which he asserts that ideas about the self, culture, education, etc. are formed through communication. Dewey (1922) equates learning with experience, which can only happen in and through social action. He works to describe learning not in terms of ends[4], which imply a start and stop to meaning, but in terms of "ends in view." In fact, Cronen (1995) asserts that "[e]nds in view are not prior to communication; rather they are constructed and reconstructed in communication" (p. 221). Learning happens through experiences communicating with others which are ongoing, situated, and allow for adaptation in new social scenes. For our purposes, this means that our notions of what changes occur through CSL intervention as well as how to assess those changes should be seen not as outcomes that start and stop with a particular CSL project but as processes through which evaluation is understood in the context of its interpretation.

For the practitioner, this approach means that different abilities, competencies, and constraints emerge as students and community members move between ideas about their own identity and agency, negotiation over mutual meaning, and the social structures that define similarities and differences. Thus, assessment becomes an evaluation of the ability to create and coordinate ideas about identity, engagement, social/cultural roles, abilities and limits on agency, and resistance. Although it is conceivable that this perspective on assessment would allow us to look generally for meanings salient to members of the community in terms of the abilities above, we feel that it is useful and practical to construct a framework with a narrower focus on learning. In what follows, we have thus identified four concepts that we feel are particular to CSL courses that include interaction in the community context as part of the experience. After each concept we have included questions to prompt ideas about and focus on what to measure. We label these questions indicators, although they are not indicators in the sense of quantitative research design but a constellation of questions that generate complex layers of meaning about the concepts as they relate to learning. After these questions we provide examples from CSL courses with which we have used this assessment. Included in the examples are the methods we have used to gather data for each assessment concept.

Engaging Resistance

Although the terms "engagement" and "resistance" are generally understood in opposition, linking them together illustrates the connections between

learning and resistance and provides a basis to create new or different meanings for experience. Learning does not stop with resistance; rather resistance can be a sign of engagement, of an application to context and experience that tests the usefulness of concepts and theories. Engaging resistance implies an opening up to alternative knowledges/epistemologies, experiences, and locations from which course content or social experience is understood.

Engaging resistance as part of assessment can occur both through analysis of the process (the enactment and performance of resistance) as well as the incorporation of resistance as part of program design and evaluation (seen as neither positive nor negative but as part of the process of learning and growth for the program and participants). If we view and respond to resistance for its potential as critical engagement, we tap into learning as social activity that does not necessarily end if or when a student or community member resists the course concept, theory, or service-learning experience. While certainly resistance can be used to cover apathy or a lack of preparation, its depth and saliency for those involved can be important indicators of its usefulness. The use of this concept allows us to evaluate the *different* work of learning in the context of CSL and its possibilities for creating engaged citizens.

Indicators: How do we measure the ways resistance is engaged? The following questions can help to focus assessment on the enactment of resistance, and its uses and consequences for learning:

- Where does resistance emerge? How does resistance emerge? Is it resistance prompted by experiences or ideas that are "outside the box" and therefore don't fit the concepts? Is resistance enacted through silence, dismissal, or a determination that academic concepts have no meaning or bearing for those who are distanced based on background or cultural identities?

- Assessment measures can look for moments or episodes where resistance is met with flexibility and openness to the possibilities for new meanings to emerge. How/do students, faculty instructors, and community members use clarifying questions to investigate the resistance? If they do, how do these conversational moves relate back to the goals for learning?

- Do students, faculty, and community members push themselves to locate their opposition in relation to the service and/or course? Does the interaction change as a result? Where are stories about resistance located in relation to the dominant narratives about learning?

- Are there ways of reconciling different systems

of "making sense" of what is going on? Is there discussion of the possibilities and limits for agency in these situations?

Assessment example. In a graduate-level CSL course taught by the first author, students worked on a variety of research projects for local agencies. Research questions for each agency had been worked out beforehand and the agency representative came to the class to provide information and a context for each of their questions. One well regarded and established local agency for families in transition wanted students to assess the parenting skills of their clientele to provide more effective in-house parenting programs. The students involved in the project worked to get to know the parents and discuss what they felt were their strengths and weaknesses as parents, as well as what information or programs they would like the agency to provide. The graduate students found that the parents (who were from a different culture and class than the majority of agency workers) were not unhappy with their parenting skills and resisted what they felt was further intrusion into an already uncomfortable situation. The configuration of space (with very little privacy) in the house meant that families were on display for each other and the staff.

The graduate students initially resisted completing the project because they felt that it unfairly targeted cultural differences as substandard and harmful to children. As well, they felt that the parents' resistance to programs which taught them parenting skills when their primary concern was self-sufficiency (and moving out) was justified, and so they could not provide the data requested by the agency. After their first visits with the families and the staff at the agency, the students asked if they might do an alternative (non-community-based) assignment. Instead, the instructor (first author) proposed that they think creatively about how they might serve both the agency and the clients' needs by creating some awareness of the (differing) stories about good parenting and their connections both to the agency's and the parents' stories of identity. Far from a failed project, the research provided an opportunity for the clients of the agency to express their frustrations to a third party, for the graduate students to learn about the many experiences of disconnection in the social services system, and to provide the agency with detailed feedback that indicated the prevalence of concerns other than those they had identified.

Through consistently remaining connected to the sources of and reasons for resistance, both the research process and the report (which was also presented to the umbrella agency) became catalysts for change. Data for assessing the students' and community members' experiences of the project were collected via audiotaped interviews, research and reflec-

tion journals, and diaries kept over a week period. From this data, resistance was identified as a social, rather than an individually-based phenomenon. The resistance expressed by the parents became an intervention into the stories of who they were—as clients and families—which in turn impacted the students' stories of who they were (as "good" students) and what constituted "good" service in that context. Learning here was not a matter simply of application of course concepts to the placement, but emerged through the productive use of resistance. This conceptualization of resistance as a tool for teaching and learning owes much to the work of Paulo Friere. Friere (1998) notes that "critical resistance" in both teaching and learning creates an attitude of openness toward the word and the world, "a methodical mistrust that prevents me from becoming absolutely certain of being right...Openness to approaching and being approached, to questioning and being questioned, to agreeing and disagreeing" (p. 119).

Role and Rule Negotiation

Roles may be examined for their structural, formal qualities (e.g., Goffman, 1959, discusses roles as on stage versus off stage performances) or for their negotiation within enacted scenes (e.g., when students configure their roles in relation to their own and others' interpretations of social rules for acting in that situation). A role emphasizes the relationship between certain rules and an individual (as a representative of a social group). Rules can be associated with a category of individuals according to their social position or function (e.g., manners, attire, and vocabulary appropriate to one's class or vocation) and form the basis of a social role. Rule following, according to Wittgenstein (2001), requires knowledge of the rule's existence and content. Rules tell us how to "go on" in conversation; how to respond to one another in ways that are coherent. Most often when we enter into a community or cultural setting that differs from what we are accustomed to, we learn about new rules and roles through our violation of expectations for patterns of communication and social practices.

Assessing roles and rules as they are negotiated in conversation provide the basis for understanding the various structures that our society and culture impose as well as the ways we connect to and use these structures in performance as students and citizens (among other roles, of course). Roles and rules are not merely instrumental for achieving desired goals, but rather are both creative and reflective of speaking and acting (Habermas, 1984).

An understanding of the negotiation of roles and rules in a CSL project is central to assessment from a social perspective because it provides us with an understanding of how instructors, students, and community members communicate and negotiate the bases of their social knowledge. Learning occurs in the taking on of a role (as children learn to step in and out of a "self" in play) as well as in the gaps in between expectations and enactment. In CSL, role and rule negotiation is particularly important in building a repertoire for activism as well as in breaking down stereotypes and biases that link roles and rules to certain social scenes.

Indicators: How do we measure the ways rules and roles are negotiated in CSL? The status of a social role is assigned to the repetitive and regular elements present in the interactions. Rules structure a given episode, and although those structures are often tacit they can be identified through the smoothness and flow or a conversation or the assumption of violation.

- How is status recognized in interactions between students engaging in CSL and community members or among students?

- Is status assumed, negotiated, deflected, opposed, or denied?

- How do students and community members work out what is obligatory, prohibited, or possible to say or do in interaction?

- Do students and community members work to adjust or change their performances based on a desire to balance power in the interaction? Are rules and roles adjusted in interaction based on new possibilities? Assessment should look for recurrent patterns and adaptation to these patterns.

Assessment example. In a CSL project associated with a course on intercultural communication, college students were assigned to "mentor" at-risk middle school students. Data for assessment purposes was gathered through journal writing, posting on the class Web log, and interviews and focus groups conducted at the end of the semester.

Initial interactions between mentor and mentee were difficult as each tried to figure out whether such a relationship should be formal and authoritative (e.g., where rules are based on the appropriate enactment of teacher and student), or as friends (where rules are based on the choices of each to interact as equals). While for several of the college students the assumed role was that of "friend," the younger students assumed that the college student would enact the appropriate "role model" of the more educated, wiser adult. As each acted on the assumed rules for their role, "mentoring" existed not in their own expectations or assumptions but in the coordination that developed in the process of negotiating the meanings that each held for what *should* occur.

In one example of this negotiation, an undergradu-

ate mentor decided to ask his younger mentee what he was hoping would happen in the after-school program. The youngster said that he had hoped to learn more about his own Puerto Rican history, a history that was not part of his school's curriculum. Since the mentor himself was Puerto Rican, and knew a great deal about the island culture as well as some history about the local Puerto Rican community, he immediately felt more confident and excited about what he might offer in this particular role. That session he taught the child how to draw the Puerto Rican flag. Learning to recognize differences in assumptions about roles, to strive for flexibility in adjusting to the demands of the situation and of the other to accomplish relational and project goals is important to the CSL process and, thus, to assessment.

Terms for Identity and Practice

Assessments of learning about oneself and others typically rely on self-reflection. When self-reflection occurs, however, identities are viewed, in this case, as fully formed, autonomous individuals, and people exist and understand themselves apart from one another and from the interaction that has occurred with others (this line of thought owes much to Descartes).

In contrast, our approach views identities as never fully formed apart from interaction. Terms for identities change and shift in various social scenes; stories told of the self are altered and influenced by the audience for such performances (for similar lines of thought see Burr, 1995; Gergen & Gergen, 2003). Stories about identity are also related to stories about relationships to others (Pearce & Cronen, 1980). For example, a community member may feel that s/he cannot complain directly about the services offered by a particular agency to the agency personnel because s/he must be a good client (often described as "playing the game") to receive services. Yet, s/he may "vent" and/or offer solutions to CSL students working in the agency to establish her/his identity as "outside of" or distanced from the "game" and its established rules. Thus, identities shift along with different practices in which the individual engages. That is, thoughts about who we are and what we do—while seemingly permanent—are always changing and in flux. Drawing attention to these processes as learning brings to the surface those activities that help motivate students toward change on an individual and collective level.

Indicators: How do we measure shifting terms for identity and practice?

Assessment can be based in descriptions of oneself and others, as well as expectations for one's own and others' behavior.

• How is/not identity linked with specific behav-

iors? Here, assessors can look for contradictions between reported or expected practices and identities and those enacted in social scenes (e.g., as video recorded in the CSL classroom or at CSL sites).

• What are the effects of a story about identity on a pattern of interaction and vice versa? How do stories about identity affect relationships and vice versa? Assessing these stories allows us to rearrange and make foreign what otherwise might go unnoticed, or seem like commonsense so that we might recognize the force of our stories to change our identities, relationships, organizations, and ways of acting in the world.

Assessment example. In an introductory graduate-level CSL course on methods, several international graduate students were in the United States for the first time. Non-native English speakers were paired with U.S. native speakers on projects dealing with homelessness and people in transitional housing. Students tape recorded their interactions and kept research journals for the final report to the agencies and personal journals for their reflections on learning; all were used for the assessment purposes discussed here. For the students, several remarkable interactions occurred between the members of the team as their previously constructed identities as native or non-native speakers were transformed by the agency clients as cultural insiders or outsiders. That is, some of the clients of the agency related strongly to the international students as cultural outsiders where they felt like outsiders themselves. In one transitional home, the men interviewed each told stories of their loneliness, of finding it difficult and uncomfortable to approach new people and initiate interactions. At the same time they felt depressed over the lack of companionship in their lives. Those U.S. students who more closely identified as part of the dominant culture felt and were distanced from the clients through the cultural practices that coded and controlled expectations for the identities of each (as graduate student and "transient" respectively). Several of the non-native speakers, however had no preformed expectations for the identities and practices of homelessness and could relate to the sense of loneliness that the men described. In their (international graduate students') own countries and cultures, similar issues were either not recognized or discussed; thus, their terms for describing the identities and practices of homelessness were based in interactions in which the clients defined their identity and agency through their stories. They found flexibility and overlap in their own stories of identity and agency with those of the clients they worked with

and interviewed that were not present in the stories of the students from the U.S. The learning that can happen when identities are viewed in-relation-to others rather than as already fully formed was demonstrated in the stories of the students and the clients.

Emergent Abilities and Constraints

The focus of this concept is on knowledge as not merely knowing (as in obtaining an education on received concepts) or knowing how (as in technical or instrumental knowledge) but as knowing from within—knowledge that emerges in the joint construction of social reality. In the CSL context, this means that useful knowledges are those that emerge in the context of experience, in interaction with others—that inform us as to how to go on, to coordinate our meanings to accomplish something. When people construct reality through conversation they create new possibilities for agency and also are constrained in their actions by social structures and cultural narratives. It is in the movement between action and structure that abilities and constraints emerge: in the different stories about identities and competencies available to interactants. Drawing from Bourdieu (1977), these stories have an exchange value and this value is defined by the position of the speaker relative to the other in conversation and by his or her relationship to social institutions.

Assessing abilities and constraints as they are performed in interaction again allows a perspective on learning that draws attention both to the social structures which position us and the actions in conversation that verify agency or constrain identity based on possibilities for action. The importance of this concept for learning lies in how to go forward with the constraints and possibilities of our roles, as teachers, students, and community members. Cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall (1980) discusses *thinking forward* as "the affirmative moment of the development of conscious struggle and organization" (1980, p. 72) against the determinate conditions of structural and cultural institutions. Likewise, Giroux and Giroux (2004) discuss thinking forward as a pedagogical act centered in "social responsibility and public intervention" (p.107). In concrete terms, and for assessment purposes, this means situating learning in those moments when students and community members recognize social and cultural boundaries for identities (e.g., white, middle class, educated student) and their position within societal institutions (e.g., school, governmental social programs, community agencies), and work to become allies for each other toward mutually beneficial social action.

Indicators: How do we measure emergent abilities and constraints?

• Do students make connections between class-

room concepts and theories and abilities to make a difference toward change in the community? How are these connections enacted? Specifically, are there observable patterns in the conversations/interactions that allow for new abilities and agency with regard to course concepts and content as well as social and cultural abilities to act?

• Regarding emergent constraints, are there indications in the interactions among students and community that recognize the limitations on agency imposed by social/cultural structures and institutions? If so, is effort made toward acknowledging limitations as a starting point for further collaborative action?

Emergent abilities can be observed as well in responses to unexpected questions, in moments or experiences not discussed as possibilities in the classroom which produce new or unintended applications. This concept is important to assessment in CSL in that emergent abilities differ from skills or competencies in that they are identified as part of interaction—as a mutual negotiation of meaning that allows or constrains action or agency among people.

Assessment example. Looking again at the CSL project described above, we found that in the interactions between the student teams in the methods course and the clients using the shelters and transition services, new abilities and constraints emerged in surprising ways in the context of the interviews and focus groups with the clients. For the international students who previously had felt handicapped in their language abilities there emerged a connection with the clients through an ability to coordinate meanings around marginalization. Several of the interviewees expressed their concern that social services did not address the emotional needs of people in transition; although they felt lonely and isolated there were few activities or social events designed to connect them with each other or other community members. Their social isolation was reinforced through services that targeted only their physical needs. The graduate students, new to this country felt similarly lonely and disconnected and their stories of feeling marginalized, although with other important privileges, allowed for a connection in these interactions. In contradiction, several of the native student speakers felt a distance in these same conversations and found them somewhat problematic, as they reinforced the distinction in their societal/cultural roles. In this instance, and in the same conversation, new abilities and constraints can emerge that allow for learning about our own positions and possibilities for social action. Equally important here, and following from Astin's (2000) systemic assessment presented at

the beginning of the paper, is the acknowledgement of the ways structural/institutional as well as personal, social, and cultural others' stories about who we are and what we are capable of can constrain our abilities for personal and social change.

The concepts, indicators, and examples cited above help to illustrate the various ways the framework for a social approach to assessment might be used by the CSL practitioner. In the next section, we identify several methods we have found particularly useful for gathering and analyzing data.

Methods of Analysis and Assessment

The conceptual framework of a social approach to learning lends itself to qualitative methods of data analysis, although other methods such as closed-ended surveys could be designed as complementary measures of the meaning-in-use of terms relevant to the project by the various parties involved. Methods we have used for assessment have varied according to the nature of the project: projects which involved frequent interaction among constituencies and the permission and ability to record the process were amenable to *video recordings* of the various conversations that took place inside and outside of the classroom and among the various constituencies. These recordings provide documentation of both the verbal and nonverbal ways that people construct meaning in interaction. For instance, in one project focused on assessing "critical thinking" as a learning goal we utilized our video recordings to focus on the ways students and community members made use of the term in particular contexts, what roles (e.g., teacher, student) they took when utilizing the term, and how they constructed their identity in relation to the term (e.g., I am/not a critical thinker).

We have used semi-structured *journal assignments* for college students, asking them to respond to questions regarding with whom they interacted in their group and in the school sessions, what they noticed/observed about their interactions, what they learned, and what did/did not go well. For the reflection papers, college students were asked to describe certain salient episodes of interaction with community members or faculty and the ways they constructed their relationships to others in those interactions. What role(s) did they play? Was this role consistent with other performances in similar roles? In what ways did it differ? How did the interaction relate to other stories they tell about who they are?

Interviews and focus groups are another method of gathering contextual data. From a systemic perspective, interviews and/or focus groups with all constituencies involved is an ideal, if often impracticable, goal. When focus groups can be formed to include a cross section of each group (e.g., students,

community members, administrators, faculty) the negotiation over roles and rules almost certainly emerges. In our experience, students often volunteer information and experiences that reveal struggles with roles and rules regardless of whether they are grouped with community members or faculty in a focus group.

Process assessment can be conducted with the college students in an ongoing fashion over the course of the semester. In one project we accomplished this through weekly one-on-one meetings with the students, while in another we used the time in our seminar to reflect on video recordings of earlier stages of the project. The students (and instructors/authors) would comment on what went well and offer suggestions for the next visit. The multiple layers of performance and reflection contribute to an assessment of the process as it involves multiple groups in interaction and addresses each of the key assessment concepts discussed above. It is important, however, to note that from a social assessment perspective, the focus of analysis with each method should be on learning as it is constructed in the report of learning, rather than on the report in and of itself.

Summary and Implications

The framework discussed above is designed as a guide for evaluating learning as meaning-in-use. Building on the systemic approach to assessment advocated by Astin (2000), each of the assessment concepts are present in each of the constituencies involved in CSL and negotiated in their interaction with the other. In the conceptual examples outlined above, our focus was primarily on the interactions between students and community members-this resonated particularly with the projects discussed and the various methods used to gather data. Nonetheless, we imagine that those who generally focus on project outcomes will find the complexities of this approach do not lead to simple measures of success. Thus, the effectiveness and validity of the approach will no doubt be questioned. We answer these queries with our own concern that a new approach to validity be developed that better reflects the multiple "truths" of social and cultural experience.

Those who engage in CSL, as teachers, scholars, students, participants, and even stakeholders somewhat outside the process, all recognize that it is often messy, complex, and rarely predictable. Yet, most believe that it is valuable in spite, and perhaps because, of this messiness. We do not eschew the value that quantitative and more simply designed qualitative assessments can provide, but we do strongly advocate an additional approach that encourages a view of learning and of process that moves beyond individual measurement of predicted

outcomes. In the last section of this paper, we further examine the implications of this approach to assessment of CSL.

The social approach discussed in this paper raises several implications for practitioners, teachers, and scholars interested in developing and implementing a dynamic and interactive approach to learning and change processes. First, Dewey's (1922) notion of "ends-in-view" implies a view of learning as punctuated moments in an ongoing process of experience. For CSL, this raises the possibility of moving beyond a conception of education in terms of the acquisition of skill sets to think about how people co-create situations of *usefulness* for particular ideas and ways of being/doing. Thus, in the examples above, conflict resolution and social change developed and were made meaningful through their resourcefulness for interpretation with/in *social* situations.

Second, building on the previous point, an approach to assessment-in-context views the assessment concepts of *engaging resistance, role and rule negotiation, terms for identity and practice*, and *emergent abilities and constraints* as necessary parts of determining the usefulness of concepts such as critical thinking or social justice in specific social scenes. In this manner, assessment becomes another way of struggling over position with regard to conversation, or over the meaning of the conversation itself. For CSL practitioners, this means looking reflexively at our own stories and interactions and the ways we orient toward particular subject positions, as well as the ways resistance on the part of others may be resistance to an object position in the narrative.

Third, we hope that we have shown ways in which both individual and social assessments of learning can complement one another and provide a check on assumptions about learning as individual, linear, or acontextual. Through our own use of multi-method approaches to design and assessment, we have been able to complicate our view of the effectiveness or success of our program and work toward making changes and celebrating successes we might otherwise not have envisioned. We have found this approach to assessment to be a teaching and learning tool in and of itself. We hope that this perspective will prompt others involved in CSL to explore the ways they frame change processes in their projects and how those frames reflect back on and construct their assessments of CSL.

Conclusion

Assessment is generally defined as the process of documenting, usually in measurable terms, the value of something (see, for example, dictionary.com, 2006), and in the context of CSL, this has often meant the acquisition of knowledge and skills, or the chang-

ing of attitudes and beliefs. In this paper we have argued for a different approach to assessment as well as a redefinition of the term to include evaluations beyond the measurement of individual cognition. Some may contend, nonetheless, that *learning* happens in social contexts but that *assessment* does not. In this paper, we have provided a conceptual framework that describes assessment as the evaluation of the *effectiveness* of social contexts in CSL for "rearranging what we have always known" (Wittgenstein, 1953, p. 109) to illuminate social processes. Through this rearranging, Wittgenstein meant for us to see an opening for doing things differently. He was interested not only in the assumptions embedded in our "common sense," but in the ways we go about *making* sense in conversation with others. Thus, it is not only the social order but the ordering of the social that we assess for the purposes of making social change (in the concrete forms of roles, rules, identity practices, abilities, and constraints).

CSL provides a unique and important context for teaching and learning—indeed, for citizenship—for all involved. Although we posit that traditional assessment measures in CSL are useful, sometimes the depth and richness of the experience of CSL gets lost in a focus on outcomes. Our goal has been to complicate the analysis of community service learning through individual assessment measures by moving toward an analysis of learning as it was constructed in social scenes. We hope the social approach is useful in determining the ways movement in and through the CSL process is negotiated— that is, in what terms and experiences are taken up, given further expression, and/or left behind.

Notes

[1] Gelmon, S. Holland, B., Driscoll, A., Spring, A, & Kerringan, S. (2001) provide several questions for assessing any CSL project or partnership: What will we look for? What will we measure? How will it be measured? And, who will provide the information?

[2] In contrast to, for example, Astin's (2000) systemic focus.

[3] Actual impact here is defined in terms of the change that students and community members report and demonstrate in their interactions with each other.

[4] Dewey felt that social action goals such as liberation or freedom implied ends which never could be fully realized.

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Managing the Challenges of Teaching Community-Based Research Courses: Insights from Two Instructors

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In community-based research (CBR), faculty, students, and community partners collaborate on research projects. This emerging pedagogy presents numerous challenges to instructors teaching CBR courses, including: finding a disciplinary connection, building CBR into the curriculum, ensuring student readiness, and structuring the CBR experience (Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker, & Donohue, 2003). In this article, these challenges are addressed by the instructor of a new CBR course for undergraduates and the instructor of an established course for graduate students. This discussion is intended to help prospective or current CBR instructors anticipate and manage the challenges of their courses.

Community-based research (CBR) is a significant part of the growing community-engagement movement in higher education worldwide. CBR is a research model in which faculty, students, and community partners collaborate to address shared questions with research projects. In this model, CBR provides a forum for the deepening of university-community partnerships through research. Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker, and Donohue (2003) describe three basic principles of CBR that distinguish it from traditional social science research. First, CBR is collaborative, involving individuals within and outside of the academy, and including community partners; this is not a scenario where the community serves as a "lab" for university-sponsored research interests. Second, CBR validates multiple sources of knowledge through collecting and disseminating diverse types of information. In this way, CBR requires the collection of data from a variety of sources and shares findings in methods most appropriate to the research project. Third, CBR is change oriented and guided by social justice goals; CBR is not undertaken to support the status quo, but to help support the growth of organizations or individuals. Projects completed in this paradigm are designed to address an issue or need identified by a community partner organization or for a population served by such an organization.

In the practice of CBR, students, faculty, and community members collaborate on research with the purpose of addressing a pressing community problem or effecting social change. The research topic emanates from the community, but all participating project partners (e.g., faculty, students, community residents/organizations) determine the focus and scope of the research project, shape the research questions, and design the research methodology. They may also collaborate on collecting and analyzing data. Furthermore, all partners are involved in the dissemination of findings, which often takes a variety of forms besides the standard venue of publishing in scholarly journals; the findings from CBR projects are designed to provide information immediately usable to the community partner. Therefore, CBR findings can be disseminated through traditional approaches such as reports, but also non-traditional outlets such as community meetings, workshops, Web sites, pamphlets, newsletters—whatever media are most useful for the partner.

In universities and colleges in the United States, CBR is undertaken in many different institutional forms, ranging from a solo practitioner on one campus to citywide and regional consortium structures that involve several universities and community organizations (Strand, et al., 2003; Stoecker et al., 2003). The resulting CBR projects involve students in studies that address many different kinds of social issues, including discrimination in housing, inequity in schools, the environmental impact of local industries, and the effectiveness of community change projects. Students undertake these projects through a variety of curricular configurations, such as graduate and undergraduate classes, theses, independent studies, seminars, and internships.

This paper describes a framework for managing the challenges of teaching CBR courses. As instruc-

tors—the instructor for a new CBR course at Duke University and an experienced instructor at the University of Denver—we use this framework to compare our CBR courses. We intend for this paper to contribute to the pedagogical content knowledge associated with teaching CBR as well as to the scholarship on faculty experiences with service-learning (Driscoll, 2000) and other activities within the scholarship of engagement (Ward, 2002).

The Benefits of Community-Based Research

CBR is a pedagogy with potentially significant outcomes for students, faculty, and community partners. Participants in the annual meeting of the Council on Undergraduate Research described a wide range of CBR benefits for students, including academic, social, and personal outcomes (Council on Undergraduate Research, 2004). Students benefit from CBR by learning how to use research skills to address community-identified needs, as well as valuable information about the larger contextual issues surrounding these community needs. CBR provides students with opportunities to develop research products that further the work of community organizations that request this assistance. In addition, students gain skills in teamwork, problem-solving, and interpersonal relationships—skills that will serve them well in an increasingly complex society. CBR is the kind of academic experience that can shape students' motivations, goals, and future academic and civic activities. Students who complete CBR projects frequently deepen their connection to community work and broader social justice issues through additional coursework or employment (Kowalewski, 2003; Willis, Peresie, Waldref, & Stockmann, 2003).

Faculty outcomes related to teaching CBR are also noteworthy. CBR provides the unique opportunity for faculty to integrate the research, teaching, and service activities expected and valued in university settings. This integration is increasingly recognized as a criterion for promotion and tenure related to the scholarship of engagement (Ward, 2002). Also, CBR offers faculty a chance to use their research skills and scholarly knowledge in projects that directly benefit community partners and therefore have an immediate, relevant impact (Chapdelaine & Chapman, 1999; Council on Undergraduate Research, 2004). Furthermore, because CBR includes the element of research missing from the direct service model of traditional service-learning, this practice has a level of credibility important for faculty in some disciplines. Finally, CBR can complement more traditional research agendas by offering a context for the application of faculty skills and knowledge through partnership with a community agency (Chapdelaine & Chapman).

Community partners benefit from CBR as well. Capacity building for community partners is one of the inherent goals of CBR. Because service-learning is designed to meet needs of community partners (Polyani & Cockburn, 2003), CBR has the potential to enhance the capacity of those partners beyond providing direct service. Research products such as the ones described in this paper provide community partners with data to develop and evaluate programs, support their cases for grants and public funding, participate in political debates, or bring about policy changes.

Pedagogical Challenges of Community-Based Research

As CBR classes become more widely available for undergraduate and graduate students, several faculty (e.g., Chapdelaine & Chapman, 1999; Kowalewski, 2004; Polyani & Cockburn, 2003; Root & Thorme, 2001; Strand et al., 2003) and students (Willis et al., 2003) involved in CBR have provided helpful accounts of their efforts to guide new courses and programs. For example, Chapdelaine and Chapman described instituting a CBR component in their team-taught psychology research methods course. These authors described the essential mentoring role faculty play for CBR students and the creative use of teaching assistants to serve as "test" subjects for students learning to conduct phone surveys. Root and Thorme described the evolution of a community-based service-learning statistics course and recommended that professors and experienced students work together to create new research projects with a community partner. Based on their CBR experiences as undergraduates, Willis et al. described the challenges for students of conducting CBR projects and outlined the necessary conditions for successful projects, such as establishing clear goals, realistic time frames, and clear support systems. Many of these comments were echoed by participants in the annual Council for Undergraduate Research national conference (2004).

Strand et al. (2003) describe four types of challenges faced by instructors teaching CBR courses. The first, *finding a disciplinary connection*, presents a challenge for faculty because CBR is inherently interdisciplinary. In CBR courses, students' research skills are enhanced by exposure to the variety of research methods applied to issues named by a community partner. However, students may not gain a thorough understanding of the methodological underpinnings of the specific disciplines. The second challenge faced by instructors of CBR courses is *building CBR into the curriculum*. Because CBR can be time-consuming compared to other forms of

course-based research, students and faculty must develop creative ways of fitting CBR projects into the curriculum, which is restricted by the academic calendar.

The third challenge, *ensuring student readiness* for the complex set of tasks involved in CBR, involves a variety of concerns. Students must have *some familiarity with and sensitivity to the community* regarding issues such as language, culture, and behavioral expectations. This is particularly relevant when the students differ in significant ways from the community, as in terms of ethnicity or social class. Also, students must have an *understanding of the principles of CBR*, which differ from traditional research in some ways and may be unfamiliar to many students. Furthermore, students' participation in CBR is enhanced by *substantive knowledge of the issues* involved in the issue to be addressed through CBR (e.g., homelessness, literacy). A fourth set of challenges for instructors is *structuring the CBR experience*. Instructors must grapple with *scheduling and time constraints*. CBR is difficult to manage within the academic calendar and during the "regular" university hours. *Managing the class projects* includes the tasks of keeping the project going on a day-to-day basis, such as distribution of work on the team and identification of appropriate roles. *Troubleshooting* CBR projects requires significant attention on the part of the instructor due to complexity of CBR projects. *Evaluating students* is a challenge due to the interdisciplinary nature of CBR, the diverse array of tasks that students must complete, and the emergent nature of these projects.

The Current Discussion

Given the multiple challenges inherent in teaching CBR courses, this paper provides a comparison of two CBR courses—a new course for undergraduates at Duke University and an established course for graduate students at the University of Denver. As instructors, we describe these challenges and how we address them within the context of our courses. Our intention is that this discussion may help prospective or current CBR instructors manage the challenges of their courses so that students produce usable research for the community while simultaneously acquiring knowledge, skills, and values that will make them effective citizens and agents of social change.
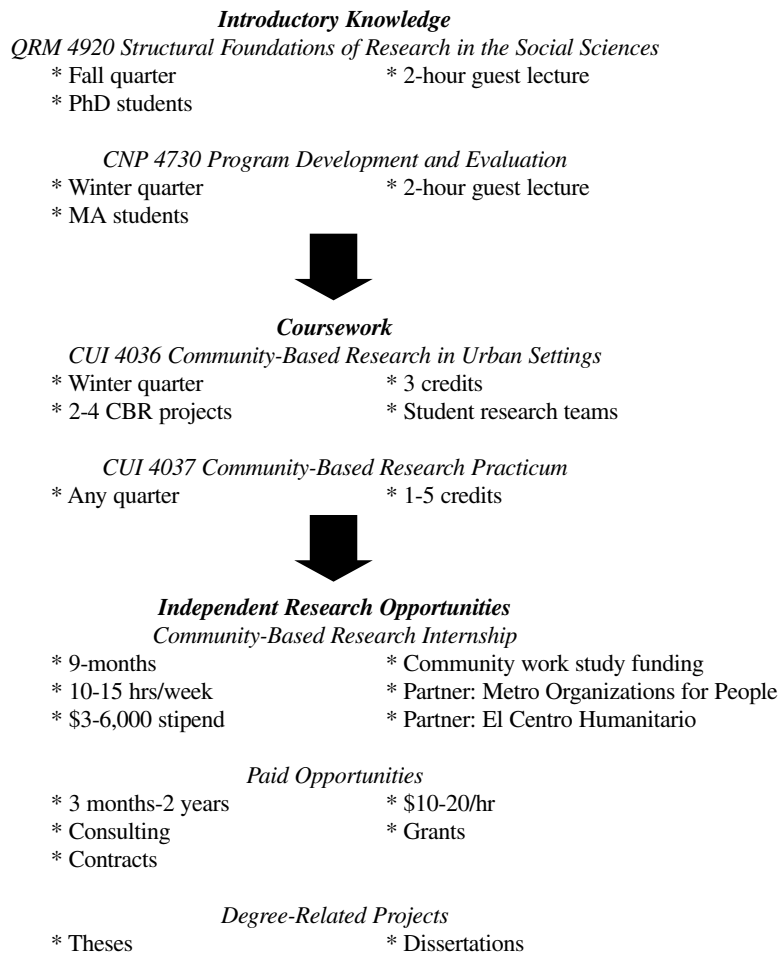
Course Comparisons

Two CBR Courses

Duke University. Education 153: Research in Service-Learning. This course was first offered in fall 2003. This instructor teaches service-learning and community-based research courses to undergradu-

ates through the Program in Education and the Department of Psychology and advises faculty and students on service-learning and community-based research projects and courses. The Duke course is sponsored by Project HOPE (Holistic Opportunities Plan for Enrichment), funded by the Kellogg Foundation. Project HOPE, through Duke's Neighborhood Partnership, provides programs and services to children in the Durham community, such as educational assessment and after-school programming. A selected group of undergraduates spends a summer as interns in a community organization, and follows that internship with a fall CBR course designed to provide a research-based product to the community partners that hosted them. The benefit of this model is that the course participants have had an intense internship experience with their CBR partners before beginning the research project; they are therefore personally aware of the challenges and opportunities facing these organizations.

This paper refers to the first three cohorts of Project HOPE community-based research students at Duke, in the fall semesters of 2003, 2004, and 2005. The five students enrolled in 2003, three students in 2004, and six students in 2005 interned with the West End Community Center, Walltown Ministries Summer Camp, or Camp Calvary, a summer program sponsored by First Calvary Methodist Church, all located in Durham, North Carolina.

Students' research projects grew from their experiences as summer interns. In general, community partners and students were interested in research that would support the academic learning and interpersonal skills development of summer camp participants. Although the leaders of the community organizations were not fully familiar with the role of research for their organizations, they were enthusiastic about the opportunity to support the Duke students' additional involvement and met occasionally with each fall class for collaboration. In the CBR class, students compiled literature reviews, collected data through surveys or interviews, and provided recommendations and materials in light of their findings. For example, one student, who had served as a reading teacher during the summer internship, consulted with the director of the West End Community Center in fall 2003 to develop a summer literacy program. Along with one of the other former interns, this student implemented the program the following summer and evaluated its effectiveness. In fall 2004, a team of students collaborated with the West End Community Center and Camp Calvary to create a curriculum designed to support summer campers' social responsibility and emotional regulation. The student research team created a six-week summer program based on a mentoring model to support

Figure 1
Community-Based Research Opportunities for University of Denver Students

Introductory Knowledge
QRM 4920 Structural Foundations of Research in the Social Sciences
   * Fall quarter   * 2-hour guest lecture
   * PhD students

CNP 4730 Program Development and Evaluation
* Winter quarter   * 2-hour guest lecture
* MA students

Coursework
CUI 4036 Community-Based Research in Urban Settings
* Winter quarter   * 3 credits
* 2-4 CBR projects   * Student research teams

CUI 4037 Community-Based Research Practicum
* Any quarter   * 1-5 credits

Independent Research Opportunities
Community-Based Research Internship
* 9-months   * Community work study funding
* 10-15 hrs/week   * Partner: Metro Organizations for People
* $3-6,000 stipend   * Partner: El Centro Humanitario

Paid Opportunities
* 3 months-2 years   * $10-20/hr
* Consulting   * Grants
* Contracts

Degree-Related Projects
* Theses   * Dissertations

anger management and civic education of the elementary students in camp. One member of the team implemented the anger management component of this program the following summer at West End, evaluated its effectiveness, and developed training materials for future summer staff. One team of three students in fall 2005 developed a cultural competency training program for future Project HOPE interns; one student implemented the program with summer 2006 Project HOPE interns and will evaluate the results of this work. Community partners received research reports and the agreed-upon research products and materials at an annual symposium.

The University of Denver. CUI 4036: Community-Based Research in Urban Settings. Since 1999, the instructor has offered this course each winter as one of several research classes for graduate students in the College of Education. His teaching and research have focused on program development and implementation of community-based programs in K-12 and community settings (e.g., Cutforth, 1997; Hellison & Cutforth, 2000), as well as qualitative methodologies (e.g., Cutforth, 1999). The instructor has also taught service-learning courses in teacher education and youth development. As one of the authors of the Strand et al. (2003) book, he serves as a resource for other faculty and institutions interested in CBR. Because of ongoing community partnerships with the University, Denver offers an established series of CBR courses and related experiences for Masters and doctoral students through the College of Education (see Figure 1). To date, approximately 40 students and six professors have been involved in CBR projects that have focused on areas such as youth development, K-12 education, community development, and immigration.

Two examples illustrate the kinds of CBR projects that Denver students have conducted in recent years. The first example involves the Colorado Technology Community Foundation (CTCF), whose mission is to

connect the resources and opportunities of the technology sector with technology education needs of children and youth in Colorado's underserved communities. In the winter 2004 class, two Denver students assisted the CTCF in identifying issues concerning the digital divide as they affect underserved communities and social agencies. According to Eileen Joseph, CTCF's executive director, "The findings from this work are helping us better target our financial support and programming assistance to the neediest areas" (personal communication, 11/29/04). The second example involves El Centro Humanitario Para Los Trabajadores (Humanitarian Center for Workers), an organization that defends the rights of day laborers in Denver. Since 1992, through CBR, several Denver students have supported workers' efforts to improve their lives. In a winter 2003 class project, two students worked with day laborers to create an oral history of low-income immigrant workers' struggles. The workers' narratives provided data for lobbying local, state, and national officials and resulted in El Centro's first newsletter (LABOR). According to Minsun Ji, executive director of El Centro, "The newsletter created positive images of workers in the community, leading to an increase in individual supporters and positive publicity about El Centro. Workers enormously respected the time and effort that students put into listening to and reporting their life stories" (personal communication, 11/29/04).

Addressing Pedagogical Challenges

Finding a disciplinary connection. Strand et al.'s (2003) first challenge, *finding a disciplinary connection*, was less problematic for these instructors than the other three challenges discussed here. Both courses are taught within Education, either in the Program in Education at Duke University or the College of Education at the University of Denver. CBR, which is frequently interdisciplinary in nature, is often a good fit for Education courses; in the case of both of these CBR courses, Education was an appropriate intellectual home. However, the interdisciplinarity of CBR courses presents a different sort of challenge for instructors and students. For example, Duke University does not offer an undergraduate major in Education; therefore, the CBR students, who are generally sophomores, enter the class with diverse experiences reflecting a variety of disciplines (e.g., history, public policy, biology, psychology, and political science), but little knowledge of the research traditions of these disciplines. The instructor addresses this issue by providing a disciplinary context for the research projects and encouraging students to pursue further research in their majors. At Denver, the CBR class attracts students from a variety of

graduate programs, including Child and Family and School Psychology, Counseling Psychology, Curriculum and Instruction, Higher Education, Library and Information Science, Quantitative Research Methods, and Social Work. The Denver students have a common interest in developing their expertise in quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research. Therefore, they are interested in using the tools of the CBR experience for later work in their programs.

Building CBR into the curriculum. Both instructors have faced the challenge of "fitting" CBR into a curricular model. Because the Duke course was grant-supported, there was little flexibility in the structure and timing of the course; for example, it would not have been possible to offer a two-semester sequence each year, which would have facilitated finishing the projects during an academic timeframe. This instructor often coordinates project completion after the end of the semester in which the course was taught, which is difficult for the instructor and students given other commitments. A related challenge for the Duke instructor is that the course is offered in the Program in Education, which does not provide an undergraduate major. Although the instructor encourages students to pursue additional CBR in the Program in Education, those students who continue with CBR generally elect to do so as thesis projects within their majors. In contrast, the Denver instructor has faced the challenge of building CBR into the curriculum by spearheading curricular innovations to facilitate CBR involvement for more students. At Denver, the class is a viable option for graduate students interested in broadening their experience in research methods, and a variety of pathways are available that help students complete CBR projects that last beyond the quarter (see Figure 1).

Ensuring student readiness. The third challenge, *ensuring student readiness*, relates to the extent to which students are *familiar with and sensitive to the community, understand the principles of CBR*, and possess relevant *research skills and substantive knowledge*. The importance of adequate student preparation for CBR is described by Willis et al. (2003), who report that even significant experience in independent research may not be sufficient preparation for conducting CBR. Students who have been successful in one service-related or research-related activity may still need support in managing the complexities of CBR. Because of the unique challenges associated with CBR related to maintaining productive partnerships with community partners, the instructor should assess a prospective CBR student's experiences, motivations, and skills prior to the course. The instructor of a CBR class should be familiar enough with the projects needed by the com-

munity partners to identify specific skills that will be important for prospective students, and should be prepared to provide training in the areas that may be lacking.

At Duke, students become eligible for this CBR course through selection for the Duke-Durham Scholars Summer Internship Program. Selection for the internship is based on a number of criteria, including performance in a service-learning course in the Program in Education and previous experience tutoring children with diverse learning needs. The Duke instructor interacts with the CBR students in a variety of settings prior to the course, and has taught some of these students in previous courses, although none of these methods is designed for assessment of student qualities specifically relevant to CBR. Duke students' *familiarity with and sensitivity to the community* comes from prior service-learning courses and participation in the summer internships. Through the internship, students were immersed in the everyday activities of the community partner so they were able to experience first-hand the issues facing these partners. The internship established the relationship between community partner and student essential for successful CBR and informed the substance and methods of subsequent CBR projects. In fact, students' familiarity with the partners through their summer internships proved to be an important link between the partners and the course instructor. While the Duke students possessed a limited *understanding of CBR* at onset, they embraced its philosophical underpinnings and social change agenda. However, their limited *research skills and substantive knowledge* presented serious issues for completion of CBR studies within the semester calendar, consistent with Willis et al. (2003), who found that student "enthusiasm. . . could not compensate for a lack of relevant skills and experiences" (p. 40).

At Denver, students are introduced to the *principles of CBR* through a two-hour lecture on CBR in a required introductory research methods class. Prior to that lecture, Denver students are typically *unfamiliar with the community*. As a result of this lecture, interested students meet with the instructor to learn more about the CBR class and the projects available. These meetings enable the instructor to describe the possibilities and challenges in the course, and provide him with the opportunity to gauge the students' motivation and readiness. The students' motivation and readiness are important because their sophistication in *research skills* varies considerably, from one or two previous graduate research classes to significant expertise in qualitative and/or quantitative methods. The community partners visit the first CBR class session and describe their organizations' backgrounds and research issues. This session "breaks the

ice" by putting a real face and context on a potential research project. Students select one project to complete during the class as part of a team. To monitor students' *sensitivity to and knowledge of community issues*, and gauge the rapport between students and community partners, the instructor accompanies student teams to the first few meetings with their community partners. This observation of the research teams allows the instructor to play a supportive role by providing specific resources, such as specialized training or substantive materials.

We have found that *ensuring student readiness* for CBR should also include an instructor's awareness of other more unpredictable student characteristics, such as work styles and personality. Little information is available about the specific knowledge, skills, or dispositions students need to be successful in CBR, so the instructor is responsible for monitoring the students throughout the research process and intervening when necessary. The Duke undergraduates, successful in their summer internships, were highly motivated to deepen their commitment to community organizations but naïve about the demands of research. Despite their inexperience in research, however, these students maintained positive relationships with the community partners. The students displayed flexibility, patience, and open-mindedness when developing their research projects, qualities not necessarily related to the selection process for the summer internship but eventually essential to completion of their projects with the partners. One student explained, "I felt more responsible for and personally invested in the work I was doing than in any other class, and it feels really good to have produced something that has the potential to really be of use to someone." Until the first cohort of students, the instructor was unaware of the critical role of students' personal characteristics in CBR success and has adapted strategies to monitor and support student development for future cohorts.

At Denver, CBR offers a unique niche for graduate students interested in applied research with a social change agenda. Students enter class already interested in and committed to social justice issues and motivated to do research in diverse settings that has an opportunity to make an immediate difference for individuals and groups who may be disenfranchised or on the margins of society. Despite their motivations, many students are challenged by the complexity of the relationship building and research tasks associated with CBR. In one case, the community partner's attention was on other matters at the expense of the CBR project and one student wrote, "My partner was not really interested in my research." In another case, a student struggled with the research demands and wrote, "It would have been

better if you'd spent the first weeks of class just on research methods before we began the actual project." It is clear that CBR courses cannot be successful without flexible, talented students who are motivated to make a difference for their community partners through research and who are willing to gain the skills necessary for project completion. This becomes a challenge for the instructor, who is primarily responsible for providing the opportunity to acquire the necessary skills.

Structuring the CBR experience. The fourth challenge, *structuring the CBR experience*, involves *scheduling and time constraints, managing the class projects, troubleshooting*, and *evaluating students*. For the Duke class, *time issues* are a concern. Students are generally not able to complete projects in a 15-week semester; therefore, instructor and students must try to complete the projects after the semester ends, which is difficult once a new semester is underway. In terms of *managing class projects*, projects were conceptualized at the beginning of the semester by the students, instructor, and community partners and refined during class meetings and ongoing conversations with the partners. Maintaining communication with partners, an essential aspect of managing projects, was impacted by scheduling conflicts and partners' lack of access to email, which is the staple of undergraduates' communication tools. Students prepared regular reports of their progress for the instructor and community partners, a strategy recommended by others as a way to keep the team updated (Chapdelaine & Chapman, 1999; Root & Thorme, 2001; Willis, et al., 2001).

At Denver, the course has evolved to address the *scheduling and time issues* of teaching CBR. The instructor has an ongoing relationship with the community partners, including regular communication about their research needs, which facilitates the negotiation of new projects in the months before the onset of the class; Chapdelaine and Chapman (1999) and Root and Thorme (2001) echoed the importance of early planning with the community partner for successful CBR projects. However, despite this prior planning, most projects are not completed in the 10-week quarter and thus usually extend beyond the duration of the class. Students can complete their projects by enrolling in a CBR internship class or by receiving a mini-grant from existing CBR funding, as illustrated in Figure 1. If a student chooses not to continue her or his project, the project is completed by another student with experience in CBR, either for internship credit or as a mini-grant. This option is possible because of the longstanding relationship between the instructor and the community partners.

The Denver instructor has developed strategies to *manage the class projects*. Projects are usually done in research teams of two to four students. Regular email contact and weekly meetings outside of class are held between the instructor, the research teams and, when necessary, their community partners; this team approach to CBR was also reported by other faculty (Kowalewski, 2004; Root & Thorme, 2001). Student teams communicate regularly, frequently through email. All communication is copied to the instructor, as an additional way of managing information and updates related to the project. It is not unusual for these exchanges to total 50-100 e-mails per project over a 10-week quarter.

At both institutions, *troubleshooting* the CBR projects takes place as problems emerge, with the instructors playing a facilitating role between students and community partners. Some of the issues that require the instructors' attention include misunderstandings between partners and students about roles and responsibilities, partners' changing needs with regard to the research process and product, and basic communication difficulties compounded by the fact that a CBR project does not always fit into an academic calendar or setting. In the Duke class, the students, who were experienced with the community partner, were generally able to negotiate these complex relationships successfully, and served as a source of knowledge for the instructor, who had less experience with these partners. At the end of the CBR course, one student appreciated the community partner on a different level: "I'm glad that we got to collaborate with [the organization director] who is so enthusiastic and has such eloquence about and insight into the community and the kids."

Instructors at both institutions require several products for *evaluation* of student progress, including short written exercises, ongoing in-class updates and formal presentations, and the public presentation of the research projects—a research symposium at Duke, and a presentation in conjunction with the community partners at Denver. In addition to these more standard forms of evaluation, instructors expect student growth in skills directly related to successful CBR, such as teamwork, cultural sensitivity, and persistence. These issues are addressed throughout each course in class discussions and written reflections, as well as in individual meetings between instructors and students; these discussions enable the instructors to gauge students' progress and provide support if necessary. Students also evaluate themselves in these skills areas, and this information is compared and contrasted with informal comments from community partners and the instructors' own observations. While these activities provide valuable information about student learning, the instructors are working on more systematic strategies for measuring student progress relevant to CBR.

Additional Challenges and Opportunities

In addition to the challenges outlined by Strand et al. (2003) in teaching CBR courses, the instructors have observed two other factors influencing their courses. Each of these has presented challenges and opportunities affecting the course experience.

Institutional support. As instructors, we have observed the role of institutional support in our courses. Polyani and Cockburn (2003) describe the potential difficulties of creating a CBR identity within the university context, particularly in light of budgetary restrictions. The Duke course is connected to two grant-funded projects at Duke, Project HOPE (Kellogg Foundation) and Scholarship with a Civic Mission (Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, Department of Education); the fourth and final funded installation of the Duke CBR course will take place in fall 2006. Although the future of this CBR course beyond grant funding has not been determined, Duke has made a strong commitment to civic engagement and related scholarship through the establishment of a Council on Civic Engagement and an Office of Service-Learning, so there will be other avenues through which to pursue CBR. For example, in summer 2006, Duke was named a subgrantee in a Learn and Serve grant awarded to a Princeton University/Bonner Foundation partnership designed to support CBR; this project will further CBR in the Program in Education at Duke. Institutional support also includes community partnerships. Each successive semester of the course has strengthened the connection of student research to community needs, and raised the visibility of the benefits of collaborative research.

However, while the community partners associated with the course are familiar with the larger context of Duke-Durham relationships, they are not yet accustomed to the role student research projects can play in supporting their work.

At Denver, institutional support has grown since the mid 1990s as the visibility and success of CBR has increased. Each year 10-15 students enroll in the CBR class, and the instructor receives one course release to undertake and supervise grant-funded CBR projects. The instructor has also been able to tap into the resources offered by the university's Center for Community Engagement and Service-Learning. These resources include co-authoring grants, borrowing videos and having access to relevant journals and books, and having opportunities to be part of discussions on service-learning, civic engagement, and CBR in local, regional, and national settings. Such resources provide valuable support for CBR activities and ensure that the personal and institutional commitment is maintained. In addition, Denver's

CBR efforts have spawned the initiation of the Colorado Community-Based Research Network (CCBRN), a city-wide network of community partners and university-based researchers and this has resulted in additional funding support for CBR projects (Stoecker, et al., 2003). On average, eight CBR projects are completed each year through this network, including the projects from the CBR course. This network provides an array of in- and out-of-class opportunities for students to pursue CBR (see www.ccbrn.org for details).

Dissemination of research products and findings. Dissemination of research products and findings is another dimension important for these two courses. At the end of each semester of the Duke course, the Project HOPE leadership provided a research symposium to present the students' projects to faculty and community partners. More systematic efforts are underway to produce appropriate compilations of research findings for a larger audience, particularly other community partners in the Duke Neighborhood Partnership who may become involved with community-based research at Duke. At Denver, students present their findings in traditional (e.g., written reports) and non-traditional (e.g., community meetings, newsletters, Web sites) forms. Also, if deemed appropriate by the instructor, and if the community partner permits, the research tools and products of the research are shared publicly through the CCBRN's Web site. Understandably, some community partners choose not to share this material, particularly those partners whose programs have sponsored a CBR project that included program evaluation. The instructor has maintained a large collection of research products to illustrate the diverse projects undertaken by his students. Students frequently use samples from their CBR projects to illustrate research skills and civic engagement to potential employers.

Discussion and Future Directions

Using Strand et al.'s (2003) framework allowed us to describe our courses in an effort to better understand the pedagogy of CBR in each institutional and community context and to inform redevelopment of each course. We believe that this framework would be useful for prospective and current CBR instructors as they develop syllabi and research projects for their own courses. Service-learning instructors with established relationships with community partners might consider making the shift to CBR. These instructors will recognize facets of the challenges that we have faced in teaching CBR, such as the levels of uncertainty and the need to monitor students in the community. As we have illustrated, CBR presents instructors with additional challenges when students engage in collaboration, critical analysis, collective action,

and advocacy for the purpose of social change within the context of research. Anticipating these challenges can help instructors develop effective strategies that offer significant curricular, academic, and personal benefits for students and provide usable research for the community.

Comparing our courses has sparked a collaborative pedagogical research agenda that has furthered CBR efforts at both institutions. A fundamental feature of collaboration is the willingness of the involved instructors to, in essence, start from scratch. This involves being open to evaluating themselves and their present teaching approaches; being prepared to discard many of their old practices and procedures that are not effective; and being active in seeking out or developing, implementing, and evaluating new approaches, particularly in light of opportunities for reflection (Bauwens & Hourcade, 1995; Cress, 2003). Even though our institutions and students differ in some ways, this collaboration has enabled us to share solutions to the inevitable challenges that arise in CBR classes. For example, ongoing development of the newer Duke course has benefited from the strategies and solutions already developed by the instructor at the University of Denver.

In addition to the discussion we have provided here, it is appropriate to reflect on the personal dimensions of teaching CBR. The Duke instructor has found the CBR course to be both challenging and satisfying because of the possibility for contributing to community issues and strengthening university-community partnerships. The students from this course were similarly enthusiastic about the opportunities CBR provided for increased engagement with the community on issues of mutual concern. One student wrote, "Often times in school when we do assignments or research it's just to learn HOW to research and learn, which is valuable and surely we did that kind of learning here, but the end wasn't just learning, but to come up with an actual useful product." Furthermore, these students described how the CBR course gave them a new way to navigate college, a path informed by their experience in direct problem-solving through research with local groups. Opportunities for students to engage in CBR through courses and mentored research opportunities are increasing at Duke through the University's renewed dedication to civic engagement and community partnerships.

The Denver instructor's class has contributed to increased interest in CBR among students and faculty colleagues at his institution. Several recent faculty hires have incorporated CBR into their classes and have received internal grants to work on projects with community partners. Perhaps most satisfying for the Denver instructor is the designation of community engagement as one of three foci in the College of Education's mission, as well as a commitment from the administration to incorporate the scholarship of engagement into appointment, promotion, and tenure criteria.

After taking the Denver CBR class, six to eight students each year deepen their CBR commitment through a progression that includes internships and paid opportunities (see Table 1). These students are inspired by their community partners who, in turn, are appreciative of the students' efforts. Students find CBR experiences challenging but recognize the value of learning about research in a practical context. Faculty are increasingly aware of the benefits of CBR for students. In an email communication a faculty colleague reflected as follows: "The experiences that our Library and Information Science students have had working on community-based research have been extraordinary. They are particularly excited to see that their research efforts result in policy changes and improvements in the lives of community residents." (Sylvia Hall-Ellis, personal communication, 10/20/05).

Ongoing evaluation and reflection, like this early attempt at systematic comparisons between two different courses, can contribute to the development of CBR classes that enhance mutually satisfying relationships with community partners. Our collaboration as instructors has also resulted in pedagogical benefits as we hone our CBR teaching strategies. We continue to be excited about the potential of CBR in higher education. We believe that CBR provides our students with valuable research experiences as they respond to the needs of community partners, and ultimately supports the civic engagement missions of our respective universities.

However, more research is necessary on the effectiveness of particular teaching strategies in CBR courses, as well as research on the outcomes of CBR for the students, faculty, and community partners involved. How does involvement in CBR impact students' academic and career interests? How does longterm faculty involvement in CBR affect the university context? What are the processes of CBR that advance a social change agenda in the community? We believe that the answers to these kinds of questions will demonstrate patterns and conditions for successful CBR work to faculty, students, the community, higher education institutions, professional associations, and the larger public.

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A Human Capital Model:
Service-Learning in the Micro Business Incubator Program

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This paper presents a service-learning approach to inner city revitalization that is grounded in a human capital model for economic development. The case study demonstrates how a private university became the catalyst for growth in an 'at risk' neighborhood of an urban inner city. Our ongoing service-learning project, called The Upper Albany Micro Business Incubator (MBI), brings together university faculty, students, and inner city entrepreneurs to create an environment of mutual learning, shared respect, understanding, and collaboration. Preliminary impacts of the program are described as well as future directions and recommendations for sustaining development in inner cities using such an approach.

"Give a man a fish he will eat for one day, teach a man to fish and he can feed himself for a lifetime." — Chinese proverb

Over the past decade, the practice of using service-learning as a teaching tool in the business and management sciences has burgeoned (Kenworthy-U'Ren & Peterson, 2005). The underlying reasons for this movement are unclear—it may be a response to questions about the societal efficacy of management education (Emiliani, 2004); it may be a form of acknowledgement that the private sector "maintain(s) the moral authority to set the social agenda" (Godfrey, 2000, p. 38); it may be a shift away from sector and disciplinary isolationism (DiPadova-Stocks, 2005); or it may simply be one of the most effective tools through which students can practice reflective learning while engaging in citizenship-oriented behaviors (Csikszentmihalyi, 2005). As Papamarcos (2005) aptly states, "there is a view... too widespread to be ignored, that colleges and universities and their students are largely alienated from notions of the public good, focusing solely on achieving competitive advantage in a world of scarce resources. This sentiment may be particularly acute with regard to business schools and business students" (p. 325). Papamarcos goes on to suggest that as business educators, we have a mandate to prepare students for "lives of civic engagement... involving students as voluntary agents of social change" (p. 326).

One thing is certain about this intersection between business school courses and service-learning: that it is making a positive difference for students, institutions, and communities. An example at the student level can be seen when Wittmer (2004) describes the results of a survey of students who had participated in service-learning at the University of Denver through an ethics-based MBA core course called 'Values-Based Leadership.' Forty-eight percent of the students reported an "increased recognition of the level and kinds of needs that exist" in the community, 46% reported an "increased awareness of how individuals and businesses are involved in professional service," and 35% of students reported a "realization of personal satisfaction for community service activity" (2004, p. 365). At the institutional level, service-learning projects provide a tangible and applied mechanism for organizational outreach into the community. For example, after leading a semester-long course project where business students worked with four different senior citizens centers in their local community, Vega and McHugh (2003) wrote "we believe that this project was worthwhile. It met our academic goals, it provided a valued service, it provided an experiential learning opportunity for students who might not other wise have been involved in one, and it cemented relationships between the institution and the community" (p. 114). Finally, at the community level, we continue to see examples of business school service-learning programs that result in increased community social and economic prosperity, sustainability, and integration (e.g., Michaelsen, Kenderdine, Hobbs, & Frueh,

2000; Papamarcos, 2005; Taylor, 2000).

This paper describes such a program — the University of Hartford's Micro Business Incubator (MBI). In this paper, we present a case study of an institutional program that is grounded in service-learning best practice (Jacoby et al., 1996), aimed at creating and sustaining transformational relationships with community partners (Enos & Morton, 2003), and focused on learner-centered and committed paths to engagement (Dorado & Giles, 2004; Ramsey & Fitzgibbons, 2005). The MBI is a service-learning program that brings together business students, faculty members, business owner entrepreneurs, institutional representatives, and other government and community organization members to create sustainable and sustained partnerships aimed at revitalizing and economically developing a culturally diverse and small business laden inner city neighborhood.

Small Businesses, Inner City Development, and the Economy

Small businesses are an essential part of the U.S. economy. According to the U.S. Small Business Administration, small firms employ half of the workforce and pay 45% of the total U.S. private payroll. Small businesses are responsible for more than 50% of gross domestic product and account for the vast majority of new jobs (Frequently Asked Questions, 2005). Small firms are also a major source of innovation, producing twice as many new product and service innovations as larger firms.

Firms owned by minority business owners represent a special subset of small firms that are growing even more rapidly than small firms in general. According to the 1997 Survey of Minority Owned Enterprise (Lowery, 2005) the number of Black-owned businesses increased by 26% from 1992 to 1997, to 823,499.[1] This compares to a 4% growth rate for non-minority-owned firms for the same timeframe. Simultaneously, revenues for Black-owned firms increased by 120% to $71 billion (Minorities in Business, 2001). The numbers for Hispanic-owned firms are equally impressive. In 1997, Hispanic-owned businesses totaled 1.4 million, up 80% from 1992; during that same timeframe revenues more than doubled, to $184 billion. Very preliminary results for the 2002 Census (2002 Survey of Business Owners) indicate that in 2002 there were approximately 462,00 firms with paid employees that identified themselves as being primarily owned by Asians, 154,000 firms that identified themselves as being owned by Blacks, and 308,000 firms that identified themselves as being owned by Hispanics.

Minority-owned firms are worthy of study in and of themselves for several important reasons. First,

firm ownership provides a path to economic empowerment for entrepreneurs and their families. Prior research indicates that, on average, the level of household wealth for Black and Hispanic families falls well below of that of white families (Badu, Daniels, & Salandro, 1999; Blau & Graham, 1990; Smith, 1995). Simultaneously, however, research reveals that individuals who own their own firms have higher household income and wealth than the population in general (Haynes, 2001). Thus, owning and operating a successful small business can be a strategy for minority families to achieve the "American Dream." Second, a vibrant small business sector is key to the economic revitalization of many inner city communities. As minority families tend to represent a significant percentage of inner city populations, it is important to have a range of flourishing small businesses to serve community needs.

In spite of the statistics mentioned above, many minority-owned businesses have struggled. Typically, firms owned by minority entrepreneurs are smaller, more prone to failure, and concentrated in the less profitable sectors of retailing and personal services (Bates, 1989; Christopher, 1998). Black and Hispanic small business owners tend to have less education than Whites or Asians, less personal wealth, and greater difficulty raising capital from financial institutions (Ando, 1988; Bates, 1993; Bostic & Lampani, 1999; Coleman, 2002; Rogers, Gent, Palumbo, & Wall, 2001). Thus, they come into the process of entrepreneurship with lower levels of both human and financial capital. Inner cities tend to have above average rates of crime, drugs, and a workforce that is unskilled and/or poorly educated.

Inner City Development: Three Models for Growth

Historically, support for minority-owned inner city firms has been explained using a "social model" of economic development. This model assumes that the disadvantages of the inner city are so overwhelming, that businesses located there cannot compete without government intervention and subsidies. One major criticism of this model, and a drawback to its application, is that it has led to the creation of inner city businesses that are neither profitable nor competitive, and are isolated from the larger economy (Porter, 1995). To survive using this model, inner city businesses require consistent government support. Taking this model to its logical end, inner city economies become increasingly planned and driven by government, with decreased free market power or selection processes.

Alternatively, Porter (1995) proposes a new model for inner city economic development. In contrast to

the social model, Porter's model relies heavily on market forces and private industry as opposed to government. He contends that inner city businesses can benefit from four major sources of competitive advantage. First, they are located in highly concentrated areas close to businesses, transportation, and communications. Second, inner cities often have unmet needs for both products and services. Third, inner city businesses have opportunities to build upon regional clusters of businesses and, thus, to export products beyond their local territories. Finally, Porter argues that inner city workers are willing and eager to work in entry-level jobs.

According to Porter (1995), government and community development organizations should get out of the business of starting and running businesses. Alternatively, they should work to create a positive environment for business by lowering costs and regulatory barriers, controlling crime, creating a transportation infrastructure, and improving schools. Porter contends that if private businesses are provided with a more favorable climate, they will be willing to locate in inner cities and will, in turn, supply products and services, capital, jobs, and training.

Porter's (1995) model has been widely criticized as overly simplistic and out of touch with the realities of inner city business. One criticism has been that, to date, private businesses have not demonstrated a great deal of willingness to move into the inner city or tackle the challenges of doing business there (Dymski, 1996; Sawicki & Moody, 1996). This has led to the creation of government mandates such as the Community Reinvestment Act which requires banks to provide services to inner city businesses and individuals. Procurement policies have also encouraged the involvement and participation of women- and minority-owned firms. Such policies are aimed to increase women and minority contractors' opportunities to bid on and secure contracts, many of which may be financed with public dollars. A second criticism has been that Porter's model ignores the problems associated with discrimination and underestimates the challenges posed by the human capital deficiencies of inner city entrepreneurs (Henry, 1996; Johnson, Farrell, & Henderson, 1996). Further, structural barriers to doing business in urban areas may serve as a further deterrent to economic development initiatives. Immergluck (1999) found that a lack of capital and business development can be tied to urban decay. He postulated that cultural and language barriers for recent immigrants may be contributing factors.

As a result of these criticisms and the inability of the aforementioned models to fully capture the economic growth processes of the inner city, a third model of inner city economic development has emerged, the "human capital" model. Human capital is an economic term that has been in existence for decades, with its origins in the work of Gary S. Becker (1962). In terms of inner city entrepreneurs, human capital encompasses the education, training, work experience, and other support mechanisms that can help to prepare the entrepreneur for the challenges of starting and managing a business. A number of studies have documented the link between high levels of human capital and business survival, growth, and profitability (Carter, Williams, & Reynolds, 1992; Cressy, 1996; Kangasharju & Pekkala, 2002; Lussier & Pfeifer, 2001; Schiller & Crewson, 1997; Watson, Hogarth-Scott, & Wilson, 1998). In essence, the model and its supporting empirical research indicate that entrepreneurs who have high levels of human capital (e.g., education, training, and relevant work experience) are more likely to succeed in business than those who do not.

The MBI Program: Putting a Human Capital Model to Work in the Inner City

In contrast to the "social model," which relies heavily on government intervention, and the "Porter model," which relies on the willing involvement of private businesses located outside of the inner city, the inner city economic development program described in this paper uses the human capital model as its foundation. Since 1992, the University of Hartford, in partnership with the Upper Albany Main Street Program, has managed a successful community-based service-learning initiative. The pilot Upper Albany Micro Business Incubator Program (MBI) focuses on creating relationships and developing the human capital potential of culturally diverse local entrepreneurs and offering students an applied learning experience. The MBI program works directly with entrepreneurs in the inner city, targeting their human capital needs through a combination of student, faculty, and community involvement. The MBI is assisting urban entrepreneurs, providing opportunities for faculty research and consulting, and serving as a laboratory for student learning.

A Closer Look at The Human Capital Model

The link between human capital and wealth creation is well established and long-standing. Gary S. Becker (1962) was one of the first to discuss this link. Becker defines human capital investment as schooling, on-the-job training, medical care, diet, and other activities that "...influence future real income through the imbedding of resources in people." He notes that these investments improve the physical and mental abilities of individuals and, thus, increase their prospects for higher earnings. Further, he attributes income differences or inequalities not only to differ-

ences in tangible resources (e.g., money, property), but also intangible resources such as the individual's capital attributes.

Becker's landmark article focuses heavily on the importance of on-the-job training (OJT) as a means of developing human capital, noting the clear relationship between OJT and earnings, employment, and other economic variables. With OJT and the resultant increased levels of human capital in place (positive individual level outcomes), positive firm level outcomes should result. Since Becker's early theoretical article, numerous researchers have made the case for a strong link between the human capital attributes of the entrepreneur and firm performance (Boden & Nucci, 2000; Carter, Williams, & Reynolds, 1997; Cooper, Gimeno-Gascon, & Woo, 1994; Watson, Hogarth-Scott, & Wilson, 1998). One of the most basic ways of conceptualizing firm performance is to assess firm survival rates. In a study of U.S. firms, Bates (1995) found that firms having more highly educated owners were more likely to survive. Cressy had similar findings in a study of British firms as did Lussier and Pfeifer (2001) in a study of Croatian firms. Cressy also noted that prior work experience

and previous experience with self employment increased the likelihood of firm survival.

A second way of conceptualizing firm performance is to measure overall firm success. Schiller and Crewson (1997) observed that more highly educated men were more likely to have successful entrepreneurial ventures. Correspondingly, they found that prior work experience and years of self-employment contributed to firm success in women. In a study of Jamaican firms, Honig (1998) found that a college education roughly doubled the level of the entrepreneur's earnings. Further, he noted that years of experience in business were positively associated with increasing profits. In another study, Chandler and Hanks (1998) examined American firms in Utah to find that firms with high levels of human capital and high levels of financial capital had a higher ratio of sales to earnings than other firms.

Finally, a third way to conceptualize firm performance (and examine its relationship with human capital), relates to firm growth. In a study of Finnish firms, Kangasharju and Pekkala (2002) found that firms run by more highly educated entrepreneurs experienced higher growth rates during economic

Table 1

Comparison of Inner City Economic Development Models

	Porter's Model	**Social Model**	**MBI Model**
Type of Model	Economic	Social	Service-Learning
Driving Force	Private Sector	Government and social services organization	Private university with a public mission
Benefactors	Profitable businesses	Subsidized businesses	Existing and new businesses in the neighborhood
Impact	Integration with the regional economy	Isolation from the large economy	Driving force in the revitalization of inner city neighborhoods
Focus	Companies that are export-oriented	Companies that serve the local community	Companies that serve local community and establish it as a viable commercial district
Human Capital Implications	Skilled and experienced minorities engaged in building businesses	Skilled and experienced minorities engaged in the social service sector	Skilled and experienced minorities empowered to build businesses
Community Partners	Mainstream, private sector institutions enlisted	Special institutions created	University serving as the catalyst by enlisting the support of private and public sector institutions
Addressing Inner City Disadvantages	Addressed directly	Counterbalanced with subsidies	Addressed through building capacity of business owners
Government Involvement	Government focused or improving the environment for business	Government involved directly in providing services or funding	Government involved indirectly by providing seed money and personnel support

booms and recessions. In a study of Spanish firms, Pena (2002) found that growth companies were more likely to be operated by entrepreneurs with college degrees. Pena also noted that prior experience in a managerial position was a significant factor in determining the growth rate of a firm.

Human Capital and the MBI Program

The extant literature and empirical research cited above support the existence of two positive relationships: (a) between on-the-job training and the development of human capital, and (b) between human capital and firm performance. In light of these relationships, an important goal of the MBI has been to develop the human capital potential of inner city entrepreneurs through a combination of training, consulting services, and ongoing support. This echoes recent calls for skilled and experienced minority owners focused on developing their businesses (e.g., Porter, 1995), but also concedes that the knowledge gap is very real in inner city communities. Students learn from this process by engaging the business owners in a dialogue that ultimately reveals challenges as well as opportunities. Their learning is enhanced as they work to design strategies and implementation plans for addressing these challenges and opportunities. Simultaneously, business owners learn from the involvement of students and faculty who share their knowledge and expertise.

The MBI is in its third year of offering a service-learning business experience to students through exposure to small business development and management. This effort has proven to be a successful tool for economic development and revitalization in the North End of Hartford, mirroring similar successes in urban settings (Sherman, 1999; Vedovello & Godinho, 2003). Modeled after the old Chinese proverb presented at the beginning of this paper: "Give a man a fish he will eat for one day, teach a man to fish and he can feed himself for a lifetime," this community-based service-learning initiative was launched to empower students to create and achieve collaborative learning-oriented goals and objectives rather than having students simply disseminate information to others (Jacoby et al., 1996.) The program has become the catalyst for neighborhood and inner city economic revitalization by introducing valuable new resources to a neighborhood beset with community conflicts and significant levels of crime. Students and business owners engage in activities designed to promote mutual learning and development. Through reflection and reciprocity (Jacoby), a link between human capital and growth is established.

The MBI human capital model (herein referred to as the "MBI model") offers components that are in sharp contrast to both the Porter and social models of economic development. Table 1 summarizes and differentiates the key elements of the three models.

As Table 1 illustrates, the MBI model seeks middle ground between Porter's free market approach and the social model's government intervention approach. It seeks to empower urban entrepreneurs by providing them with tools for success: education and training from University of Hartford faculty and students. By developing the human capital potential of urban entrepreneurs, they are in a better position to launch and maintain successful and profitable businesses capable of responding to unmet needs in both the local and regional economies. There is a role for government in the MBI model, but it is to provide seed funding and ancillary support rather than to become directly involved in funding and supporting inner city firms on an ongoing basis.

Key Players and Their Roles in the MBI

A successful economic revitalization effort requires the collaboration and cooperation of many key players. In the case of the MBI, assistance came from within and outside of the University. The concept was developed by a faculty member, an experienced Upper Albany small business owner, an officer of the city's chamber of commerce, and a senior level community bank manager. Recognizing the importance of developing the human capital potential of the small business owners on Albany Avenue (referred to as The Avenue in the remaining of the paper) (Table 2) and, understanding the value of hands-on learning opportunities for students (Table 3), this group envisioned the mutual benefits of connecting students with small business owners.

Other corporate and community partners were recruited to assist with fundraising, and to help identify the businesses that would benefit from such an opportunity. As an example, when additional funds were needed to hire a fulltime staff person for the program, corporate partners stepped forward to fund the new position. Similarly, another corporate partner has provided lobbying services to ensure the annual renewal of a grant from the City Council. The corporate and community partners also serve as a screening committee to review businesses that express interest in participating in the MBI. It is important to work with those businesses that can benefit, and not waste valuable resources on those that will not benefit from the program's services.

Organizing such a project requires the ongoing commitment of faculty and the support of graduate assistants who visit the business owners on a regular basis to understand how each business operates. The faculty needs to be familiar with the interests and skills of participating students to create workable pairings of students with business owners. Faculty

Table 2
Key Players, their Roles, and Learning Outcomes in the Micro Business Incubator

	Corporate/ Community Partners	Business Owners	Students	Faculty/Staff	University
Players	• Upper Albany Main Street (UAMS) • Metro Hartford Alliance • Travelers Foundation • Bank of America • Hartford Foundation for Public Giving	Small retail and service businesses on Albany Avenue in North Hartford	Junior and Senior Business and Entrepreneurial Studies majors, Communication, Graphic Arts majors, and other interested upper classmen	Professors and Graduate Assistants	President's Office, Grants Office, Office of Communication & Instructional Technology Services
Their Roles	• Provide fundraising and lobbying support • Screen and select business owners to participate • Provide day-to-day support for the program	• Commit to participate • Schedule regular hours to meet with students • Share experience and excitement for business with students • Attend students' final presentations • Give feedback and appreciation for students' efforts	• Establish rapport with business owners • Conduct needs assessment and report on recommendations • Develop customized learning plan for assigned business • Attend training sessions • Deliver onsite customized training and support • Measure business owners' progress and report to class	• Recruit and select students • Match business owners with students based on skills and interests • Organize train-the-trainer sessions • Provide tools to students • Consult with students on an ongoing basis • Maintain contact among students through African-American board	• Provide budget oversight and grant management • Provide computers, software, and technical support • Provide internal and external communication support (e.g., PR, contacts, etc.)
Learning Outcomes	• Eager to engage and work with UAMS • See a future in the neighborhood • Corporate sponsorship	Develop mutual appreciation and understanding (white students working with minority business owners)	See Table 3 for detailed description	Move from a lecture format to train the trainer approach	Develop meaningful community partnership (i.e., community day, campus is home of two magnet schools)

members also coach and instruct students to provide them with the tools they need to assist the business owners. Instruction might include training in specific skill areas, use of materials or software, and general lessons about working in an inner city setting. Follow-up and ongoing communications are accomplished both in class meetings and through an online discussion board using Blackboard (online course management software.)

Students begin their experience by establishing rapport with their assigned business owners at the MBI Kickoff—a meeting at which all business owners and community partners are introduced to the program. Both students and business owners sign a commitment letter detailing their responsibilities to one another. The participants exchange contact information and set up a regular schedule of meeting times. In the first year of the MBI program, a needs assessment instrument was developed. This tool is used each year to assess the needs of new businesses joining the program. For returning businesses, students review progress made during the previous year, and working in partnership with the business owners, determine

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Table 3
Examples of Courses and Learning Outcomes

	MGT-314	MGT/MKT-482	INTERNSHIP
Course	*Principles of Entrepreneurship* Mid-level course 3 Iterations Fall Semester (02-04) 1 Faculty 1 Program Admin.	*Small Business Practicum* Upper-level Course 5 Iterations Spring Semester (02-06) 1 Faculty 1 Program Admin.	*MBI Internship* Internship Credit only 4 Iterations Fall/Spring Sem. (04-06) 1 Faculty 1 Program Admin.
Objective	Understand fundamental entrepreneurial success skills.	Understand practical components of successful entrepreneurship. Experience entrepreneurship and the consulting process.	Learn how to manage a community-based organization and gain economic development experience.
Role	(Assessment) Perform Needs Assessment survey and develop cogent recommendations.	(Implementation) Implement Needs Assessment. Refine recommendations and deliver specific technical assistance.	(Client Service) Provide in-depth, project-focused business counseling/training. Financial management, technological and administrative support.
Participant Data	• 90 Students • 2700 Hours • 60 Needs Assessments • 45 Recommendation Plans • 80% Seniors • 4 Schools Involved (Business, Arts & Science, Performing Arts, Art School)	• 75 Students • 5625 Hours • 37 Businesses Served • 115 Unique Projects • 85% Seniors • 6 Schools Involved (Business, Arts & Science, Performing Arts, Art School, Engineering Tech. & Architecture, Education Nursing & Health)	• 5 Students • 1000 Hours • 7 Businesses Served • Seniors Only • MGT & MKT Majors • 1 School Involved (Business) • 100% Graduation rate
Service-Learning Outcomes	Relationship building Diversity training Develop critical thinking and analysis skills	Relationship building Diversity training Improvement in business management skills Improved awareness of community issues Increased desire to volunteer	Relationship building Diversity training Improved business management skills Improved awareness of community issues Increased desire to volunteer Increased career readiness

the direction for the upcoming year's efforts. Each business receives a customized learning plan which is addressed through onsite training delivered by the students. At the end of the year, students make formal presentations about the work they have done and receive feedback from the business owners and from the class. Strong bonds develop between students and entrepreneurs, and frequently the assistance continues beyond the end of the course.

The involvement and support of the University, its President, and other administrators have made this initiative both a regional and a national model for community-based learning, as recognized by the National Main Street Center and the Connecticut Department of Community Economic Development (EDDY Award). Because the funding for the MBI runs through the University, funding sources feel more secure that grants targeted to assist the community will be effectively managed. In addition, the University has worked to refurbish computers and "lend" them to struggling small businesses on the Avenue, installing and maintaining them over time. Thus, when students go to assist their businesses in creating financial records and developing business plans, the supporting technology is available. Much of the significant press coverage attained by the program has come

through the efforts of the University's Office of Communication which made the contacts and pitched the stories, yielding local as well as national coverage for the MBI.

Early Signs of Impact of the MBI Model

A Service-Learning-Based Micro Business Incubator

The MBI program's accomplishments are based on the hands-on nature of the service-learning projects. In the simplest terms, unlike the traditional business incubator which brings struggling young entrepreneurial businesses together under one roof to offer accounting and marketing assistance, the MBI recognizes and incorporates the special features of each participating business while simultaneously working to determine the specific needs, interests, and capabilities of the business owners. Thus, the MBI involves a variety of businesses in one geographic location (the Avenue) and uses a custom-designed needs assessment tool to identify the areas of training and business operation that could be improved by introducing student input. Operating on the concept of "train the trainers," the MBI brings students into the community to share the intellectual capital of the University with the business owners on the Avenue. The project creates an effective and memorable learning experience for both the students and business owners, and, in doing so, establishes a link between human capital and economic growth.

Driving Force: The University of Hartford

The University is located on a property that spans three different communities—two suburban towns and one city neighborhood. The back door of the campus borders the economically-depressed neighborhood of Upper Albany in the North End of Hartford. Other urban communities have benefited from an academic institution in their midst, but these efforts have largely focused on "bricks and mortar" developments in which the university acquired and developed housing and educational edifices adjacent to the campus. The University of Hartford is a private, tuition-driven institution that has neither the resources nor the desire to annex the surrounding community. Rather, University administrators, faculty, and staff recognize that they are members of the larger community and, as such, see their participation in the growth and development of the local community as both an intellectually stimulating learning experience and a practical necessity for long-term community survival.

The MBI had been successfully integrated in a multiple of courses. First a small business consulting course, the Principles of Entrepreneurship, was designed to develop student understanding of small business management. Students learn to conduct a business needs assessment including drafting a report that must include actionable solutions. The second course, Business Practicum, is an elective seminar designed to implement the recommendations developed in the Principles of Entreprenaurship course. Students attend weekly sessions to expose them to various small business related topics offered by professionals (banking, accounting, customer service, inventory management, loan application process, entrepreneurial spirit, legal issues, corporate citizenship, and financial literacy). Students then work one-on-one with businesses to apply some of these topics and implement the recommendations following the train-the-trainer model.

MBI Program Partners: The Upper Albany Businesses

One important set of benefactors of the MBI program are the owners of MBI partner organizations—the newly empowered inner city business owners who are learning to understand, predict, and deal with market forces rather than rely on reactionary government intervention and subsidies. This service-learning program has the same consequences advocated by Porter (1995) in that it provides opportunities for the existing businesses to better serve their current customers and to attract new customers who previously were not drawn to the neighborhood. Because of University support, combined with a more positive environment for business, new businesses also are locating in the neighborhood, bringing with them new jobs and substantial reinvestments. Neighborhood residents are better served by stronger, more productive businesses that are more sensitive to their needs. Further, these market-driven firms are able to produce better products and services suitable for export to other markets. The Upper Albany neighborhood also serves as one of the gateways to the city from affluent suburbs. By strengthening commerce in this area, the entire city benefits from increased traffic and the patronage of suburban dwellers.

Impacting the Inner City: Revitalizing an Inner City Neighborhood

The MBI model, which shares similar characteristics with many established service-learning programs from across the country (e.g., Jacoby et al., 1996; Zlotkowski, 1998), reflects the need for social change. Although not simple to implement, most service-learning programs highlight the need for increased social understanding and the importance of assisting members of the community who are in need. Service-learning programs also tend to develop

in students and other institutional members a deeper appreciation of the concept of community via engaged citizenship (Battistoni, 1998).

The MBI program addresses these problems by developing the human capital potential of inner city entrepreneurs. Simultaneously, it creates a sense of positive energy and directs attention to the opportunities and challenges associated with urban entrepreneurship. Finally, it makes participating business owners aware of the role they can play in taking control of their destiny, overcoming challenges, and contributing to their neighborhood's economic development. For example, improved signage, upgraded store fronts, and better product merchandising are but a few of the visible outcomes that have resulted from participation in this program. Further, the ability of business owners to secure loans can be directly linked to student support in developing adequate financial records. Thus, the MBI has been referred to as a role model for regional economic revitalization, yielding public recognition and calls for the University to replicate its success in other cities across the state (e.g., New London, New Haven).

The MBI Focus: Establishing a Viable Commercial District and Serving the Local Community and Beyond

Although current research points out some of the inherent challenges of minority-owned businesses (Coleman, 2002; Robb, 2002), the MBI model's overarching goal is to empower businesses to service their local community and beyond, and to establish the Avenue area and surrounding neighborhoods as a viable commercial district. Businesses, with the help of the program, are pursuing opportunities to export specialized products and services both regionally and nationally, one of the goals cited in the Porter model. As an example, a participating firm is one of only four appliance repair facilities in the United States and is thus able to tap into both local and national markets. Another business provides hair replacement to cancer patients and serves clients throughout the region. This business is currently engaged in talks with a regional cancer center to provide specialized services to patients undergoing treatment including the development of onsite services. Yet another business involves developing an e-commerce strategy targeting African Americans on a national scale including advertising on BET (Black Entertainment Network). As a final example, students assisted in developing a packaging system for a well established neighborhood bakery planning to sell rum cakes on the Internet. Businesses in the area have now rallied to develop a program entitled "Upper Albany: The Neighborhood of Choice" as a model for economic development.

Addressing Inner City Disadvantages: Building Capacity in Business Owners

Although the source of some of the disadvantages faced by inner cities (e.g., crime, unemployment) can be pinpointed, addressing them has been challenging. Porter's approach is considered unrealistic and out of touch with the reality of doing business in the inner city, especially for urban minority-owned businesses. Although businesses will relocate into a neighborhood that benefits from good transportation infrastructure, controlled crime, and access to a skilled workforce (Porter, 1995), the neighborhood and its businesses must first develop their own capacity to attract new investments and resources to prepare them for the market forces to which Porter refers. Businesses that emerge in the inner cities are typically proud to be contributing as economic agents of change but may not be aware of their potential and miss out on opportunities. By providing inner city entrepreneurs with business-specific sets of skills and tools, as well as an open channel for communication, there is a greater likelihood for business success, growth, and employment. Ideally, these outcomes are accompanied by positive social change. Government subsidies and intervention have only obscured the real issues, creating barriers and red tape while producing less than remarkable results (Porter; Scharpf, 2002). Thus it is imperative that urban entrepreneurs be empowered to solve their own problems with the support of both private and public institutions.

Government Involvement: Seed Funding and Personnel Support

The social model has evolved to correct for the perceived deficiencies of a market-based system, and public institutions remain the guardians of social equity, oftentimes imposing requirements or restrictions on businesses to achieve social goals. Increasingly, however, governments and the public sector are recognizing the need to remove barriers affecting businesses, as can be seen in the creation and evolution of the European Union (Scharpf, 2002). Within the context of the inner city, many urban neighborhoods have inherited social problems such as crime, unemployment, and educational deficiencies which cannot be addressed without strong government intervention.

In addition to infrastructure support and development, city and state governments can provide positive visibility, seed funding, and assistance in approaching nongovernment funding sources such as community foundations and corporations (Porter, 1995). Seed money and personnel support provided by the city at the start of the Upper Albany program legitimized the initiative and created a momentum

carried on by community foundations and corporations such as the Hartford Foundation for Public Giving ($75,000 grant) and Bank of America ($200,000 two-year grant). These funding sources have allowed the MBI to move beyond the traditional fragmented approach to job creation and business development, to that of a comprehensive community service provider focused on providing training, tools, and resources available to a community in need.

Service-Learning as an Economic Engine

In any program such as the Upper Albany Micro Business Incubator, progress should be monitored to determine if such an intervention has an impact on small and emerging minority-owned businesses. As noted in the introduction, prior research has indicated that minority-owned businesses tend to be smaller and have a higher failure rate than non-minority-owned firms. They are also more likely to be concentrated in highly competitive and less profitable service lines of business. Using U.S. Census data to track a sample of small firms from 1992 through 1996, Robb (2002) found that Black-owned small firms had a survival rate of 34.8% compared to 48.7% for White-owned firms and 48.1% for all small firms. She also found that 46.65% of Black-owned firms were in service lines of business compared to 35.15% of White-owned firms. Coleman (2003) used data from the Federal Reserve's 1998 Survey of Small Business Finances to compare White-and minority-owned firms. Similar to Robb's

findings, Coleman's results revealed that African American-owned firms were significantly smaller than White-owned firms in terms of total assets, total sales, and total number of employees. Coleman also found that Black-owned firms were more heavily concentrated in services lines of business (Note: both the Robb and Coleman articles use data that is classified by SIC code; it does not break down the individual categories, i.e., services into specific types of service businesses).

A study of minority-owned small businesses conducted by the U.S. Small Business Administration using 1997 data further attests to the size discrepancies between White- and minority-owned firms. That study found that 89% of Black-owned firms had no paid employees compared to 74% of White-owned firms (Minorities in Business, 2001). Of those firms that did have employees, Black-owned firms averaged eight employees compared to 21 for White-owned firms. In terms of revenues, 49% of Black-owned firms had revenues of $10,000 or less, compared to 35 percent of White-owned firms.

Comparing these results to the early signs of impact from MBI participants, a similar pattern emerges. To date, 29 firms have participated in the Upper Albany Program for less than six months to three years. The vast majority of Upper Albany firms could be classified as micro-businesses (i.e., firms having five or fewer employees). The average number of employees in Upper Albany firms was 3.0, and only two participating firms had more than five

Table 4
Economic Development Outcomes (2002-2006)

Funding to Upper Albany Main Street in support of MBI Program
- 2003 $75,000 - CDBG (Community Development Block Grant)
- 2003 - $20,000 - Fleet Community Bank
- 2003 - $75,000 - Hartford Foundation for Public Giving ($25,000)
- 2004 - $140,000 - CDBG
- 2004 - $100,000 - Bank of America Neighborhood Builders Award (UAMS)
- 2004 - $25,000 - St. Paul Traveler's Foundation
- 2005 - $100,000 - Bank of America Neighborhood Builders Award (UAMS)
- 2005 - $135,000 - CDBG
- 2006 - $50,000 - St. Paul Traveler's Foundation
- 2006 - $135,000 - CDBG
- Total MBI Funding since 2002 - $855,000

Performance Metrics (identified by the Small Business Administration)
- 51 New/opened businesses in Upper Albany neighborhood
- $10,100,000 of private investment
- $ 9,000,000 public investment
- $415,000 of micro loans (under $35,000) closed
- 37 Long-Term Clients (5+ hours of counseling)
- 100+ jobs created/retained
- 21 computers donated
- 9325 Volunteer hours

employees.

As in prior research, most of the Upper Albany firms were in service (48%) or retail (41%) lines of business. Although the average age of the Upper Albany firms was 13.6 years, there was a considerable amount of variation in firm age. While 28% of the participating firms were two years old or younger, 48% were at least ten years old. Thus, the Upper Albany sample includes a relatively high percentage of firms that are long-term survivors. This, in turn, may have had an impact on the profit performance of firms included in the sample, with 72 percent of firm respondents indicating that they were profitable.

When asked if their experience with the Upper Albany program had increased their prospects of survival, 27% of the participating firms indicated that the program had been very helpful while another 38% indicated that it had been somewhat helpful. One business owner reported that his involvement "opened up a new world" for him, especially in the area of technology. Another simply said, "I would not exist without MBI." Although it is too early to determine long-term survival rates for newer firms, only one of the firms that has participated in the Upper Albany program to date has closed, due to the business owner's health problems. Going forward, it will continue to be important to track survival rates as well as sales, profitability, and employment.

These early indicators seem to show that the MBI model is having a positive effect on Hartford's Upper Albany neighborhood (see Table 4 for summary). Beyond the response of program participants, 35 new businesses have located on the Avenue since September 2002. These businesses have the potential to provide not only new products and services to the area, but additional jobs and stimulating change and development in existing markets. From a funding and economic development perspective, the Avenue has succeeded in attracting $2.8 million of reinvestment as well as $3.2 million of new funding in less than three years. These factors seem to point to an improved climate for business with some sustainable impact on the inner city.

We concede that these are very early signs of progress. As Bringle and Hatcher (2000) point out, service-learning projects like MBI have not yet developed a systematic and uniform way of documenting their results and outcomes. The real-life setting and nonlaboratory conditions afford us minimal control over variables influencing outcomes. As a result, we need to develop sophisticated ways of measuring program impacts. In the future, program outcomes need to be systematically identified and measured to truly evaluate the effectiveness and impact of the program over time.

Conclusion

Service-learning programs such as the MBI are educationally and socially powerful interventions that hold promising potential for enhancing the learning and development of both college students and small business owners. This program has brought widespread positive recognition to the University and to the Upper Albany neighborhood. It has also been successful in developing and promoting community partnerships between the public and private sectors working toward an urban community's economic revitalization.

The MBI model goes beyond both the social model and Porter's model of economic development by providing skills and experiences aimed at developing the human capital necessary for inner-city entrepreneurs to succeed. From a social and civic perspective, the MBI serves as an alternative model for much needed economic revitalization in inner-city communities like Hartford. From an academic perspective, the MBI has allowed us to harness the power and potential of service-learning to enhance student learning. This is accomplished via real-world opportunities for students to apply, critically examine, and better understand the complexities of translating business-related theory into practices. Students acquire practical business experience and skills while learning about their roles as socially responsible citizens of the larger community. Through the application of service-learning best practices, the MBI program continues to create sustained linkages between student experience, the development of human capital in urban entrepreneurs, and inner city economic revitalization.

Notes

[1] This number includes firms with paid employees and firms with no paid employees.

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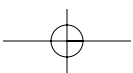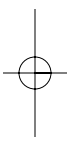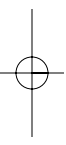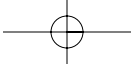
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