"We cannot lay claim to greater public investment – to which we must lay claim if we are to serve our function in a knowledge-intensive society that also subscribes to democratic values-unless we are seen to serve the public good".

National Forum
on Higher Education for the Public Good

Multidisciplinary perspectives on higher education for the public good

"Serving society is only one of higher education's functions, but it is surely among the most important. At a time when the nation has its full share of difficulties...the question is not whether universities need to concern themselves with society's problems but whether they are discharging this responsibility as well as they should."

Multidisciplinary perspectives on higher education for the public good.

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Editors' Foreword

The National Forum on Higher Education for the Public Good, along with the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE), American College Personnel Association (ACPA), American Educational Research Association (AERA), Association for Institutional Research (AIR), and Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE), have committed themselves to encourage a new generation of scholars interested in examining the changing relationship between higher education and U.S. society. These national associations joined together to sponsor five Rising Scholar awards in July, 2002, given to pre-tenured faculty, early career practitioners, and advanced graduate students engaged in research that explored higher education's role in serving the public good. The award was a part of a larger initiative, which focused on advancing research on the relationship between higher education and society through connecting senior and early career scholars. As part of the Rising Scholar award, recipients were asked to publish their research in this monograph as a way to continue dialogue with other scholars interested in issues related to higher education and the public good.

Each author approaches his or her work from a different disciplinary perspective and brings distinctive backgrounds and experiences to their understanding of higher education's role in society. The various authors employ a range of theoretical and empirical tools in their analyses. In addition, the authors consider higher education as serving a public good from individual, institutional, system-wide, and/or societal perspectives.

In his study, Bryan Brayboy explores the ways that American Indian communities, through their citizens, identify themselves in relation to ongoing struggles. Part of this examination includes the ways that American Indians and citizens of their tribal nations utilize higher education to examine and explore their complex economic, political, and social structures. The partnership described in this work may serve as a model of how other Indigenous communities and tribal nations can utilize education for their community's benefit. In this approach, academic and societal structures that have historically been oppressive can inherently serve as liberating and empowering mechanisms for tribal nations and Indigenous people. Brayboy's research stems from his definition of higher education for the public good, which includes two in-depth components: how higher education serves society, and how higher education prepares active, vibrant citizens.

Seanna M. Kerrigan documented college graduates' perspectives on the effect of capstone service-learning courses three years following their graduation. Her study suggests that graduates who participated in a capstone course enhanced their communication and leadership skills, community involvement, appreciation of diversity, and career development. As part of her study, Kerrigan also consider challenges faced by participants and offers suggestions for practitioners in the field of service-learning. The results of this study will contribute to the knowledge base that improves the quality and outcomes of service-learning courses, a key tool in helping higher education more effectively develop engaged individuals who are capable of leading and serving in our complex and diverse communities. Kerrigan's

definition of higher education for the public good reflects research and pedagogy that promote active engagement of citizens for the betterment of the community and society. Specifically, she believes that to prepare students for their roles as civic leaders, institutions of higher education must equip students with the communication skills to interact effectively with others, the sensitivity to accommodate a variety of social and cultural experiences, the analytical skills to evaluate conflicting viewpoints, and the ethical clarity to take action for the common good. At its best, higher education provides graduates with the ability and motivation to collaborate with others to improve their local schools, break bread with their refugee neighbor, resolve racial conflict in the community, and create economically and environmentally sustainable communities.

Julia Garbus examined the life of Vida Scudder, a Progressive-era academic professor and activist, and the programs she created to share her intellectual inheritance. Garbus focused on the Circolo Italo-Americano program that, as Garbus suggests, led to successful cross-cultural friendship and mutual learning to enhance democracy. Her research fosters higher education for the public good, as it reintroduces a woman whose life clearly embodied this principle. Garbus states that histories help chart the future by grounding current efforts which link college and community in rich traditions of similar efforts, and by showing different methods of approaching societal issues---separated by a century--- but similar to those faced today. Garbus' definition of higher education for the public good is particularly expansive and includes stimulating the mental growth of students over eighteen years old, regardless of whether or not they have graduated from high school. Specifically, she defines the "public good" as encompassing the welfare or betterment of the public as a whole, rather than a particular part of the public. Thus, it includes measures to increase civic awareness, democratic participation, and the well-being of all inhabitants of the United States.

David J. Weerts' work examines how campus executives, faculty, and staff at large research universities articulate and demonstrate their commitment to outreach and engagement. His findings suggest that community-partner perceptions of institutional engagement are informed by rhetoric and behavior of top university leaders. The study provides implications for how land grant universities might better align their leadership, organizational structures, practices, and policies to be more responsive to societal needs. David Weerts' definition of higher education for the public good is anchored in the philosophy that (a) public interests must shape and inform the work of the academy, and (b) the work of the academy is best directed toward engaging, informing, and empowering citizens by providing people with the tools and knowledge to improve the quality of life in their local and global communities. He believes that, ultimately, higher education for the public good may best be defined and measured by the collective ability of postsecondary institutions to respond to key public agendas: improving economies, contributing to improved health and quality of life, and promoting the ideals of citizenship and democracy. Weerts brings an interesting professional viewpoint to his writing as he spends his professional energies in the field of development, demonstrating that that higher education's mission must be reflected across the entire academic enterprise, including the challenge to

connect fund raising activities to a broader set of social commitments.

Richard L. O'Bryant looks at whether personal computing and high-speed Internet access can support community-building efforts by empowering low-income community residents to do more for themselves and each other. His study reveals that residents who have a personal computer and Internet access in their homes feel a greater sense of community, experience an increase in social contact with others, and strengthen their social ties. He asserts that academia can help create an understanding of the challenges and rich potential inherent in the formation of technological environments and use this to further effective and equitable community strategy as well as informed public discussion. O'Bryant's definition of higher education for the public good includes the notion that through investigation, research and examination of contemporary issues, higher education serves a significant role in informing public discussion, public policy and societal development. Moreover, he purports that higher education plays an essential role in supporting the general expansion of knowledge, wisdom and understanding in ways that challenge traditional and often inequitable distribution of resources and opportunities, especially in terms of access to technology.

As a collective, these scholars offer new insights into the role of higher education in our changing society. Each researcher has contributed to an emerging narrative about the role of higher education for the public good, as well as helping to inform the process of connecting research to practice. It is our hope that these works stimulate further thought and discussion in professional circles, orient the reader to an emerging discourse on higher education as a public benefit, and draw attention to the careers of these Rising Scholars. It is our hope that the examples of scholarship provided here raises the expectations for all of us in terms of the importance higher education plays in service to a free and democratic society.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge and sincerely thank Dr. Tony Chambers for his original vision of the Rising Scholars Program and his work on initiating this important program. It is the work of faculty members like Tony, along with his many intergenerational peers, who see professional service to higher education as integral to a life of intellectual and personal commitment to social change. For this commitment and dedication to intergenerational scholarship and working toward higher education for the public good, we thank you.

Sincerely,
Magdalena Martinez
Penny A. Pasque
Nick Bowman

Climbing Up and Over the Ivy: Examining the Experiences of American Indian Ivy League Graduates

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Abstract

In this chapter, I am interested in exploring the ways that American Indian communities, through their citizens, identify themselves in relation to ongoing struggles. Part of this examination includes the ways that American Indians, and citizens of their tribal nations, utilize higher education to examine and explore their complex economic, political, and social structures. I examine how higher education for the public good informs and is informed by the struggles of these communities and what it may mean for institutions of higher education in a world that continues to change. I argue that all education at these institutions should be higher education for the public good.

In the last year, I have often wondered about what "higher education for the public good" meant and how it might be useful for American Indian peoples and tribal nations. I was particularly interested in making sense of the connection between college and our lives on reservations or in communities with large American Indian populations. An elder in a community in which I have worked for almost ten years best articulated the connection between higher education for the public good and our communities. I was interested in knowing why community elders were continuing to encourage their young people to attend college, even though the retention rates were low for Indigenous students. Institutions were marginalizing, oppressive, and failed to understand the needs of its Indigenous students. In response to my question and concern, he told me, "We send you all there [institutions of higher education] as a way of acknowledging where we come from. We have to fight fire with fire and use the natural relationships that might be counterintuitive to some [people] in order to win this war… Make no mistake that we are at war for our lives, cultures, and rights to be independent nations." This quote and the thinking behind it offer new ways to

examine higher education for the public good for American Indian communities. It also offers a challenge to institutions of higher education to think about what their roles are for different communities and for the larger public.

In this chapter, I am interested in exploring the ways that American Indian communities, through their citizens, identify themselves in relation to ongoing struggles. Part of this examination includes the ways that they utilize higher education to examine and explore their complex economic, political, and social structures. I intend to examine how higher education for the public good informs and is informed by the struggles of these communities and what it may mean for institutions of higher education in a world that continues to change.

This chapter is informed by three guiding questions: 1) How and in what ways do tribal nations utilize institutions of higher education to address local and enduring struggles? 2) How and in what ways does higher education for the public good inform these struggles? and 3) How is higher education informed by the struggles themselves? These questions force institutions of higher education to (re)consider their own roles within society and particular communities.

Before proceeding further, I offer a brief discussion of my methods used for data collection and analyses. I then offer a theoretical overview of both higher education for the public good and the idea of local and enduring struggles as they are couched in Holland and Lave's (2001) notion of history in person. I make connections between these two concepts before presenting data collected and its subsequent analysis. Finally, I conclude with the importance of higher education for the public good for both institutions of higher education and marginalized communities; I argue that all education at these institutions should be higher education for the public good.

Methods

The original data for this monograph come from a two-year ethnography conducted with seven American Indian undergraduate students at two Ivy League universities between 1995-1997. In the original study (Brayboy, 1999), I was interested in examining the cultural, educational, political, emotional, and psychological costs and benefits of being an academically successful American Indian undergraduate student at an Ivy League university. In the original study, I found that individual students established strategies to assist them in being both "good Indians" and "good students" simultaneously. Being a good Indian meant that they were individuals who saw themselves as members of a tribal community and the community likewise saw them as an integral part of their community. In several of these instances, the individuals chose to attend an Ivy institution because they

believed that the skills and credentials earned there would assist their tribal communities in their quest for sovereignty. These individuals all work in their communities and have, in fact, assisted their communities toward larger political ends.

In the years since, I have collected data from the original participants in the study in their roles as students and professionals. I also conducted participant observation in their homes away from the university during school summer breaks. I conducted interviews with community and tribal leaders; analyzed documents, and conducted focus groups. I have, since 1996, visited each community once a year and interviewed community and tribal leaders. Additionally, I have maintained telephone and electronic mail correspondence with the original participants and many of the tribal and community members. For this particular chapter, I rely on the original participant observations and interviews, including on follow-up interviews with the participant and their tribal elders. The long-term nature of this research is important for addressing notions of both local and enduring struggles. I have seen the ways in which the geographical, political, economic, and cultural landscapes have changed over a relatively short period of time. The time is significant enough to make some judgments based on the changes in the landscape. Ultimately, I recognize that these communities are always in a state of being and becoming; they are—like all communities—liminal (or in a temporary state) because of the fact that they change constantly.

For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on the experiences of one student, Heather. Her case is instructive for many of the other students with whom I have worked. Like other students in the study she came to Sherwood in order to assist her community's political agenda. Heather put her community before herself in terms of academic achievement; she formulated strategies, in some cases with the assistance of her Indigenous classmates, to enhance her achievement and her ability to be both a good Indian and a good student. Heather encountered severe personal costs for her work. The methods are informed by the theoretical frame that is grounded in the notion that higher education can be—and has been—utilized by marginalized communities to address their enduring struggles. It is to this framework that I now turn.

Higher Education for the Public Good and History in Practice

Two related theoretical frames organize this chapter. Higher education for the public good is an integral part of how I envision the role of institutions of higher education in our society. Additionally, "history in practice" frames the struggles of local communities as they find and define their places in the world. Together, these concepts outline a vision of how communities rely on

and make sense of themselves and their struggles in relation to the services provided by institutions of higher education.

The Kellogg Commission (2000) has argued, "The irreducible fact is that we exist to advance the common good. As a new millennium dawns, the fundamental challenge with which we struggle is how to reshape our historic agreement with the American people so that it fits the times that are emerging instead of the times that have passed" (p. 9). In this vision of higher education, the Commission alludes to an arrangement "with the American people." The Commission also points to the idea that agreements have to change to meet the present needs. The vision that I articulate below seeks to extend and complicate this vision. For what happens when the agreements between universities and American people may be contradictory to the needs of other people of the Americas? That is, what happens when larger society has policies in place that are destructive for particular communities? Whose agreements are honored when American Indian communities have disputes with the federal, state, and local governments that are hundreds of years old? At this point, I argue that the common good may be both debatable and contextual. By this, I mean what some see as a "common good" may, in fact, be uncommonly bad for others. At this point of departure, how do we as a society decide whose good is met at the expense of others?

Additionally, I will argue that the times that are emerging are, in the case of many marginalized communities, tied to the past and our enduring struggles. Given this argument, what then is the agreement and whom does it serve? Can the agreement serve both sides in a disagreement or struggle? If so, what does that mean for the agreement? I believe the agreement can—and must—be contradictory because there are enduring struggles between particular communities and society at large or governmental structures. It is not the role of institutions of higher education to necessarily better prepare one side of the struggle, but to seek equity and justice for all segments of society. It is in this vein that a search for the common good must begin. My point here is not to disagree with the Commission for they have offered a useful vision; my intent is to push and extend that vision to be wider and more encompassing with a particular focus on the struggles of marginalized communities.

In this chapter, I use higher education for the public good to convey a multi-faceted idea that is rooted in notions of activism. My definition includes two in-depth components: how higher education serves society, and how higher education prepares active, vibrant citizens. Importantly, institutions of higher education do not do these things in a vacuum; they are not the source of all knowledge or the center of society. Rather, they are a part of a larger whole for a global community, and for specific local communities. Higher education clearly plays a role in larger society. In a vision

of public good the University must ask the question: How is society best served? Generating new, creative, and inventive ideas, universities can begin to address ways to assist local communities as they continue to face struggles. More importantly, higher education for the public good has a reciprocal relationship with society where it serves society, but also finds many of its guiding principles from community members. By teaching students and encouraging faculty, staff, and administration to be active citizens and community oriented, higher education for the public good offers expertise and creativity to address societal issues in constructive, proactive, innovative and interesting ways. For communities who have enduring struggles, innovation and creativity become an integral part of addressing their struggles, and working toward creating a solution that works for a specific community.

It is important that the citizens graduating from and working in institutions of higher education be activists in our society. Individuals are, and become, parts of local, national, and global communities that they wish to serve actively. These individuals also recognize that a core of people working together are able to generate responses to societal and community needs. Importantly, these citizens also form proactive strategies for activist-oriented roles in society. Ultimately, higher education must create affirmative contexts of self-determination for communities within larger society. In the case of this chapter, American Indian students, and the community members that guide them into specific colleges for specific purposes, highlight the role of higher education for the public good. Returning to the elder with which this chapter started, higher education for the public good allows communities to fight fire with fire. Essentially, this community has legal and societal struggles with the local, state, and federal governments. They have essentially put young people in place to gain education, skills, and credentials in order to fight the governmental structures using the government's language and tactics. The Indigenous communities are buoyed by their cultural knowledges and epistemologies and a vision of the fact that the past continues to influence the present and future. They are attempting to redefine the new rules by playing by the old ones.

Higher education for the public good has at least two potential weaknesses. First, there is the danger of having too much focus on individuals and not enough on the communities from which they come. When institutions of higher education tend to focus on individuals as such, communities may get lost in the process. Can we build a strong community one member at a time without a coherent strategy or philosophy of activism in place? Institutions of higher education must focus on community values and priorities in order to truly carry out higher education for the public good. It is important to note that individuals will not be lost in the process; rather, they will be seen as belonging to something and coming from some place. I do

not mean, however, to minimize the inherent danger associated with fighting fire with fire. Individuals who take up fire or the tools of dominant institutions then become co-opted by the institutions and by society. There is always a danger of this occurring and it is harmful to both the individual and the community. It is a risk those communities facing enduring local struggles must make. I do not minimize the fact these communities have other strategies in place in order to meet the needs of their communities. They are not solely relying on institutions to assist them in their political goals. They have instituted their own culture and language revitalization programs, pursued their own economic endeavors, and created educational institutions that serve the needs of many of their members who live in areas of reservations or other tribally based areas.

The second weakness may be that institutions of higher education cannot clearly articulate their place within society. Too often, those of us in the academy have been criticized for not being connected to communities. What, after all, do we have to contribute to society? How much of our research and theorizing can be linked to community improvement or espouse ideas that communities can take and make their own? " Too often, it seems, we attempt to dictate to communities how their communities "should" live by instituting programs that go into communities to "improve" them or by bringing our expertise to communities without recognizing that communities have knowledge and skills of their own. Is there a coherent message of our contributions, and if so, what is it? If we listen to and hear communities , as institutions of higher education, we can begin to articulate our place within society in meaningful ways. These threats must be acknowledged and strategically and effectively addressed by a higher education for the public good.

History in practice is a theoretical concept posited by Holland and Lave (2001). This idea explores the "mutually constitutive nature of long and complex social, political, and economic struggles and the historically fashioned identities-in-practice and subjectivities they produce" (p. 3). History in practice is a combination of two concepts that Holland and Lave outline as "history in person" (p. 5) and "enduring struggles" (p. 6). History in person refers to a "constellation of relations…between subjects'intimate self-making and their participation in contentious local practice" (p. 5). In other words, how do individuals make sense of who they are in relation to and because of events that occur in their immediate surrounding community? Enduring struggles is a "constellation of relations…between contentious local practice and broader more enduring (historical, processual, and open ended) struggles" (Holland & Lave, p. 6). Together, enduring struggles and history in person make up history in practice.

It is important to know that this process begins with local struggles or those struggles in specific times and places that extend into enduring struggles. These enduring struggles are often situated in explicit local conflict. For the Indigenous community that I discuss in this chapter, those explicit local conflicts are with the local, state, and federal governments. They are rooted in treaty rights or those promises made by treaties that are being ignored by municipalities and private businesses. For the case study, the tribal nation's conflict occurs over the ownership and uses of natural resources that are indigenous to their own lands. Because treaties promised all monetary rewards to the tribal nation, they are fighting with the federal government and a private natural resources company over working conditions and profit sharing. Much of the discussions occur in legalese and are written against the tribal nation. Many of the original agreements are in direct conflict with the treaties, but the federal government refuses to enforce the law in spite of its official position as trustee of the tribal nation.

The conflict is both local and enduring. The results will inform how communities are making sense of who they are in relation to the contentious practices. Holland and Lave (2001) write, "struggles produce occasions on which participants are 'addressed' with great intensity and 'answer' intensely in their turn" (p. 10). The community discussed in this chapter is being addressed and answering with great intensity. I am particularly concerned with the role of higher education for the public good's role in the manner in which these communities are now answering.

The following sections and analysis will take up the ideas and questions stated at the beginning of this chapter. There is a particular focus on the connections between higher education for the public good and the local and enduring struggles of the Indigenous community. I argue that this community specifically sends young people to institutions of higher education in order to meet its need to solve particular struggles.

The place, space, and people: Moving toward higher education for the public good

In the following section, I discuss a community in which I have worked for ten years as a researcher. The community is located in the southwestern part of the United States. It is, like many reservation communities, removed from highly traveled roads and interstates and can be described as rural. The community is about 110 minutes from the closest large city. Many members of the community make bi-weekly or monthly trips to the city to stock up on goods that are hard to find on the reservation. There are places in the community that do not have running water or electricity. The state of living in some corners is "third world like," according to one community member who has traveled the world extensively. The community is rich in natural

resources with an abundance of uranium, natural gas, and oil. The community is divided over how to utilize these resources. It is believed that some of the most valuable resources are found on ground, but many in the community refuse to bother because of its spiritual and sacred importance.

In the community, there is a clear vision held by some community members that institutions of higher education offer a place to develop "modern day warriors." When I asked one community leader what he meant by modern day warriors, he told me:

These are our people who know how to fight using computers, books, law, and book smarts….We must reach a point where we have balanced young people who understand who they are and the importance of fighting for who we are, but…they have to be able to talk to white people… the government…the BIA…these businesses who want our [natural resources], but don't want to pay for them.

He went on to tell me, "We make a deliberate attempt to have those schools [universities] train you people to fight for our rights and for us." In this community, there have been struggles over the use of natural resources and education for the tribal nation's bilingual or monolingual (tribal language-only speakers) students.

The fight with the private company stems back over 100 years and is directly tied to a treaty that proclaimed that all natural resources and the resulting monies or profits would go directly to the tribal nation. The private company, according to tribal elders, used the lack of English and legal knowledge of tribal leaders, and signed a 150-year lease that essentially gave the tribe eight percent of the profits and leased the land to the company for less than one dollar per month. To add insult to injury, the collection of the natural resource is dangerous and toxic. The company has used tribal labor to extract the resources and failed to implement proper safety measures. As a result, the incidence of cancer is almost quadruple the natural rate found among communities outside of the reservation. This is clearly an example of both an enduring struggle and one that is, at any given time, local and focused for this community. This struggle has become part of everyone's life on the reservation because the industry influences individuals and families on an everyday basis either through the incidence of cancer or as a form of economic survival.

While individuals in the community are aware of the health problems they are also aware that, by reservation standards, the industry pays well. In spite of the hazards, individuals from the local community go to the site to work on a daily basis. Holland and Lave (2001) remind us that local and enduring struggles can be contradictory. Essentially, the pay clouds the dangers of the industry and individuals must decide if they will starve today, leave their home for a low paying job in the urban area two hours south of

the reservation, or potentially die of cancer later. These choices finally led a community of leaders to consider how they might send their children and young warriors to college in an effort to address the struggles.

Heather is a young woman from this reservation, and one of the warriors sent out to do battle for her community. She grew up in a home that borders the reservation; both of her parents have been active in tribal politics for several decades, and they are viewed as leaders in the community. Both are professionals whose work takes them on and off the reservation. Heather attended high school in the local town where the student body was a mixture of members from her tribal nation, surrounding tribal nations, and local Anglos. There was a small percentage of Latina/os. The school was almost evenly split between Indigenous students and Anglos.

Recognizing that the tribal nation needed good, strong Indigenous leaders, they began to look for young people who were adept thinkers and verbally skilled. They found one such student in Heather. One leader in the community, in reference to this informal program, commented, "We actual-ly modeled some of what we did from the old East German bloc countries and from the Chinese in that we looked for kids—really young kids—who displayed a particular talent that we thought would be useful."   He went on to say, "If kids seem to be healers, we thought of them as doctors; if they could teach or seemed like good teachers, then we would steer them in that direction... I know this seems a bit extreme, but we live in extreme times." Heather was a student who showed promise as a potential lawyer in the com-munity. When I met her during her first semester as a college student, she told me, "I have always wanted to be a lawyer. My father and mother and my elders told me that's what I was going to be, so I wanted it…I do this because it will mean a better life for my people, my siblings, my cousins and nieces and nephews…I can handle anything for those reasons; and I have."

Heather did endure insults and psychological and racists attacks in college and in law school in order to meet her goals. In college, she was actively involved in the campus American Indian student group and began the process of building an Ivy League coalition of American Indian students. Along the way she found staff and professors in whom she placed trust and confidence in her ultimate goals. These individuals assisted her in develop-ing skills that they believed would be useful for her life long endeavors. She worked as a research librarian's assistant during her time at her university where she acquired the requisite skills to be a thorough creative researcher. These skills would serve her well in the future in law school and as a tribal attorney. She took this job after a professor found out about her aspirations and made arrangements to have her campus job be in the library. The pro-fessor knew a reference librarian who was interested in American Indian issues. Together they helped Heather become an able reference librarian and

a capable researcher before she finished college. Another area in which professors served as mentors for her included her summer jobs. Each summer break, Heather would spend a month working in an internship in Washington, D.C. that helped her become more familiar with the role of Washington in her tribal nation's affairs. Over the summers she worked for the Department of Interior, Department of Energy, Smithsonian Institute, and served as intern in the Department of Justice. In addition, she interned for the tribal nation's law firm and different tribal governmental offices. This conscious, well-rounded experience made her aware of what was happening on a national level with in the United States and her tribal nation. She was well informed of the issues and potential solutions before entering law school.

In her academic work, a cohort of professors and staff members assisted her in creative research projects. She implemented a study of water rights and natural resources for a political science course. For a geology course, she examined the impact of mining on different lands and communities, including her own. Her work was focused toward addressing the enduring struggle in which her home community was engaged.

In turn, her professors traveled to her home community and conducted life histories; took soil samples; examined the intricate weaving, pottery, and jewelry designs of her nation's artisans; and formed computer simulations of the impact of certain events on the water supply. This research assisted the professors in their own research and course offerings and the findings were turned back to the tribal nation for their own uses. It was, in the goal of higher education for the public good, a reciprocal relationship that benefited all parties. The tribal nation's understandings of particular issues were greatly enhanced in these partnerships. Heather played a key role in introducing these faculty and staff members to community members and in articulating the community's desired needs to the scholars. The fact that scholars and community could discuss these issues and establish partnerships is remarkable in and of itself. This is one of the creative ways communities can be proactive in addressing their needs and creating solutions to particular struggles, both local and enduring.

In this process communities are attempting to address their enduring struggles in innovative ways. For the institution's part there was a group of committed scholars that took up the mantle of higher education for the public good. In order for this relationship to be truly effective, institutions, as a whole, must assume components of this work to address the needs of particular communities as defined by the community. The connection in these cases was one student sent to a specific university for a particular end. This leads to the natural question: How do institutions of higher education begin to form relationships with communities that are both local and endur-

ing? How do these institutions form collaborative partnerships with communities to address enduring struggles?

One important piece of the case just outlined has to do with the fact that members of the institutional community were activists. If higher education for the public good has an activist component, members of an institution's community must be committed to activism. Activism can be, as illustrated above, rooted in an individual's research agenda. In this case a professor of geology interested in the impact of particular practices on soils and water resources led him to conduct research that assisted the community. In the process his own research agenda was fulfilled. The point here is that professors can meet their professional requirements and be activists simultaneously. Additionally, institutions cannot create groups of activists if they do not have experienced activists in their midst.

Another important piece of this case is that the institution, or its constituent members, respected the knowledge of the community, and became aware of its struggles. Unlike many cases in which an institution or its members may try to dictate a solution or path of action to a community, these members listened to community leaders and elders, observed what was occurring, and acted according to the wishes of community members. They saw their place within the community as they served the community's needs and by extension the university became part of a larger whole as part of a solution to an enduring and local struggle.

In beginning to ask the question "How is society best served?" these faculty members are asking the community: "How can we best serve you?" The faculty members did not attempt to take over the situation or the struggle; rather, they took their lead from the community who had their own ideas about what would best serve their needs. Eventually, the community leaders asked faculty members for ideas. One community leader told me, "We needed to see if his [a faculty member] heart was true. Did he want to work with us, or did he want to use us? What was in it for us? Did he have our interests at heart or his own?... As soon as we knew that he wanted to work with us, it changed things completely." This leader went on to say, "We realized that he could really help us and give us the kind of information we needed to make our case. Of course, he was able to get what he needed, but we got what we needed first."

Answering these questions offers a connection between higher education for the public good and history in practice. History in practice encompasses the struggles of communities in their local practices and the ways that individuals make sense of themselves. By becoming activists to address the enduring struggles and by resisting the overwhelming power of the local, state, and federal government in the affairs of American Indians these communities engage in history in practice. Importantly, higher education for the

public good becomes a source of power for them as they engage in the struggles. The solution includes more than simple skills and credentials earned at an institution of higher education; there are components of using these skills toward a particular end and by particular people. The institution is aware that it plays a role in the process of addressing the struggle and that the local community determines how it uses the institution to meet the struggle head on.

Heather graduated from college and was admitted to another Ivy League university's law school. The tutoring and mentoring continued, as did her focus on serving her community. During the summer of each year between law school, Heather interned in the law firm that served her tribal nation. The firm was in a large urban area several hours away from the community. Heather traveled between her community and the law firm and became actively engaged in the process of serving the community. Her coursework focused on tribal law, contracts, and federal cases. It was a program developed to best serve her community. Immediately upon graduation, Heather returned to her home community, studied for the bar exam, and passed it four months later. She also began working for the community's law firm immediately upon graduation.

Heather's work focused on addressing the natural resources on her reservation's land. She conducted extensive research using her knowledge of the law and the skills developed as a reference librarian and attorney. Her thorough research, in connection with her intimate knowledge of the enduring and local struggles, was an incisive and integral part of an ensuing lawsuit. I cannot overstate the connections that individuals have with local and enduring struggles as they begin to address them. She told me, after her first year in law school, "This [company] has eaten our tribe alive; they continue to behave in ways that are unconscionable. How can they continue to deny links between these cancer rates and their [work]? I'm going to help end this." In Heather's case, she was focused for seven years on these struggles, and clearly working toward a solution to the problem. She knew families who had lost family members to cancer. She saw how the management of the private company treated those in the community who looked like her. She saw the dependence of the community on an industry that was simultaneously destroying it. Heather's words are also those of an activist. She understands that a group of individuals with the right training and preparation may have an opportunity to take up the struggle and change its direction. Higher education for the public good is particularly important here because members of the institution of higher education asked themselves, "What is best for this society?," as they assisted Heather in her role in the struggle. In the process they helped feed Heather's activist's motivations.

Two years after she finished her law degree, Heather was part of a

team of attorneys that represented her tribal nation in a lawsuit against the private natural resources company. In a series of negotiations—lasting over an eighteen-month period—much of the data that Heather had compiled were presented. The company and the tribal nation negotiated a new contract. The contract included better compensation for the resources' worth. The new contract also created safer and better working conditions, a comprehensive health insurance plan for employees, and ensured the employment of members of her tribe in management positions. Higher education for the public good also played a key role in this process. On behalf of her tribal nation, Heather was the key researcher of the case. She successfully held her own in the negotiations and relied on her knowledge and skills gained at the institution of higher education.

I met with her recently to discuss the negotiations and to catch up on her life. Dressed in a gray suit with cream pinstripes, black pumps, and carrying a worn, leather briefcase, Heather looked very much like an attorney. She sat in an old chair in her office that overlooked a scenic vista. Her diplomas were on the wall. Her office was scattered with law cases, legal folders, pink telephone messages, and bookcases stacked with books and folders. Other than her diplomas, she has not "had time to do anything with [my] office." I felt like I was in a busy attorney's office. About the negotiations, she told me, "I was the only woman in the negotiation process, but many of the people with whom I negotiated were alumni [from her undergraduate and law schools]. We connected on that and I think they had more of a sense of respect for me." She went on to tell me, "I knew that data from one end to another, so I was comfortable. It quickly became apparent to them that I was the one with the knowledge, so I felt good about my role." Heather also mentioned the fact that "I also knew some of these people from my time in Washington; so that worked out well." Heather's presence was made more powerful because she had graduated from two prestigious institutions of higher education, and had served internships in departments in Washington, DC. She was well rounded, and had credentials that are impressive. The role of higher education for the public good is important here. The entire process of creating and assisting an activist came together as the tribal nation was addressing an enduring struggle. With her education, Heather has helped create a "better life for [her] people, [her] siblings, [her] cousins and nieces and nephews." This is a story of empowerment and liberation both for Heather and for her tribal group.

Heather is what Deyhle and Swisher (1997) have called "adapters." Heather knew that the structures of the classroom and social environment were not completely comfortable for her, so "[she] accept[ed] this segment of [her life] as a short interruption on [her] way to meeting life goals" (Deyhle & Swisher, 1997, p. 167). These interruptions were, in Heather's

case, expected and planned in order to gain specific skills and credentials from elite institutions of higher education for personal and/or tribal betterment, self-determination, and tribal autonomy. Her adaptation makes her one of the new tribal warriors. But what are the costs for individuals like Heather who adapt and commit their lives to the tribal nation?

While this is an interesting story and one that ended well for the tribal nation, I do not want to romanticize this process. Heather's work was important to the process, and she has devoted her life to making life better for her tribal nation. At the same time, the enduring struggles over treaty rights continue; unemployment, alcohol, and domestic abuse rates remain high, and the poverty level of the tribal nation ranks in the lowest tenth in the United States. Formal higher education is still a rarity in this community, and Heather is one of a few attorneys from her tribal nation. Health care is abysmal, and cancer and diabetes claim lives every week in this small, intimate community. Heather's connection with elite institutions of higher education has not removed the enduring or local struggles. As each is addressed, another replaces it on the scale of importance. The local and enduring struggles will continue so long as the community remains at the mercy of the United States Federal Government in many of decisions.

There are personal costs for Heather as well. Heather wants to have a family and raise children on the reservation. Due to her education and her prominent role in the community, she is inundated with work. Additionally, she is a controversial figure in the community. She left the community for seven years and wears fancy clothes; as a result, many are intimidated by her. She has struggled with relationships. She has also encountered jealousy from those in the community who do not fully understand her motivations. She has moved off the reservation and into the local town. She has an unlisted phone number and is often concerned about how others will receive her on the street. She is a bit of an outcast even as she has helped her community. This is a complicated role for her and a complicated one for the community as they address their local and enduring struggles.

The manners in which tribal leaders and elders have addressed this enduring struggle are not fully supported by the entire tribal nation. There are some leaders and elders who believe that institutions of higher education have nothing to offer these communities. Much of their beliefs are rooted in another enduring struggle between the tribal nation and schools. It is important to note that these struggles can and do conflict with each other. Marginalized communities, in their quest to address these struggles, are forced to be creative and strategic in ways that may not be approved by everyone in the community.

In response to the objections outlined by community members who want to steer clear of institutions of (higher) education, one of the weak-

nesses of higher education for the public good is highlighted. These institutions are not clearly articulating their own places within society. Much of this is connected to the fact that institutions of education have for centuries been used to assimilate American Indian communities (e.g., see Child, 2000; Lomawaima, 1995, 1996). In many ways, the purpose was to "kill the Indian and save the man." In the process, American Indian communities have come to distrust these institutions. How are institutions of higher education articulating the ways that they are different now than they have been in the past? How do these institutions show enough humility to listen to a community and offer a piece of themselves to address these enduring struggles? How do these institutions make amends for the work they has done to create monolingual speakers or citizens who do not return home to tribal communities? What measures are being put into place to make the institutions more welcoming and to become better hearers of the communities? Are institutions capable of practicing humility when their structures are rooted in elitism? If so, what will the humility look like, and how will institutional cultures adapt to allow for the humility? Institutions of higher education must participate in the process of addressing the enduring struggles of which they are a part for many American Indian communities. It is to that potential vision that I now turn in the conclusion, and I offer remedies for institutions of higher education that want to participate in higher education for the public good.

Conclusion

Toward a higher education for the public good Holland and Lave (2001) argue: In the course of local struggles, marginalized groups create their own practices. Participants in these groups both are identified by these practices and often identify themselves as "owners" of them. These practices thus provide the means by which subjectivities in the margins of power thicken and become more developed and so more determinant in shaping local struggles. (p. 19)

The response to the tribal nations' local and enduring struggles put forth above is creative and rooted in a tribal belief that the community must adapt and adjust to meet the issues their citizens face. I have outlined one such response, and how different members in the same community countered it. Still, higher education for the public good must articulate its place in society, and become a viable option for communities that have been marginalized and are engaged in enduring struggles.

The vision of higher education for the public good is one that must be symbiotic between institutions of higher education and marginalized communities. Institutions of higher education, in order to articulate their place in society, must be not only useful to society, but also viewed that way

by many of their detractors. What, then, can these institutions do to make themselves seem as useful as they can be? First, higher education for the public good must be based in a philosophy of humility. As important as we, as academics, think our institutions are, we must recognize that there are forms of knowledge that are thousands of years old that communities rely on for guidance and operation. We cannot think that because we have knowledge based in "scientific" understanding, that our knowledge is better or superior. What can we learn from these communities and their knowledge sets? How do we ask questions as learners to improve our own ability to teach others? I believe that higher education for the public good must be rooted in both teaching and learning. Returning to the argument I made earlier in this chapter, institutions must develop the ability to hear communities and to address the needs in ways that make sense for the communities. Institutions of higher education must become hearers and learners in order to promote higher education for the public good.

Communities too must see that institutions of higher education can be successfully used to assist them in their enduring and local struggles. Utilizing "scientific knowledge" in ways that make sense for these communities is an effective tool in fighting for justice. In the example involving Heather's community, the use of soil samples, geological studies, computer simulations, and medical references was invaluable for the new negotiations of a contract. Importantly, the institution of higher education—and its staff—was guided by the community in its search. The focused nature of the studies and the fact that they were rooted in community-oriented ideas and agendas is one key aspect of higher education for the public good. Community epistemologies and ontologies must be the driving force behind the work that is accomplished. I do not mean here to argue that institutions of higher education lose their sense of independence and ability to drive their own agendas. I mean to argue that higher education for the public good must be a negotiation between communities and institutions that focuses on specific goals outlined by the communities.

Finally, institutions of higher education and communities need to see that some of their goals are more congruous than originally imagined. In this case, Heather's issues of justice and scholarship drove the community, the institution and its faculty. Justice and scholarship need not be incongruous. In fact, higher education for the public good recognizes that scholarship should incorporate components of justice, and be focused on serving the public and community good. Ultimately, local and enduring struggles can be addressed through community sets of knowledge and those coming from institutions of higher education. Higher education for the public good is the entity through which many of these struggles are addressed and managed.

Heather's case is one example of how the connections between scholarship and justice coalesce toward a common good. The next steps for this conversation are rooted in institutions of higher education recognizing their role in the oppression of many marginalized communities and focusing on ways to end the marginalization. This admission, along with a plan toward working with communities to end enduring struggles, is the future of higher education for the public good.

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"To Share With All": Vida Scudder's Educational Work in the Settlements

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Abstract

Vida Scudder, progressive-era professor and activist, created programs to share her intellectual inheritance. College Extension—settlers teaching "high" culture to immigrants—was unsuccessful and today seems imperialist. However, the Circolo Italo-Americano educated Italians and Americans meeting for lectures, debate and concerts. This education led to successful cross-cultural friendship and mutual learning to enhance democracy.

In a speech during Smith College's 25th anniversary celebration, alumna Vida Dutton Scudder championed the idea that college-level education or "intellectual privilege" should be available to everyone, uniting society instead of dividing it:

> We can tolerate no fixed class of the intellectually privileged; we demand that our colleges and universities be in the truest sense centers of democracy, and that from them proceed ceaselessly influences seeking to share with all, the gifts which they impart. . .Learning itself, alas, acts too often as a dividing rather than a uniting force, adding to all other distinctions that final, most inexorable distinction between the literate and illiterate. (as cited in McManus, 1999, p.118)

When she made the speech, Scudder had spent two decades trying to make colleges "centers of democracy" and creating programs to "share with all" the gifts her Smith experience had given her. In this article I introduce Vida Dutton Scudder, describe and critique the educational programs she started at her settlement house, and use her experience to suggest principles that may apply today. I rely on archival materials such as daily records from Denison House and letters Scudder wrote, as well as Scudder's published memoirs, articles, and a novel. I have also consulted secondary materials from fields such as history and rhetoric.

Radical educator, tireless activist, and accomplished orator, Scudder (1861-1954) was a triple threat to the turn-of-the-century's complacent elite. Scudder wrote of her life, "I was perpetually drawn in three directions at once, and racked in consequence" (Scudder, 1937, p.175). "The calm college world" provided her salary (Scudder, 1937, p. 175). Both in her Wellesley classroom and across the college campus, she emphasized social justice themes and taught women to be effective, committed citizens, agents of social change. In articles and speeches, she urged college-educated women to use their academic skills for the good of their communities. Her work linking academic study with settlement work created an historical antecedent for one innovative, currently popular way of connecting academia and community work: service learning.

Scudder's second direction, "the tumultuous world of social reform," claimed her attentions as much as teaching (Scudder, 1937, p. 175). In the first half of her life, she concentrated her energies on settlement houses—comprehensive neighborhood centers in urban ghettoes, mostly staffed by college-educated, upper-middle-class women. She and her friends, calling themselves the College Settlement Association, founded some of the country's first settlements. Scudder's home settlement, Denison House, was in Boston's South End. Although Scudder never lived there, remaining with her widowed mother, she helped run the settlement and many of its programs. Scudder's experience working among the poor inspired her to become "ardently and definitely a socialist" (Scudder, 1937, p.161). Her radicalism alienated her from her settlement colleagues. For the rest of her life she concentrated her activism within the Episcopal church, forming social justice organizations and arguing that socialism and Christianity were complementary. Finally, "in time jealously snatched from other matters," she produced a staggering number of books and magazine articles exhorting educated readers to work for an equitable society (Scudder, 1937, p.180). A well-known whirlwind of activity in her lifetime, Scudder has become a footnote in articles about women's colleges, half a century after her death in 1954 at age 92. Indeed, the only settlement worker to whom scholars devote detailed attention is Jane Addams. As for scholarship in education, Gerald Graff calls Scudder "one of the great neglected figures of English studies" (1987, p. 335).

Scudder merits study because she was an important woman orator, professor, and activist who has received scant academic attention. Furthermore, her lifelong struggle to connect academia and activism makes her an inspiration for today's college instructors who want to responsibly combine community work and scholarship. As historian Peter Frederick wrote, "her story reveals the often painful process of the professor who seeks to balance a professional obligation to the pursuit of learning with a person-

al commitment to social and political activism" (1976, p.115). Indeed, Scudder's troubles merging academics and activism parallel the perils facing contemporary academics committed to social change work. Scudder grappled with the challenging issues of the extent and basis of the elite's responsibility to improve society, of colleges' responsibilities to their communities and of relations between server and served. In a 1999 College English article, Ellen Cushman pointed out that many conceptualizations of the public intellectual envision a public composed of middle- to upper-middle-class policymakers, administrators, and professionals, not the local community. Citing a growing pressure for intellectuals to contribute to a more just social order, Cushman advocated a different kind of public intellectual: one who combines her research, teaching, and service efforts in order to address social issues important to community members and under-served neighborhoods. Scudder exemplifies Cushman's public intellectual.

One example of Scudder as Cushman-style public intellectual was her educational work with immigrant "neighbors," as settlers called the immigrants who lived around settlement houses. Many of Scudder's goals for these programs were akin to her aims for Wellesley students and Denison neighbors. She sought to expand students' horizons by introducing them to members of other classes and races, to foster appreciation for certain authors, and, ultimately and most importantly, to transform everyone inwardly, producing a classless, Christian society. But she also had goals specific to the poor, less-educated neighbors. She wanted them to learn to "share our intellectual inheritance" (Scudder, 1902, p. 817). The word "our" encompassed settlers and other established Anglo-Saxon Americans, and "intellectual inheritance" meant the newly developing canon and other European masterworks. Scudder also wanted immigrants to understand and practice her favorite American ideals: free speech and tolerance. In addition, she saw settlement education programs as a means to interpret different classes and nationalities to each other. While she taught College Extension, she wrote magazine articles detailing her experiences with it; when she led the Circolo Italo-Americano, she created a circle where Italians and Americans could get to know each other.

In the 1890s Scudder attempted to formally educate neighbors through evening College Extension courses about topics ranging from spelling to art history. Results were mixed. Some students enjoyed the courses, and enrollment increased throughout the decade. But many exhausted workers had trouble absorbing the lectures on literature, art or travel that well-meaning settlers had prepared for them. In the second decade of Scudder's settlement involvement she developed another program that she found more rewarding. The Italian-American Circle, or the Circolo Italo-Americano, which was limited to a hundred chosen Italian and American

members with intellectual interests, held lectures, concerts, debates, and par-
ties. Scudder and the group's Italian co-founder, Francesco Malgeri, aimed
to educate Italians and Americans about the gifts the other nationality
offered as well as to teach Italian immigrants their civic responsibilities in
their new country. Scudder and Malgeri wrote newspaper articles about
Circolo events for those who could not share in the experience.

Settlements had come into being largely because of educated people's
desires to share their intellectual riches with the poor. Stanton Coit patterned
his Neighborhood Guild, the first American settlement, partly on Frederick
Denison Maurice's Working Men's College in London (Davis, 1967).
(Scudder and her mother both revered Maurice, a Christian Socialist clergy-
man in the 1850s.) Jane Addams and Ellen Starr began teaching and lectur-
ing at Hull House as soon as it opened. Starr organized a group that read
George Eliot, Dante, Browning, and Shakespeare; another settler started a
Sunday Afternoon Plato Club to discuss philosophical questions (Davis,
1967). The University of Chicago offered college credit for the courses.

   One successful adult education program took place a mile away
from Denison, in Boston's North End. Mrs. Quincy Agassiz Shaw estab-
lished the Civic Service House in 1901 to promote civic and educational
work among immigrants. Several of the staff had been involved in settlement
activities as children, such as Meyer Bloomfield, who had attended classes
at New York's University Settlement, and Philip Davis, a Russian immigrant
whose love of learning started at Hull House. The men organized clubs and
classes, helped immigrants learn English, and encouraged them to join trade
unions.

   In 1905 Frank Parsons, a Boston University law professor, started
the Breadwinner's College at Civic Service House. It offered adult men
courses in history, civics, economics, philosophy and psychology in which
the works of James, Santayana, and Royce were discussed, taught by their
own Harvard students. Besides Parsons, Bloomfield, and Davis, instructors
included Ralph Albertson, an itinerant reformer who had organized a failed
Christian Commonwealth in Georgia, and Harvard and Boston University
students, including Walter Lippman. Apparently the teachers liked to mix "a
little radical social thought" with their explications of Longfellow and
Emerson (Davis, 1967, p. 41). Breadwinner's College offered a diploma at
the end of two years. Some graduates became prominent government work-
ers: a judge, a Department of Labor official, and an assistant attorney gener-
al. Parsons realized, however, that Breadwinner's students, no matter how
enthusiastic and talented, graduated to face uncertain job prospects with no
expert guidance. Therefore, he developed a new field, vocational counseling,
and wrote the first book on the topic (Davis, 1967).

*Coll*eg*e Extension at Denison*

For the first ten years of Denison House's existence, Scudder tried to bring "the joy and freedom of higher learning" to interested neighbors through her College Extension program (College Settlements Association, 1896, p. 5). A woman could attend "to improve herself," to experience "the pleasure of interesting studies," and to find joy in poetry. Scudder offered seemingly practical courses as well (Scudder, 1895, n.p.). Students could take writing to learn to "write letters easily and correctly" and spelling because "bad spelling is a great disadvantage in practical life."(Scudder, 1895, n.p.). Because "American women ought to know something of the story of their land," Scudder offered American history (Scudder, 1895, n.p.). Finally, Scudder showed her political leanings, offering a course in trade unions: "What they have done, what they mean, what they want to do" (Scudder, 1895, n.p.). No homework for the courses was necessary.

In her autobiography and her settlement house novel, Scudder referred to immigrant women by their nationalities: a Russian Jewish woman, an Irish laundry worker (Scudder, 1937, p. 225). In her announcements for the programs, she assimilated them instantly by calling them American women. The difference suggests that although she wanted the women to see themselves as Americans, she actually thought of them as representatives of their respective countries (Scudder, 1937, p. 220).

Throughout the 1890s, College Extension offered similar courses yearly. Scudder taught some courses, introducing immigrant women to her beloved poets; settlers taught other classes, and undergraduates taught a few. Men could take courses, too, although Scudder's courses seem to have been women only. Scudder reminisced in her autobiography that the future president of Smith College, William Allen Neilson, taught a Shakespeare course for men while a Harvard graduate student (Scudder, 1937). Another course, among whose students was labor leader Jack O'Sullivan (Carrell, 1981, p. 271), was made up of, in Scudder's words, "labor men who wanted to understand what poetry had done for the labor movements and who hope to find in Burns and Shelley some refreshment from their hard practical work" (Scudder, 1895, n.p.). O'Sullivan's wife, labor activist Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, took a course on Dante (Scudder, 1895, n.p.). Another settler taught the proto-feminist "Women Worth Knowing" course, featuring, among others, Deborah, Cleopatra, Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Barrett Browning (College Settlements Association, 1906, p. 35). Teachers and students met occasionally for evenings of talk, music, and readings (College Settlements Association, 1896). Theatre at Denison provided another way for settlers to teach immigrants about English masterworks. Men's dramatics clubs at Denison put on abridged versions of Shakespeare plays, with

men playing the female parts. "Portia, by Jack Cronan, was a beautiful piece of work. The disguise was complete, and the lines were rendered with much expression and good judgment," one article reported (Converse, n.d.[b], n.p.). Hull House had similar programs. The Henry Street Settlement in New York offered courses in art, music, and theatrical performance as means to promote social change. Its Neighborhood Playhouse Theatre put on innovative performances including an anti-lynching drama by the grandniece of the abolitionist Grimke sisters (Sharer, 2001).

Unfortunately, the only glimpse of what went on in classes comes from Scudder, not from students or even other teachers. The way Scudder and the other College Extension teachers described their students makes one wonder whether students found them respectful, patronizing,
or an odd mix of the two. In her autobiography, Scudder never overtly condescended.

"I grew to care in a special way for some of the working girls in my little classes. I shared my beloved poets with them in a manner quite different from those possible in college classes" she wrote, leaving one wondering what was different about her presentation and the students' responses at Denison (1937, p. 146).

However, she discussed immigrant students in different terms than she used for college women. The word "little" pops up often; the working girls in her "little classes" (Scudder, 1937, p. 146) read "a little Shelley, and a little Wordsworth, and a little Tennyson, and a little Browning" and copied poems into a "little book" (College Settlements Association, 1896, p. 19).

When Scudder reported her adult students' accomplishments she almost gloated, as if displaying diamonds in the rough that she and the other College Extension teachers had discovered:

> The class in Poetry "couldn't see why people think Browning hard." The teacher of the class, having surreptitiously noted all the questions asked by a grave professor in a college graduate seminary [sic], put them to her working-girls, and triumphantly reported that they answered much better than the graduates. Indeed, the instinctive sense for poetry of these girls is remarkable. (College Settlement Association, 1896, p. 19)

Here Scudder spoke in terms of her working students' instinct, whereas when she discussed Wellesley students, she emphasized the students' hard work, and her own. Interestingly, in her autobiography she made "avaunt" [boasted] of her own effectiveness and popularity as a Wellesley professor (1937, p. 114). In the draft manuscript of the autobiography in the Smith College Archives, someone—perhaps Scudder herself, perhaps her companion, Florence Converse—has written on the margin of the teaching

chapter, "Insert some humility—Balance—don't purr!"

Scudder also used words like "unspoiled" when she spoke of immigrants, as if she thought them purer and closer to God because of their lack of education, just as Romantic poets thought children: "The lack of training is compensated for to a certain degree by unspoiled intuitions, and a poetic sensitiveness in artistic and literary lines rare in more highly trained students. If you cannot turn out scholars, you can make happier women" (College Settlements Association, 1897, p. 20).

Yet Scudder's own "[u]nconscious snobbism," as Mina Carson put it, pales next to the condescending language and stereotyping in which other settlers engaged (1990, p. 104). A Wellesley alumna living at the settlement, Caroline Williamson, wrote, "It was interesting to find that they had intelligent ideas on theme-writing and Shakespeare" (1895, p. 237). Williamson expressed surprise that some of her students "showed a keenness of insight in literary interpretation and criticism which many a college student might envy" (Williamson, 1895, p. 238). Williamson also felt guilty: "A bachelor of arts felt that she had not improved her opportunities, when she saw the avidity with which the girls who worked ten hours a day could seize a chance to study Ruskin, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, or Homer" (Williamson, 1895, p. 238). Florence Converse, running a dramatics club for young men, reported that although she did not know whether "the Russian Jew, or the Italian, or the German, or the Syrian," would thrive on dramatics, for "the Irish boy" Shakespeare was "the best text book," teaching "English, and History, and Patriotism, and Courtesy" (Converse, n.d. [a], n.p.).

Whether College Extension was successful depends on how one defines success. Scudder barely mentioned the program in her memoirs, and never discussed why she stopped participating in it after 1901—though the reason was probably her growing feeling that the country needed more sweeping social change than settlements could provide. The number of students taking classes, however, increased throughout the 1890s. In October 1894, College Extension offered a Shakespeare reading class on Wednesday evenings, two literature classes on Fridays, and lectures by Scudder on Saturday nights; by 1901, there were 10 classes and 109 students. In the 1895-1896 CSA Annual Report, Scudder wrote that the classes "were a great pleasure alike to teachers and scholars" (College Settlements Association, 1896, p. 15). The next year, though, her report sounded disappointed. She even, atypically, disparaged her students: "You cannot make scholars out of people whose chief nerve force is given to manual work all day long. You must take them as they are, ignorant and immature" (College Settlements Association, 1897, p. 20). By the late 1890s, in fact, the College Extension program incurred criticism from within and without. Some other settlers thought it unrealistic to teach literature and art to people with such difficult

lives, and neighbors themselves began requesting more skill-oriented classes (McManus, 1999). In Scudder's 1903 novel A Listener in Babel, a caustic settler expressed Scudder's own doubts about College Extension's value to exploited workers: The topics will be chosen with a view to the popular mind . . . I think the most valuable course will be on the History of Art. The class will be exposed alternately to photographs from the most dislocated of the old masters and to glaring chromos. Differences will be explained and tests of appreciation applied. Any expression of wandering thoughts will be severely reprimanded. Most of the class will be in a state of uncertainty concerning their food or shelter for tomorrow; some of them will have left hungry families at home. It will be a rare opportunity for them to practice concentration of mind and detachment from material things (Scudder, 1903, pp. 127-128).

In early 1901, Scudder collapsed from exhaustion and spent a year recuperating in Italy. While there, she wrote a series of articles for the Atlantic Monthly recounting her experiences fostering cross-class fellowship. In "Democracy and Education" (1902) she reflected on College Extension. It is disappointing, she wrote, that popular movements to bring "what education may be" to busy workers have not been totally successful. It is hard to get through to exhausted laborers, she continued. Lecturing is difficult because working people are tired out, and "all arts of delivery" are needed to "carry across the invisible leagues that separate the speaker and the hearers" (1902, p. 818). Such talks, then, should only last an hour and be clear-cut, well-put, and interesting; the speaker must steer between "the Scylla of obscurity" and "the Charybdis of childishness" (1902, p. 818). She should be vivid, pictorial, and emotional. "Be brief; be clear; be coherent. Be dignified; be pictorial; be impassioned," Scudder exhorted. Even an excellent lecturer, though, will "reach two or three listeners" only (1902, p. 819).

The lack of common ground posed one problem. "On what grounds shall we try to meet? It is painfully evident that uneducated people do not naturally like the same things as the children of privilege" (1902, p. 820). But while Scudder realized that people's tastes depend on their class and education level, she still believed there were "wholesome, universal and enduring" works of art that all classes could enjoy (1902, p. 820). For example, she reported that boys enjoyed Homer's Odyssey and everyone liked Shakespeare. Of course, her own privileged class was the one making these determinations of universality—a point Scudder never acknowledged. She insisted that the uneducated, without guidance, liked "nothing good," favoring "cheap music, vulgar chromos, and so on" (1902, pp. 820-821).

Settlements provide a better means for intellectual fellowship than lectures, Scudder concluded. When people spend time together, she wrote, there develops a "natural unity of consciousness" so that "intellectual fel-

lowship between people of different traditions will probably crystallize" (1902, p. 820). Real change occurs not through improved educational systems or formal personal contact, but through "a genuine living of the common life" (Scudder, 1902, p. 822). Then, "small groups, rarely numbering more than a dozen, will gather around some lover of art, history, literature, to share his delights" (1902, p. 820). The "probably" and "will gather" hint that these hoped-for outcomes had not materialized at Denison by 1902; in fact, Scudder confessed, "we see as yet only faint beginnings of what we desire" (1902, p. 820). Note, too, that Scudder was writing to a distinctly non-radical audience, Atlantic Monthly readers. She could not share her socialist convictions with them; she could simply imply that under current conditions, truly educating immigrants was impossible.

When Scudder returned to the United States in 1902, longtime Denison resident Bertha Scripture had taken over College Extension. The Irish who lived near the settlement in its early years had moved to the suburbs, replaced by Italians, Syrians, and Chinese (Corcoran, 1973). In 1903 an Educational Center had opened in South Boston that offered industrial classes. Consequently, College Extension attendance declined, though Scudder continued to offer literature courses (McManus, 1999, p. 122). In 1904, she turned her attention to Boston's Italians.

Scudder's goals for College Extension may sound unrealistically rosy. Yet community colleges, which educate 44 percent of the nation's postsecondary school adults, were originally founded in part on the principles that inspired Scudder to offer her program. The first community college opened in 1901—the same year that Scudder stepped down as head of Denison House's College Extension. The men who presided over the early community college movement saw their task as bringing "the blessings of expanded occupational opportunity to the people" (Brint & Karabel, 1989, p. 10). Humanities instruction, they felt, was vital. Before 1970, most community college students agreed. They shunned vocational education, preferring liberal arts courses that might earn them admission to four-year colleges (Brint & Karabel, 1989).

Community colleges, however, began to offer vocational training as well as liberal arts education soon after their founding. The leaders of the movement baldly stated a rationale that would have horrified Scudder, though not surprised her. Despite its language to the contrary, these founders said, the United States was actually class-stratified, a situation these leaders saw no reason to challenge. Offering community college students hope of a four-year degree when many would not make the grade would give students falsely high hopes, perhaps causing mass discontent. Vocational training, on the other hand, would not only give them marketable skills but also placate them. As James Russell, Dean of Teachers College, Columbia University,

put it in 1908, "If the chief purpose of schooling be to promote social order and civic responsibility, how can we justify our practice of schooling the masses in precisely the same manner as we do those who are to be our leaders?" (as cited in Brint & Karabel, 1989, p. 11). The conflict between the different tasks of the community college continues: on the one hand to provide students with a common cultural heritage and educate them to be thoughtful citizens, as Scudder hoped College Extension program would do; on the other, to promote economic efficiency, keep the masses in their place, and respond to the demands of employers.

The Clemente Course, a present-day college-level course in the humanities for people living in poverty, is an even more direct analogue to College Extension, though much less prominent than community colleges. Earl Shorris, Clemente's founder, based it on Robert Maynard Hutchins' Great Books courses, which Shorris took at the University of Chicago. The Course teaches moral philosophy, literature, history, art, and writing, which the founders added when they realized that Clemente students panicked about writing. The Western cultural canon-oriented curriculum might make it vulnerable to charges of cultural imperialism, but Shorris developed and taught a Clemente course in Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula using Mayan cultural works, and one in Alaska has been given using Eskimo texts and in an Eskimo language. In its first eight years Clemente enrolled 1,480 students. Approximately 900 completed the full course of study, 780 earned college credit, and 670 went to four-year colleges and universities (http://www.bard.edu/academics/additional/additional_pop.php?id=204042).

Shorris's argument for humanities' value to the poor focuses on systemic change as well as individual transformation. Substandard schooling cheats the poor because it gives the humanities short shrift, he argued. Students who study high culture intensively develop reflective thinking capacities; "the humanities teach us to think reflectively, to begin, to deal with the new as it occurs to us, to dare" (O'Connell, 2000, p. 2). He acknowledged that reflective thinking and appreciation for high culture will not automatically transform a poor person's material circumstances: "How can a museum push poverty away? Who can dress in statues or eat the past? The answer was politics, not 'the moral life of downtown.' Only politics could overcome the tutelage of force. But to enter the public world, to practice the political life, the poor had first to learn to reflect" (Shorris, 1997, p. 336).

Shorris hopes that Clemente graduates will go on to challenge societal priorities that relegate poor people to substandard schooling and limited opportunities. However, I have found no information on what Clemente graduates have done post-course or post-college. Are they practicing the political life? We do not have that information—though we could get it, unlike our situation with Scudder's students.

Critiques of Humanities Teaching to the Poor

Sinclair Lewis parodied the educational fare in a fictional settlement as "lectures delivered gratis by earnest advocates of the single tax, trout fishing, exploring Tibet, pacifism, sea shell collecting, the eating of bran, and the geography of Charlemagne's Empire" (cited in Davis, 1967, p. 41). His parody exemplifies the most common argument against College Extension type courses: that they were impractical. Historian Allen Davis noted, "an element of the unreal and esoteric about the early settlement workers'attempts to dispense the culture of the universities to workingmen" (1967, p. 41). He concluded that most neighbors were uninterested in extension classes, instead wanting to learn "something useful, concrete, and related to their daily lives, such as manual training, homemaking, the English language, or basic American government and history" (Davis, 1967, p. 43). Jane Addams herself eventually declared, "[t]he number of those who like to read has been greatly over-estimated" (as cited in Davis, 1967, p. 49). Even at the Breadwinner's College, with eager students who became successful, "the founders realized that many of their students had problems, such as unemployment or bad jobs, that no course in philosophy or ancient history could solve" (Davis, 1967, p. 53). Davis (1967) implied that Frank Parson's vocational counseling was more useful than his Breadwinner's College teaching. In an award-winning dissertation, Wendy Sharer repeated the non-practicality critique, writing that the early Hull House classes initially captured the interest of the local neighbors but could not sustain interest because they lacked direct connection to the lives of the immigrant workers (2001, p. 66).

Some College Extension courses, such as the one where Scudder dictated poetry to the students so they could work on their manual writing skills as they learned about literature, taught practical skills. Furthermore, Scudder's Babel parody shows she was aware of the critique. Still, she continued to believe, first, that if she picked the right authors, neighbors would derive the same aesthetic and spiritual benefits from literature that she did; and second, that high aesthetic pleasures were more important than material comforts. Both beliefs are hard to justify, especially since neighbors enjoyed entertainments of their own without the guidance of College Extension. As Ellen Cushman writes:

> If public intellectuals hope to find and generate overlaps between aesthetics and politics, they need to first understand that what they count as art and political choices does not necessarily match what community members count as art and political choices. Because community members tend to esteem their own brand of knowledge more than popular forms of knowledge, they deepen the schism between universities and communities (1999, p. 334).

Another argument against College Extension is that immigrants did not learn enough, or the right way, by just listening to lectures: "The need for beautiful things could be better satisfied by letting the people themselves create things rather than having them merely look and listen," Allen Davis argues (1967, pp. 48-49). When Scudder headed Denison's Italian Department, however, she created chances for immigrants to make and sell traditional Italian crafts. While Shorris'Clemente students do not create art-work, they do more than look and listen; they are required to study outside of class, write papers, and invest much time and energy on projects. This commitment of energy, however, brings up another major difficulty of teaching humanities to poor adults. Scudder emphasized the exhaustion her students suffered, even concluding that their harsh living conditions made it impossible for her students to become "scholars" (College Settlements Association, 1896, p. 20).

It is interesting that other settlement education programs, such as those at Hull House, the University Settlement in New York City, and the Breadwinner's College, did produce some scholars, such as Philip Davis and Meyer Bloomfield (Davis, 1967). Articles about scholars in the Clemente Course highlight the many different pressures they face: long work hours, sick family members, lack of facility in English, AIDS. Some community college students face such pressures, some do not. A similar critique is that College Extension required, and Clemente requires, a level of sophistication even at the outset that many would-be participants do not have. As Davis wrote with stunning condescension, College Extension courses provided "intellectual stimulation for the 'transfigured few'in the neighborhood capable of abstract thought" (1976, p. 43). Community colleges, on the other hand, seem to meet students at the students' own levels, offering basic humanities courses as well as more advanced ones.

Work with Italians

In 1903 Scudder took Italian lessons from a recent immigrant, Francesco Malgeri. Pointing to her fascination to "a dead Italian," St. Catherine of Siena, Malgeri asked Scudder to turn her attention to live Italians in Boston, "neglected and sadly in need of fellowship" (Scudder, 1937, p. 253). Scudder agreed. She went on to spend ten years working with Boston's Italian immigrants, both as "La Bossa" (her term) of a group of hand-picked, educated Italian and Americans, the Circolo Italo-Americano, and as head of the Denison House Italian Department.

The Italian Department worked with poorer immigrants, providing sewing classes, women's and boys'clubs, relief assistance and visiting, and a circulating library. It ran both English classes for adults and Italian classes for children, so that they would not "lose the tongue of their own country

as they acquire that of the new" (College Settlement Association, 1904, p. 33). As a newspaper article of the time noted, "Settlement workers have tried to repossess the young Americanized Italians of their Italian language, and to wake in them a pride in the literature and history of Italy" (Bouve, 1912, n.p.). In her autobiography Scudder focuses on the Circolo rather than the Italian Department, calling her Circolo experience "the most exciting, quickening, and fruitful social adventuring I have known" (1937, p. 254). She wrote, "I feel [the Circolo] enriched lives more than any other social activity in which I was ever engaged" (Scudder, 1937, p. 268). In a 1911 Boston Transcript article she described one major benefit of Circolo activities: increased appreciation for diversity. "Americans scattered through the audience enjoy a unique opportunity to learn what new citizens are really thinking about our bewildering civilization" (Scudder, 1911, n.p.).

Run by both Scudder and Malgeri, the Circolo consisted of about a hundred members, mostly Italians, all either professionals or persons would have had professional careers in Italy but had been "forced here into the industrial world" (Scudder, 1937, p. 257). The group planned "equal interchange of ideas and gifts" between the two cultures, although Scudder wanted to emphasize those of the Italians (Scudder, 1937, p. 257). The club language was Italian; Scudder (1937) poked fun at her own attempts to lead meetings despite an Italian friend's observation that she spoke Latin instead of Italian. In her autobiography, she always referred to the group as the Circolo Italo-Americano, not "the Italian-American Circle." The "circle" image evokes unity and equality, and having the club's name in Italian and placing "Italian" before "American" in the name shows the group's emphasis on the immigrants' culture.

The Circolo held lectures, receptions uptown in American homes, spring and summer fests in the suburbs, "musicales," and many Columbus Day celebrations (Scudder, 1937, pp. 259-260). Scudder and the Circolo, at the request of the Italian Consul, even entertained the sailors on an Italian naval ship stationed in Boston Harbor (Denison House Daybook, n.d., n.p.). Sunday afternoon lecture concerts, open to the public, were particularly popular. Scudder explained, "[t]he hall was usually jammed. We planned for about half an hour of speaking, followed by music. Usually our speakers were Italian; we had no trouble in securing competent persons, who could talk on anything from hygiene to art" (Scudder, 1937, pp. 260-261). Subjects included cultural highlights of Italy—the Coliseum and "Arte Immortale: Pompei"; late Victorian American icons such as Emerson, Lincoln, and Longfellow; criminal anthropology; and standard settlement house assimilationist topics such as "The American Concept of Home" and "Infectious Diseases" (Scudder, 1937, p. 261-262). According to Malgeri, inducing immigrants to assimilate required attention to their particular ethnic charac-

teristics. For example, Malgeri stated Italians like lectures—although Scudder had found them unsuccessful when she tried them during College Extension.

Until you shall study your immigrants and adopt methods adapted to their status, their mentality, their ethical characteristics, do not ever hope to realize your dream of assimilation. The Italian for instance must be influenced through lectures, music, diversions. Our lecture-concerts have done more good than a thousand set scholastic classes and ten thousand missionary sermons (cited in Scudder, 1937, p. 262).

Another Circolo member, Dr. Luigi Verde, explained his view of the Circolo's raison d'etre. An Italian immigrant, he wrote, arrives in the country ignorant of American languages, habits, and customs, without knowing anyone, and either falls in with "bad people" or remains isolated. But when he meets Americans through the Circolo, he begins to understand that he needs to know English, begins to feel affection for America, and becomes more inclined to obey the law—"and so prepares himself to become a worthy citizen" (as cited in Scudder, 1911, n.p.).

Scudder's version of Americanization differed from others' versions. To some Italian immigrants, she noted, becoming Americanized was undesirable; it meant becoming "impertinent, and headstrong—and vulgar" (Scudder, 1937, p. 254). Meanwhile, industrial schools in tenement areas required immigrant students to recite a pledge evoking scary images of plant-like assimilated children: "We turn to our flags as a sunflower turns to the sun. Then we give our heads! And our hearts! To our country! One country, one language, one flag!" (Hendrickson, 2001, p. 102). Scudder herself tried to Americanize immigrants according to her own vision of an ideal America, "an Apocalyptic vision" of "what the emergent people might become, when the glory and honor of many diverse nations should have entered through its gates and created its citizenship" (Scudder, 1937, p. 254). Although she used patriotic language when addressing certain audiences, America's actual condition saddened her. In 1904 she wrote a friend, "I . . . believe our society to be . . . permeated with injustice and selfishness. Our claim to offer equal opportunity to all is a lie. Our claim to be a Christian civilization is a lie. Our claim to be a land of liberty is a lie. The sooner we know it the better" (cited in Carrell, 1981, p. 333).

Scudder's ideal society transcended nationality; it combined "the best" of the values immigrants brought to the country with Scudder's own progressive, socialist values. She conceptualized assimilation as a two-way process, with "giving and taking on both sides" and a moral tinge: America should encompass a "right and wholesome fusion of the races" (Bouve, 1912, n.p.).

Free speech was an important component of her ideal America. Scudder and Malgeri tried to model democracy through Circolo discussions. She solicited questions for group discussion, as she did in her Wellesley classrooms. Scudder sought "genuine democratic contacts (Scudder, 1937, p. 256). To accomplish that, she explained, "I wanted our lecture platform . . . to welcome speakers of opposing views" (Scudder, 1937, p. 262). In 1937, however, twenty-five years after she had nearly been dismissed from Wellesley because of her speech supporting strikers at the incendiary Lawrence Textile Strike, she wrote drily that she no longer had illusions about "the free intellectual atmosphere which, as those days I fondly believed, existed in the U.S.A." (Scudder, 1937, p. 262). Writing in 1937 during the era of Fascism and Mussolini, scanning her experiences as she tried to understand Mussolini's appeal, Scudder stereotyped Italians as fundamentally unable to handle unfettered expression: "We Americans . . . tried to encourage free speech. And it couldn't be done—any more than it can be done in Italy today" (Scudder, 1937, p. 265).

Anticlerical revolt and social radicalism bitterly divided Boston's Italians. Scudder, without success, "tried to press on those people my own synthesis of a socialist and a Christian creed" (1937, p. 264), and encouraged "a free field and no favor" (1937, p. 265) during discussions. Finally, during a Circolo debate between socialist and anarchist groups on "The Social Ideal of the Future," angered anarchists stormed the speakers' platform and plainclothes police resorted to tear gas. After that, Scudder recalled, the group avoided controversial topics (Scudder, 1937, p. 266).

Besides lecture-concerts and debates, Scudder and Malgeri sought to educate through printing. Their monthly Bollettino, much of which Scudder wrote, included noble sentiments, reports of meetings, plans for dramatic events, quotations from Ruskin's Sesame and Lilies, extracts from Mazzini, instructions to Italians about their civic duties: a "Decalogo" summarizing them, a translation of the "Declaration of Independence," and a convenient digest of laws affecting immigrants (Scudder, 1937, p. 260).

Such Circolo pamphlets as "My Rights in the City of Boston" and "What America Can Give to the Italians" (McManus, 1999, p. 125) emphasized immigrants' entitlements as well as their responsibilities. The leaflets led to the preparation of a Civic Reader or Handbook for New Americans used for night courses in Boston. Scudder wrote a chapter called "Our Country" (Corcoran, 1973, p.149). Denison's Italian Department also encouraged immigrants' art and artisan work, organizing a Folk Handicraft Association. The settlement held a large exhibition of Italian painting and sculpture produced in Boston and helped skilled silversmiths and lace makers sell their work (Scudder, 1937, p. 267).

One year, Scudder and Malgeri invited more participation from Circle members on subjects they would like discussed. She reported many, though perhaps not all, of the responses, ranging from "Deportation: How to Handle It" to "Why in America are Fearfully Multiplied Drunken Men and Women, Churches, and Prisons?" The questions she enjoyed most, in keeping with her own socialist orientation, included "Are American Trusts Preparing the Way for Collectivism?" and "Dogma the Enemy of Freedom" (Scudder, 1939, pp. 263-264). This attempt to involve all group members seems less autocratic than other group activities run by Scudder and Malgeri.

As with her College Extension students, Scudder essentialized her "good Italian friends" in print. She seems to have realized this; at the beginning of the autobiography chapter about the Circolo, she observes, "You could neither idealize the Italians, nor generalize about them" (Scudder, 1937, p.255). Yet the rest of the chapter continues typecasting them: they had indefinable qualities, perhaps such as can be possessed only by an ancient race," including courtesy and loyalty (Scudder, 1937, p.256). During the Circolo's existence, she seems to have stereotyped Italians in order to convince xenophobic Yankees that they were good to have around. In newspaper and magazine articles, Scudder explained that Italians can be worthy new citizens, with "great gift[s]" to bring 'to our race': their background gives them imagination and enthusiasm, they have natural social gifts, and they are natural orators and artists" (Bouve, 1912, n.p,). A call for settlement volunteers, not attributed to Scudder, in the Smith College Settlement News in 1910 epitomized the tone of stereotyping boosterism: "Seeking volunteer worker/resident at Denison to work with Italians—the eager, impetuous, intelligent, responsive Latins from the Sunny South." Scudder's newspaper and magazine articles never described Denison's non-European neighbors, such as Syrians and Chinese, in the glowing terms she reserved for Europeans.

Scudder contradicted herself, then, when she wrote about Boston's Italians and her role in the Circolo. By 1937, Scudder seemed to want to portray her past attitude in the past as less essentializing and patronizing than she actually felt during the Circolo's existence. Yet even in her biography she listed a set of unique characteristics she thought Italians possessed—mostly good ones. She talked about the Circolo as nonhierarchical, involving "equal interchange of ideas and gifts" between Italians and Americans (Scudder, 1937, p. 259). Yet she relished her own role as "Presidentessa," or her "pet name, 'La Bossa,'" of the Circolo and proudly cited—in untranslated Italian—a poem written for her (Scudder, 1937, p. 253).

Critiques of the Circolo Italo-Americano

Scholars interpreted Scudder's experiences with both College Extension and the Circolo according to the preoccupations of the scholars' own times. In 1967, Allen Davis charged that Scudder "quickly gave up the idea of reaching the Italian peasant" when she organized the Circolo (p. 89). But Davis' book focused on settlers' efforts to curb urban poverty; he showed less interest in other aspects of settlement work, such as settlers and "neighbors" engagement in mutually beneficial activities such as parties. And in fact, Scudder did work with Italian peasants. Her Italian-American Department at Denison sponsored activities for all 65,000 Italians in Boston, and many Circolo activities, such as the lecture-concerts, were open to the public. When Scudder talked about her work with Italians in newspaper articles from the time, she mentioned all Boston's Italians, not just the hundred in the Circolo. However, she referred to her Circolo work as done for the "better" elements of Italian immigrants, not the "poorer" ones (Scudder, 1937, p. 257).

Some scholars see settlements less as beneficent ventures than as attempts to control the huge influx of immigrants through rapid acculturation with upper-middle-class norms at the expense of immigrants' own culture, ethic identity, and language. None of these "social control" scholars have examined the Circolo—or, indeed, any Denison House programs. If they did they might view the Circolo as a more mutually beneficial, less paternalistic venture than College Extension. Yet Scudder and Malgeri's emphases on influence and assimilation would surely perturb them. In addition, although some of the activities, such as debates, involved audience participation, some did not. Instead of a group of people of different nationalities creating knowledge together, "experts"—whether Italian or American—dispensed knowledge to listeners. Despite her lack of experience with Italians at the beginning of the enterprise, Scudder ran the show; she even proudly recalled that her Circolo title was " Presidentessa," or her "pet name, 'La Bossa'" (Scudder, 1937, p. 253).

Elements of the Circolo, though, seem worth re-creating today: its emphasis that immigrants and U.S. citizens offer different and equal cultural perspectives, that each can learn from the other, and that at times they can create knowledge collectively. I have had difficulty finding current-day analogues, though. I suspect there are many, especially in places where different cultures often meet, such as border cities. For example, in Corpus Christi, Texas, several hours from the Mexican border, a group of upper-class white and Latina women meet to have lunch, hear lectures, take trips, and other activities.

Service learning, too, offers possibilities for intercultural, mutually helpful collaborations. A course at Fort Hayes State University required international and U.S. students to form writing teams to work collaboratively on newsletters covering mutually decided-upon topics. Thus, Americans and international students learned from each other and produced a product together (Duffy, 2003).

The Community Literacy Program (CLC), which serves teens at Pittsburgh's Community House, is a well-known example of a cross-cultural service-learning program in which different groups create knowledge collectively. Still in an impoverished neighborhood, Community House was founded in 1916 as a settlement. The founders of the CLC note that their goals mirror settlers' goals to some extent, both "motivated by a vision of . . .politically conscious cultural interaction" (Peck, Flower, & Higgins, p. 201, as cited in Deans, 2000, p. 111). The CLC undertakes various projects, as did the Circolo. Students make videos and magazines. Their "Community Conversations" bring people from different cultures together. In one Conversation, teens performed their own perspectives on an imposition of a curfew to an audience of local residents, urban teens, university employees, and city officials (Deans, 2000). The teens interacted with these adults as equals.

The Community Literacy Center founders cite John Dewey (who worked at Chicago's Hull House settlement) as a major influence. Dewey saw democracy as a vigorous and open dialogue that is "the very idea of community itself" (as cited in Deans, 2000, p. 105). His concept of dialogue as democracy parallels Scudder's goals for Circolo—except that she would have substituted "socialism" for "democracy." For Scudder, the Circolo, where people of different ethnicities, beliefs, and (to some extent) social strata could give and take in a spirit of brotherhood, creating fellowship, was a microcosm of the socialist society she longed for.

Conclusions

Why was the Circolo a success when College Extension was ultimately, not? I suggest several reasons. First, paradoxically, it is easier for people to learn when they already have some education. Circolo participants were professionals in the United States or had been in Italy. Similarly, current-day community college students working toward their associate degrees have already reached significant educational levels, since they need to have graduated from high school or passed the GED to enroll. College Extension students, on the other hand, had no educational base from which to work.

Scudder discovered that poor immigrant students' extreme poverty posed a formidable barrier to their learning. As a character in Scudder's settlement novel reflects, "[i]t isn't easy to care much about beauty and all,

when you're hungry" (1903, p. 231). Community college students in the regular two-year degree program are probably not living in extreme poverty, though many work full-time while they attend school. Although Clemente students are impoverished, the program differs from College Extension in several important ways: the students make an intensive, multi-year commitment and they have an incentive, the opportunity to obtain a college degree when they finish Clemente.

Incentives are important. Scudder's experiences with both programs highlight the fact that people need tangible reasons to spend the time and make the effort to learn difficult new things. For Scudder's College Extension students, studying the humanities had little point. Scudder claimed that classes in spelling and writing did yield practical advantages, but she never offered examples of such advantages, either in her announcements to prospective students, or in her memoirs. The Circolo, on the other hand, did aid its members tangibly. The companionship made them feel more at home in their new country; practicing English and making new friends among American professionals helped this handpicked group of the Italian intelligentsia; lectures and pamphlets educated them in concrete subjects, such as the benefits and responsibilities of being new citizens, that directly affected their lives.

In addition, Scudder's work with College Extension and with Circolo shows that the best learning and most enjoyable experiences come when everyone learns from each other, not when one side does the teaching and the other the learning. In College Extension, Scudder taught and the students learned. In her discussion of the Circolo, in contrast, the language of "teacher" and "student" never appears—yet everyone learned. One basic tenet of current-day service learning is that such reciprocity makes for the best service learning experiences. In fact, the term "service" in "service learning has drawn criticism for the inequality it implies between server and served—a criticism Scudder anticipated when she wrote about the settlement movement, "'[s]haring' is a noble and democratic word, when it does not degenerate into cant. Between that and 'serving' there was a line. . . for the term 'Service' carries a possibly implied condescension" (Scudder, 1937, p. 138). In its mutuality, the Circolo approached Scudder's ideal of a post-revolution world when classes would disappear and ethnicity, and gender no longer divide.

And this final point leads to Scudder's own conclusion based on her settlement work. "By the end of the century," she wrote in her autobiography, the inadequacy of settlements was becoming clearer and clearer . . . social services . . . were, as they are yet, a magnificent and paradoxical spectacle of compunction, compassion, wisdom, trying valiantly to retrieve the wrecks of civilization, while often not pausing to demand whether such

wreck had been necessary . . . (Scudder, 1937, p. 164).

In other words, Scudder realized that the entire settlement enter-prise including its various educational programs—could "amount to pre-cious little" among the very poor (Scudder, 1937, p. 160). The country need-ed more sweeping changes; convinced that settlements were a band-aid approach to a structural problem, Scudder became a socialist in order to fur-ther the public good. The execrable prior educational experiences of Clemente students show that not as much has changed in one hundred years as we would like to think. Whether or not we come to Scudder's conclusion, Scudder's experiences suggest that small educational programs here and there, however effective they may be for their participants, can do little to lessen the overwhelming inequities in American education.

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College Graduates' Perspectives on the Effect of Capstone Service-Learning Courses

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Abstract

Service-learning has been promoted as a pedagogy that facilitates institutions of higher education in promoting change for the common good. Yet little research has taken place to understand the impact that this pedagogy has on college graduates. The purpose of this study was to document college graduates' perspectives on the effect Capstone service-learning courses had on them three years after graduation. Graduates reported enhanced communication and leadership skills, increased community involvement, deeper appreciation of diversity, and furthered career development. The study also includes challenges faced by participants and suggestions for practitioners in the field of service-learning.

With urgent calls in recent years for colleges and universities to take up the role of educating citizens and to re-connect to their mission to serve the public good, service-learning has emerged as a form of pedagogy. This pedagogy is often carried out in academic programs that engage students with community entities to address pressing societal issues. Although educators understand how to design service-learning programs, it has become increasingly important to also study the long-term outcomes associated with participation in these courses.

One of the largest service-learning programs in the nation is the Senior Capstone at Portland State University (PSU). Each year this program requires approximately 3,000 students to participate in a six-credit service-learning course. At PSU, Capstone courses operate in accordance with the definition of service-learning provided by Driscoll et al. (1998), as they are designed to "combine community service activities with explicit learning objectives, preparation, and reflection" (p. 1). Through the reflection process, students make meaning out of the relationship between theory and practical community experiences. In addition, all Capstone courses are designed to address the four learning goals of the general education program at PSU to improve students' (a) critical thinking skills, (b) communication skills, (c) appreciation of diversity, and (d) understanding of social respon-

sibility (including political engagement). Despite this intentional programmatic design of Capstone courses, there has been no comprehensive research detailing how students experienced the various service-learning dimensions or whether these courses contributed to any specific outcomes after graduation.

The Grantmaker Forum on Community and National Service (GPCNS, 2000) confirmed that this topic of the effect of service-learning courses is of national significance. The group further questioned what we really know "about service as a result of the research that has been done since 1990" (p. i). After conducting an investigation, GPCNS found insufficient data to support conclusions on the question of impact. This provides evidence that there is a gap in the literature on service-learning.

Review of the Literature

Previous research confirms that the learning objectives for Capstone courses at PSU are reasonable expectations of service-learning experiences. Numerous studies have shown that as a result of service-learning experiences, participants reported enhanced communication skills (Astin & Sax, 1998; Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000; Battistoni, 1997; Driscoll, Holland, Gelmon, & Kerrigan, 1996; Jordan, 1994), a greater sense of social responsibility (Astin & Sax 1998; Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999; Astin et al., 2000; Battistoni, 1997; Buchanan, 1997; Driscoll et al., 1996; Eyler, Giles, & Braxton, 1997; Gilbert, Holdt, & Christopherson, 1998; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Ikeda, 1999; Kendrick, 1996; Marcus, Howard, & King, 1993; Sax & Astin, 1996, 1997), a greater appreciation of diversity (Astin et al., 1999; Astin et al., 2000; Battistoni, 1997; Driscoll et al., 1996; Giles & Eyler, 1994; Hesser, 1995; Jordan, 1994; Kendrick, 1996; Marcus et al., 1993; Myers-Lipton, 1996), and enhanced critical thinking skills (Astin et al., 2000; Batchelder & Root, 1999; Battistoni, 1997; Berson, 1998; Gilbert et al., 1998; Hesser, 1995; Kendrick, 1996; Marcus et al., 1993; Wechsler & Fogel, 1995).

However, almost all of the cited studies assessed short-term outcomes (i.e., outcomes measured while the students were still in college). The majority of studies with longitudinal data were connected to the national student databases owned by the University of California at Los Angeles (Astin & Sax, 1998; Astin et al., 1999; Sax & Astin, 1996, 1997). In these studies authors were able to look at student data during the four years of college and compare changes from freshman to senior year. But few studied post-graduation effects. Only the Astin et al. (1999) study included data from students five years after graduation. Once again, this lack of longitudinal data indicates a gap in the research relative to the impact service-learning courses have on graduates after they leave the college environment.

Methodology

In order to answer the question of how college graduates perceive the impact of Capstone service-learning experiences three years after graduation, a sample population was identified. Twenty PSU graduates who had completed a Capstone course in 1998-99 were chosen to closely mirror the statistics of the PSU student body. The sample included ten women and four "non-traditional" students (i.e., students who were 30 years or older while participating in the Capstone course). Recruitment of men proved to be more difficult than recruitment of women, and three-fourths of the non-traditional students were women. One shortfall of the study was a failure to recruit non-white participants.

Graduates in this sample accurately reflected the programs of study (i.e., majors) at PSU and completed a wide range of Capstone courses. Some courses served inmates, immigrants, or youth. Others addressed women's issues, technology (video production and geographic information systems), engineering design, and regional history. Of the 20 participants, seven took Capstone courses that provided direct service to clients; 11 focused primarily on indirect service to the community (e.g., through the creation of final products that addressed community issues); and the remaining two took courses that were balanced between direct and indirect service.

One-on-one interviews were conducted with each of the 20 participants following guidelines of Creswell (1994), Patton (1990), and Kvale (1996). Questions intended to elicit a deeper understanding of graduates' perceptions of their Capstone experiences. An interview protocol was utilized to ensure consistency across interviews. The protocol began with a concrete question asking students to describe their Capstone and the service work they may have performed in the context of the course. The interview then moved progressively to more personal questions about their community involvement, voting habits, profession, and changes they would have made to their Capstone experience. Participants were also asked to identify any challenges they faced during their Capstone experience. The final question in the protocol allowed participants to discuss any pressing issues that were not specifically asked in the interview.

The researcher and an additional reader participated in separate but identical protocols for interview data analysis set forth by Tesch (1990) and Creswell (1994). Transcribed interviews were read to elicit core topics and cluster them into topical themes. Topical themes were tested against the data and reorganized as necessary. The researcher and reader then compared their thematic findings and confirmed the results.

After the interview data was analyzed and preliminary conclusions reached, a focus group was employed to verify and clarify initial findings

(Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Topical themes were shared to confirm for accuracy or expand as warranted. Six of the 20 original participants participated in a follow-up focus group that took place nine months later. This group consisted of three men and three women representing both direct service (tutoring) and indirect service (engineering and history projects). Two of the six were non-traditional students.

Results

A comparison of themes identified by the researcher/reader and focus group participants are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Themes Identified by Researcher/Reader and Focus Group Participants

Researcher/Reader	*Focus Group Participants*
Communication	***Communication in teams and with clients***
Leadership/project management	*Leadership* • ownership of project • setting goals and deadlines • independent thinking
"Border crossing"/diversity	*Working with diverse populations*
Career development/ real-world experience	*Career development* • "real-time learning" • working with clients • working with teams • accountability • ideas for jobs
Involvement in the community (future volunteerism)	*Community connection* • connection with people, organizations, parts of town • "one person can make a difference" • desire to volunteer • the different "publics" in a community

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Suggestions for the future (including criticism/challenges with service-learning)	*Challenges*
• time • group process • organizational issues • Challenges	• time commitment • more choices of courses • dealing with "slackers" • faculty not prepared to facilitate group process/project management/reflection • learn more about clients before entering service • make sure there is reflection time in class to process orally • no place on Capstone course evaluation to evaluate faculty's ability to facilitate
Lack of political connection	*Confirmed political connection for some and not for others*

The graduates' descriptions utilized language almost identical to that of the researcher/reader. However, they frequently gave greater detail in predicting the outcomes. The respondents also confirmed the most common challenges present in their service-learning experiences. Focus-group participants' predictions of the outcomes and challenges mirrored the data found in the individual interviews; participants named every one of the outcomes found in the interviews. They also confirmed and further expanded upon the challenges experienced in Capstones.

Topical Themes

Communication.

The most common theme found across the interviews was that Capstone service-learning courses furthered college graduates' ability to communicate and listen effectively in collaborative contexts. Sixteen participants remarked that they gained valuable lessons in multiple forms of communication (i.e., interpersonal connections with others, oral presentations, written communication, and visual expression). Graduates who worked in direct-service Capstone courses mentioned refining interpersonal skills more frequently, while graduates working on indirect service projects discussed the enhancement of writing and presentation skills. Participants also articulated gaining specific skills in facilitating meetings, listening, communicating in groups, and conducting public presentations. In addition, they enhanced

their abilities to communicate with various populations (e.g., youth, prisoners, professionals in the community, peers). Finally, participants reported learning the value of interactions across disciplinary divisions and negotiating organizational territories in the community. Repeatedly, participants described enhancing their communication skills through working with their peers, sharing information in their groups, and collaborating with community organizations. One graduate shared:

> I learned that I have a really hard time working with other people and sharing information, which was a good experience, because I had always thought I would . . . work well in groups. I was challenged . . . By the end we had learned how to communicate pretty well . . . and I was never the best writer in the world, [but] my writing skills and research skills just completely bloomed when I did that project. I felt by the end really confident . . . like I could go back and do that again. Phenomenal skills.

Furthermore, respondents' communication skills were enhanced by the professional context of their Capstones, in which they were challenged to write public documents, utilize technology, and make public presentations.

Leadership.

A second and related theme that emerged from the data was that 15 of the 20 participants enhanced their leadership skills. These graduates consistently spoke of gaining confidence in promoting new ideas, leading peer groups, managing project teams, and serving as advocates for others. Graduates repeatedly commented about how Capstone service-learning experiences prepared them to initiate, organize, and complete collaborative projects in their professional lives. Respondents appreciated the opportunity to coordinate professional-level projects that mirrored the "real-world" tasks required of them after graduation. They emphasized how the Capstone taught them to take on leadership roles, rather than study leadership from a theoretical perspective. Many indicated that it was the first time they had been given the opportunity to engage as a leader in their educational process. A software engineer remarked:

> I left [the Capstone] thinking, if a person wanted to go into business, that would be a great class to let somebody [to develop] the skills that they need to be able to consult themselves out in a professional way to run their own business . . . I mean, it was really comprehensive from start to finish. Especially [as] I went on in my career, it really helped me to be mature in the way of project management.

Community Involvement/Volunteering.

The third theme that emerged from the data was a positive attitude toward involvement in their community (reported by 13 of the 20 participants). Men and women equally reported the value of volunteering in their communities. This theme was reflected in clear statements from the graduates about engaging in the community during Capstone courses, continuing volunteering after college, and contributing to the community through professional service. One participant stated:

> I think that a lot of people, a lot of students or young people really want to volunteer but they never really know how to go about it. And so this provided me an opportunity and an excuse to get involved in a volunteer project that was interesting to me, and it was amazing. I've heard people talk about volunteering before and how much it changes your life, but . . . I didn't realize how much it did until I was doing it and it gave me access to this population that I'd never been involved with but it also really made me feel as if I was important in the world, and in the scheme of things, and that I had a place.

Participants who continued their community involvement after college stated that the primary way they remained involved in the community was through pro bono professional service. When these graduates were first asked if they were involved in the community, their most common answer was "no"—at least not as traditional volunteers. However, over half of the graduates cited their work or professional service activities as contributions that they were proud to offer to the community. Many respondents saw their contribution to the community as an extension of their profession by offering pro bono work. One multi-media specialist noted:

> We do an awful lot of [pro bono work] in my company. Here we do a lot of giving away of the work that we do and our time and effort. We've chosen to do that . . . we've done some things for the American Red Cross local chapter, done a lot of work with them free of charge. We helped them build an organization website just to get them started because it's a skill that we have and it was something that we just wanted them to be able to do.

Appreciation of Diversity/Border Crossing.

The fourth theme that emerged from the data was students' exposure to and deeper understandings of new populations. Eleven participants described this process as a journey of interacting with populations from which they had traditionally been segregated. Participants also became aware of how borders prohibit various individuals from interacting with one another.

Therefore, the author chose to call this theme border crossing. Graduates described some of their most profound learning with regards to this theme.

As participants crossed borders into new domains, they became more aware of the intricacies of social issues, including the challenges facing immigrants, youth, and survivors of domestic violence. Instead of simply learning a broad-stroke theory pertaining to these social issues, respondents experienced the complexities embedded in providing services to various populations. Participants became aware of how borders exist that prohibit people from interacting with one another. Further, participants were not merely polishing existing skills, but rather developing new ways of thinking about diverse populations, the lives of others, the various contexts and constraints impacting others, and their relationships with one another. As one respondent in the focus group stated, she became more aware of "the many publics that constituted the community."

A professional and graduate student in the field of Administration of Justice (AJ) described her Capstone as a powerful catalyst for border crossing as she learned about the youth who live in a lockdown facility. She described:

> In AJ classes or soc. or psych., they just throw numbers at you, they don't really give you individual cases. Whereas when you're working with these kids, these are the numbers and it makes you realize that each child, I mean each of those numbers is affected differently . . . I mean, you can sit and take months of different classes but until you actually interact with these children you have no idea what you're dealing with, each child's different, and just like the lockdown, like being in it, like when that door clicks, you're stuck there . . . They can warn you the first time you go . . . but until you hear that click . . . you don't really know what you're in for. She crossed a border that few people cross and found that she:. . . had a lot of preconceived ideas about anyone in lockdown. It's a lot easier to write off those numbers . . . as "oh well, they deserve it". . . Going there and hearing the kids' backgrounds and everything, it kind of forces you to realize that these kids might have choices . . .but how much did they have? . . . [I]n a way going there was bad . . .because when you're listening to the news or something you can't write it off as "they deserve it" . . . Then when you look back on whatever kid stuck out in your mind . . . that did that same crime it's like well maybe their parents were doing this, you know, why are we locking them down, when we should maybe be treating them, 'cause a lot of the kids had drug convictions. It caused you more to think of them as humans, not numbers.

Career Development.

The fifth theme that emerged was the impact that Capstone courses had on participants' career development. Although not usually found in service-learning literature, it was one of the most prominent themes to emerge from the data. When talking about the development of their leadership and project management skills, 16 of the 20 graduates reinforced that the Capstone enhanced skills needed to be successful in their chosen fields. In addition, respondents frequently stated that Capstone courses helped clarify their career aspirations and earn recommendations to acquire future jobs. Regarding a recommendation letter from a partnering community organization, one business student stated:

> . . . I was very blown away with how well it was written and it just knocked me out. I showed it to some professionals, including some people in the college, [and they said] "You must have really done an exceptional job . . . This is a very good recommendation letter." It was incredible . . . What I learned in the Capstone class that really helped me in success for business was [that] you can do a lot more than jobs tell you . . . just by presenting a decision, presenting plans, presenting information, doing all the research . . . You can get promoted pretty quick with your own business plan.

Throughout the interviews and focus group, the graduates credited the Capstone experience with helping them gain skills and confidence to work successfully in their careers. They viewed the Capstone as an important endeavor because it made them responsible and accountable to work with and produce for a customer or client, which was a new experience for a large majority of the students. Many talked about how the Capstone informed the way they supervise others in a professional context.

Lack of Connection between Social and Political Issues.

The sixth theme present in the data was a disconnect between the social issues addressed in the Capstone course and their relationship to larger political issues. Interestingly, 17 out of the 20 participants reported voting on a regular basis. Each of the 17 reported voting both before and after participating in the Capstone. Often, respondents cited family expectations as a common reason for voting in such high numbers: "I grew up in [a nearby community], and if I don't go and vote, my parents can see if I'm marked off, if I voted or not . . . [So], I'm forced to vote, 'cause if I don't I hear it from my dad the next day."

Despite this high degree of self-reported voting, when asked if there was a connection between the community work performed in their Capstone and political issues involved in various campaigns, only seven out

of the 20 participants answered affirmatively. Only one-third of these grad-uates made conceptual connections between the social issues they engaged with in their courses and the political sphere; the other two-thirds did not.

One woman who went on to pursue a master's degree in Administration of Justice made the connection between a local ballot meas-ure and her service site:

> Measure 11 [a mandatory minimum-sentencing law passed by Oregon voters in a ballot measure] is a huge one, with locking kids down that are 16 into the penitentiary . . . [Youth are] more protected [in the juvenile detention center than] if you put a 15-, 16-, 17-year-old in Oregon State Penitentiary . . . for a manda-tory sentence of seven-and-a-half years . . . [It] doesn't make any sense to me that you think you're gonna get a productive citizen afterwards . . . I don't think when they voted that in that people understood that their kids getting in a fight at a party could end up in the penitentiary for seven-and-a-half years . . . And I'm not a very big political person and I don't understand a whole lot of the realm of voting, I mean I vote, but I don't . . . understand the whole works, but that one has caught my attention because of working with those kids.

Many participants were surprised that there was even a question related to voting in the interview. One participant said, "I like the environ-ment and I try and vote for people who are gonna protect it, but I don't real-ly see the connection [between the Capstone and political issues]." Another respondent who participated in a Capstone partnered with the Portland school system (which has experienced a ten-year-old funding shortfall due to failures of various ballot measures) stated:

> No, [no connection] at all. For us [politics] just wasn't an issue, I don't think . . . If I remember correctly, there were a couple of women who were involved in politics on their own . . . they were involved in it before the . . . class, but the class itself was completely separate from politics.

Findings Related to Gender

In this study both men and women reported the outcomes discussed as enhancing their communication skills, leadership skills, community involve-ment, understanding of diversity, and career development. Interestingly, men and women equally reported the value of volunteering in their community even though women are frequently perceived as the service providers or vol-unteers for community causes in the United States. However, male and female participants described their most important learning in distinctly dif-

ferent terms. Out of the 10 men interviewed, eight described their most important learning in terms of transferable professional skills they could take with them into the work world such as leadership development, project management, professionalism, group process skills, and self-efficacy. Men also reported learning valuable insights about how to work in teams, motivate others, create timelines, and get things done in professional contexts. One male participant stated that his primary learning was "definitely finding out where I stand and what my skills are with managing people." A mid-level manager expressed that his most important learning was that:

> [you] can have a lot more influence than jobs tell you . . . [by] presenting a decision, presenting plans, presenting information, doing all the research so you actually propose a plan . . . You can get promoted pretty quickly with your own plan . . . [I learned about] leadership . . . I took a proactive role . . . I got the ball rolling. Definitely leadership, Definitely proactive role.

In comparison, women described a wider range of outcomes resulting from their Capstone experiences. Women's important reflections were more likely to be related to their engagement with the population they were working with rather than project management and leadership skills. Out of the 10 women interviewed, five said that their most important learning related to insights about diverse populations. Other responses included learning to conduct complex research projects, more about specific social issues, more about the city of Portland, and teaching techniques in a public school classroom. One woman stated:

> I certainly became much more culturally aware than I was before . . .I'm able to advise students better based on my experiences with certain cultures at IRCO [Immigrant and Refugee Community of Oregon] . . . I became much more aware of political problems in the world . . . what the refugee populations [are] and why and when and how, so that helps me also with the background of students that I work with . . . I also learned more about immigration law . . . My most important learning was how well I interacted with people of all cultures.

One contributing factor to the differences between males' and females' most important learning may lie in the types of Capstone courses that each chose to complete. Women had selected courses with more direct contact with a wider variety of community members, whereas men had more exposure to community research projects. The contrast in service experiences may account for at least one reason why men and women report different "most important learnings" from their Capstone experiences.

Challenges Reported by Respondents

Participants in the study described six challenges faced in their Capstone experiences at PSU. First, although the process of working in groups contributed significantly to student learning outcomes, it was also the area in which participants voiced their most common concern. Graduates remembered struggling with the interdisciplinary nature of the groups, the varied levels of responsibility taken on by group members (e.g., what to do with "the slacker"), and the challenge of coordinating their schedules with peers. Second, respondents stated that they wished they had greater time to focus on the project rather than juggling so many demands (including family, jobs, and other courses). Third, there were relatively few Capstone courses from which to choose in 1997. In any given term, there may have been only 10-15 Capstones offered. As a result, some participants ended up in projects that did not seem to fit into their areas of study or personal interest. Fourth, there was lack of organization in a few of the Capstone courses. Participants from three different Capstone courses described feeling like "guinea pigs" as instructors juggled course and community partner logistics (including on-site orientations and trainings). Respondents also recommended greater communication with the community partner, as community organizations were not always as involved in providing feedback to the participants as they had wished. Fifth, students disliked the structure of journal writing in these courses. Frequently, the graduates referred to the journals as logs recording "time on task" rather than as reflective assignments to help make meaning from their experience. Finally, focus group participants suggested better faculty training in facilitating student groups. Several respondents reported feeling thrown into the group setting with virtually no support, especially when there was a communication breakdown between group members.

Discussion

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Studies

The primary limitation of this study is the size of the sample. While 20 subjects was ideal for a qualitative study examining the lived experiences of graduates, the size limits the author's ability to make broad generalizations about most college graduates'engagement in service-learning courses. One significant flaw within the small sample size was the absence of ethnic minorities in the study. No ethnic minorities responded to the invitation to participate in the study. PSU is a predominantly Caucasian campus (only 18 % of the population identify as an ethnic minority), but more effort needs to take place in the future to recruit non-white respondents. Since there has not been sufficient research on how various ethnic groups have experienced service-learning experiences, there is no hypothesis on how the lack of minorities impacted the outcomes of this research. This is an area ripe for future exploration.

Moreover, future studies are needed to deepen our understanding of the impact that service-learning has on graduates' civic and political engagement. Missing in this study was a question asking students to define "political" or "civic" engagement and how they believe they could demonstrate their political beliefs in the world. Researchers need to better understand college students' perceptions of their responsibility to serve the "public" and their relationship to this notion of public good. For example, studies on graduates' civic engagement could include assessments of beliefs beyond voting, such as the value placed on contributing to the public good, community organizing, participation in public dialogues, conflict resolution, understanding of political processes, analysis of public policies, "boycotting" and "buycotting" products based on their means of production, and other types of civic actions. These measures will help the field of higher education assess whether graduates take political action in their communities, the various ways they do engage, and how they understand the concepts such as political engagement and contributing to the public good.

Throughout the literature on service-learning, authors traditionally report the outcomes associated with participation in service-learning courses, but rarely do researchers examine the data for the different ways these experiences may impact men and women. This study offers preliminary evidence that gender differences may, in fact, play a role in the long-term outcomes of service-learning experiences.

Finally, this study discovered that graduates who were involved in Capstone service-learning courses tended to donate their time to their community by contributing high-level pro bono professional skills (e.g., engineering, high-tech, multi-media design, teaching, coordination of international community events) to local non-profit and governmental agencies. Literature in the field has not focused on the topic of how college graduates contribute to the community. These initial findings may serve as a guide to examine whether there is a national trend for service-learning participants to serve their communities in high-skilled pro bono work to their community. Exploration on alumni surveys and in national databases on college graduates are two possibilities to further this research. Thousands of alumni could confirm whether participation in service-learning courses resulted in increased contribution of volunteer services to the community and further describe what skills they offer in their communities. In fact, this recommendation has been implemented by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) in the modification of its 2004 post-graduate survey. HERI will include a question on the pro bono contributions made by college graduates, which will be administered to 300,000 graduates. The intent is to study the impact of various college experiences (including service-learning courses) on graduates who have been out of college for ten years.

Recommendations for Practitioners

Several recommendations emerge from this work to improve faculty teaching and deepen student learning in service-learning Capstone courses. The first recommendation is to intentionally enhance the quality of the reflective practices facilitated in service-learning courses. Too frequently, participants reported the use of journals as logs of activities rather than tools to make deep cognitive connections between their service experiences, course concepts, and social and political issues. Reflection should encourage students to make connections between their service work and the political/civic implications of that work. Without this explicit connection, students working on issues such as education and the environment may only see these as social issues to address in a volunteer capacity rather than complex systemic issues deeply impacted by public policies and political agendas.

In order to assist faculty in exploring the notion of making connections between the social issues in their courses and larger systemic political issues, this author co-sponsored faculty development seminars in which faculty explored these connections. As a result of this professional development, faculty documented their plans to make civic and political links more explicit in their courses. Course evaluations have shown that the students enrolled in Capstone courses where faculty have redesigned their assignments to make more explicit the connection between local service work and broader civic implications reported greater agreement that their Capstone courses enhanced their understanding of social and political issues. Furthermore, students have reported a higher level of responsibility to meet the needs of their community (Cress, Kerrigan, & Reitenauer, 2003).

Further, this research revealed that reflection activities must continuously challenge all students to explore issues of diversity. In this study, women were more likely to report new understandings of diverse populations than men. In order to begin addressing this discrepancy, faculty must encourage all students to reflect upon concepts such as race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ability, and other social identity categories as appropriate within the course context.

Finally, graduates in this study suggested that faculty need to gain greater skill in communicating effectively with community partners and facilitating group processes. This includes (a) educating faculty on the stages of group development, (b) giving faculty tools to assist students in assessing their strengths and weaknesses in groups, and (c) providing information to faculty on how to teach students to facilitate effective meetings as well as how to handle conflict in groups. Since the mission of institutions of higher education is in part to create effective citizens, then leaders must take responsibility to help prepare faculty to engage in civic education for students.

Conclusion

Upon observing the list of national conferences in higher education in 2004, this author recognized that there was an overwhelming cry for institutions of higher education to take seriously the task of developing effective citizens for participation in the public good. The American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U, 2004) articulated that higher education is responsible for educating graduates capable of making judgments in the context of evolving geopolitics, fluctuating global economies, diminishing natural resources, and continuing racial/ethnic and cultural differences both domestically and internationally. We owe it to our students to help them develop the competencies to link diverse areas of knowledge in practical unscripted, complex problems.

Service-learning is highlighted throughout these conferences as a powerful pedagogy, capable of engaging students with the community for the good of the public and creating graduates fully able to solve interdisciplinary societal problems. These hopes for service-learning make it imperative to continuously improve the quality of these courses and to further assess the impact that they have on college graduates.

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Low-Income Communities: Technological Strategies for Nurturing Community, Empowerment and Self-Sufficiency at a Low-Income Housing Development

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Abstract

This paper uses data collected from a two-year longitudinal study, called the Camfield Estates-MIT Creating Community Connections Project, in order to address the following questions: Can personal computing and high-speed Internet access support community building efforts? Can this access to technology empower low-income community residents to do more for themselves? The study revealed that residents who have a personal computer and Internet access in their homes feel a sense of community, experience an increase in their social contact with others, and strengthen their social ties. This research also explores whether outcomes achieved through in-home computing can promote an increased sense of empowerment and the capacity to access independently relevant information related to a resident's needs, wants or purposes.

Thirty-seven participating households received a free computer and training with 20 participants completing the project requirements. The majority of participating households were single-parent, African-American and Hispanic female-headed households with related children under 18 years of age. Results indicated regular computer and Internet use and some positive correlation between in-home computing/internet use and a sense of connection to family, friends and their local community. There was no evidence that in-home computer use led to family and/or social isolation.

Introduction

Progressives who are concerned about the current social conditions of the have-nots and the future generation of have-nots not only have to fight against the current public policy strategies; they are morally obligated to offer alternative strategies designed to alleviate, not exacerbate, the plight of the poor, the jobless, and other disadvantaged citizens of America.
    William Julius Wilson, 1996

Today more than ever policy makers are struggling with the challenges that new technology presents and how to best ensure access to the Internet by all. One way is to consider how a technology like the Internet can be used to address the persistent problem of how to connect low-income individuals and families with relevant information and resources. Can in-home access to personal computing and the Internet, as a linkage institution, be an efficient and resourceful method for moving low-income communities, families, and individuals toward empowerment and self-sufficiency? This is a question for the discussion of policy makers at all levels. The communities that many federal programs have targeted and sought to move toward becoming more self-sufficient are low-income inner-city neighborhoods that are considered the most at risk of struggling against society's challenges (Wilson, 1996). According to census statistics for Boston, the female-headed household poverty rate dropped by 2.1 % from 1990 (31.1%) to 2000 (29.0%). However, in 2000, 37% of female-headed families, regardless of race, in Boston that have related children under the age of 18 were below the poverty level. This would suggest that policy makers should continue to target services toward making the most at-risk population—single African-American and Hispanic female-headed households with children—more self-sufficient.

This chapter presents one community-university partnership's effort, the Camfield Estates-MIT Creating Community Connections Project, to connect electronically a low-income community's residents with resources, services and one another. Beginning in the fall of 2000, in two years the Creating Community Connections Project enabled 37 families at Camfield Estates—more than 50% of the community at that time—to gain basic personal computing skills, connect to the Internet, and communicate with family members, friends and other Camfield residents. This chapter attempts to expand and extend the discussion of what modern-day strategies are necessary to help low-income community residents do more for themselves in the 21st century. I begin with the importance of refocusing efforts to make low-income residents more self-sufficient, and of using a community technology framework and strategy (community content, community networks, and community technology centers) (Beamish, 1999) to link resi-

dents to information-based resources. I follow this with a description of the mixed method approach used and findings from the Camfield Estates-MIT Creating Community Connections Project, and I close with a discussion of the potential role that the Internet can play in empowering low-income families toward becoming more self-sufficient.

Self-Sufficiency and Community Technology

The federal government, in particular the Department of Housing and Urban Development, initially narrowly defined self-sufficiency as having enough income to cover your expenses from month to month without the assistance of a subsidy. The Miller and Din (1996) model captures self-sufficiency as having some semblance of control over the basic functions and fundamentals of an individual and/or a family's life. The basic functions of self-sufficiency include stability of income, education and life skills, housing stability, adequate food, safety, the availability and accessibility of needed services, relationships (social networks) and strong personal attributes (motivation, desire, etc.) (Miller & Din, 1996).

A greater sense of freedom and greater control of one's life is gained from being self-sufficient. As technology aims to make life easier, it also becomes important that a level of technological proficiency is present. This means that in today's information-based society access to information about what affects one's life can become a basic component in fulfilling the basic needs mentioned earlier. Self-sufficiency is a way of life that reduces dependency on external support in order to thrive. This is by no means an easy feat since it requires considerable self-discipline, motivation and determination, especially in today's society where some have grown accustomed to depending upon others to provide necessary resources for their basic needs.

Using information technology to move toward self-sufficiency is of critical concern because of the vast array of resources that are made available electronically on the Internet. It is not that traditional methods of getting information are not feasible. However, when having to do a mundane task such as searching for job opportunities the Internet provides a vehicle that is considerably faster than visiting a local agency and looking through thick binders of employment listings. Moreover, for entry-level jobs, an Internet search may in fact be more suitable. With the paper–intensive, centralized method there are three obstacles to overcome: (a) getting to a local or central office; (b) conducting a job search with many other people doing the same tasks and the limitations in viewing the same information at the same time; and (c) the fact that not all agencies have the infrastructure to keep employment listings current. Through technology, a central location of listings is no longer a requirement; it is much easier and faster for employ-

ers to keep their listings relatively current. Moreover, many services allow you to post your resume, so the job search becomes a two-way proposition and connection: the individual searching for employers and employers searching for individuals with particular skills, background and experience. Being able to search for essential information at one's convenience also makes the proposition of an Internet job search more time-efficient. Although this new method for job searching is convenient, it is also complex and should not become a substitute for face-to-face interactions.

The Digital Divide and the Role of Community Technology

The digital divide, as it is commonly called, is defined as the disparity in computer and Internet access and use between various social, economic, and racial groups within the United States. The National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) concluded that the divide has been getting progressively wider (1995, 1998, 1999). In their latest report (2000), analysts from NTIA concluded that the divide was showing a slight decrease; however, a significant divide still remains. As a result of the concerns provoked by the digital divide, many community initiatives were established by providing access to computers and related technology at schools, community centers, libraries and churches, etc. (Beamish, 1999; Morino, 1994; Pinkett, 2001), and by creating community-specific applications and software. The increasing demands for access and the nature of the different types of access have come-up against the limited capacity of community technology centers (CTCs). Consequently, efforts are now underway to augment traditional community computing efforts by bringing computers and communication technologies into the homes of low-income residents (Bishop, Tidline, Shoemaker, & Salela, 1999).

Community technology centers have played a significant role to date in helping to build capacities of low-income communities. Moreover, CTCs have established themselves as necessary institutions in low-income communities. Indications from a study conducted by the Community Technology Center Network (CTCNet) titled Community Technology Centers: Impact on Individual Participants and their Communities (see Mark, Cornebise, & Wahl, 1997), and research conducted by others involved with community technology initiatives call for the continued development of the technological capacity of low-income communities. This suggests that the availability of technology in the home in addition to technology centers is a critical factor. In 1998, one of the concerns raised in the CTCNet report on community technology centers was the ability of CTCs to sustain staff, resources and programming. Although technology in the home can be looked at as an alternative to the technology diffusion approach of CTCs, it really should be considered as the next step along the continuum of technology capacity building. Additionally,

CTCs can serve as support and a location for future training for home-based technology use.

Based on existing literature and the current study it is believed that the use of community technology, personal computing and Internet access is an efficient and resourceful method for linking low-income communities, families, and individuals to relevant information necessary for making an informed decision about what can affect their lives.

An Approach to Low-Income Communities, Self-Sufficiency and Information Technology

In attempting to understand information technology's potential with low-income community efforts of self-sufficiency, it is important to understand what ingredients bind self-sufficiency, low-income communities, and information technology together. By understanding this, it becomes possible to develop a theoretical approach. To merge the self-sufficiency discussion, it is critical to have access to relevant information to make an informed decision about what is of interest to the individual.

A Community Technology Center's (CTC's) primary function is to build human capital by assisting its users in their efforts to establish and/or nurture a certain standard of technological proficiency. Moreover, CTCs assist users in developing a level of comfort such that their newly developed technological ability enables them to explore new ways to use technology. Community content can be viewed as the fuel to sustaining interest in, and the perceived utility of, technology. Without relevant timely content, it is virtually impossible for technology to play a role in a low-income community's efforts toward self-sufficiency. Community networks build social capital by enabling users of technology to share relevant ideas for change and relevant information for individual and community decision-making, and to build and nurture social connections. Social capital refers here to features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, which can improve the efficiency of society, facilitating and coordinating actions (Putnam, 1993).

Finally, for all these components to come together it is important for the individual to believe that achieving these levels of understanding and technological use is in fact possible. It is important that the individual have a sense of inspiration and motivation to achieve a sense of empowerment.

Camfield Estates and Implementation Objectives

Camfield Estates, originally Camfield Gardens, was built in 1971. By the late '70s and well into the '80s Camfield experienced many of the troubles that plagued low-income communities generally—deteriorating properties, absentee landlords, problem tenants and an increase in drug-related crimes. These troubles contributed to the deterioration of not only Camfield's phys-

ical environment, but also Camfield's cherished community relations. After organizing themselves in the late '80s and early '90s, Camfield residents chose to participate in HUD/MassHousing's Demonstration Disposition or "DemoDispo" Program to have their property rebuilt. While the Camfield property was being rebuilt, residents were all relocated throughout the greater Boston area for nearly two years. The relocation forced the previous form of resident-to-resident communication to become more centralized. The main form of communication between relocated residents was funneled through the Camfield Tenant Association and circulated via newsletters, phone calls and regular meetings.

Camfield residents began returning to their newly developed town homes in the spring of 2000. Residents soon found that the community relations they had remembered had gone through a dramatic change. Because of the relocation, interpersonal relations and connections had dramatically declined. At the time we introduced the Creating Community Connections Project, the residents were faced with the challenge of how they would rebuild their old sense of community and a sense of control of their environment. Personal computing, Internet use and an on-line community would become methods by which some Camfield residents would be able to address this challenge. After identifying Camfield Estates as the research site, a detailed plan was developed for accomplishing seven implementation objectives: (a) offer new computers as opposed to old or refurbished computers; (b) have the computer put into residents' homes; (c) provide high-speed Internet connectivity; (d) provide Internet access supported by a dedicated web portal and online community; (e) engage participants in the design and implementation; (f) provide training and support to increase participant fluency in the use of technology; and (g) raise the necessary funds for the project.

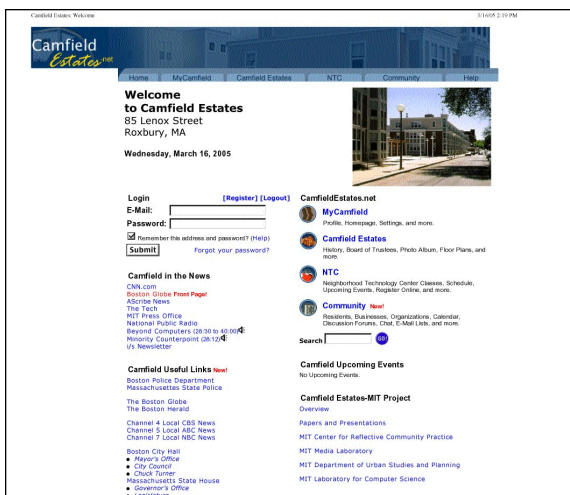## The Creating Community Connections System (C3) and Participant Training

The on-line community and web portal was named the Creating Community Connections (C3) System. The C3 system is a password-protected system designed to support specifically asset- and information-based community building, empowerment and self-sufficiency. Camfield Estates residents, through the C3 system and Internet access, would have the capacity to extend and amplify their community networks electronically. The Camfield estates website has the capacity to provide resident profiles, e-mail list-serves, discussion groups, calendar utility, chat and file storage. The dedicated on-line community had capabilities that were geared for Camfield residents to be able to communicate, discuss issues and share files. Moreover,

users were able to post important dates and events. This functionality was intended to support personal connections to other residents and to support exchange of important information (for a more comprehensive discussion of this system and rationale for particular functionalities, see Pinkett, 2001).

The C3 system was accessible by Camfield users through both Microsoft Internet Explorer and Netscape web browsers and an Internet connection. The C3 system contains several functional modules that support Internet communications. The modules included links to state and local police departments, links to publicly-elected officials including the President of the United States, links to news sources (newspaper, television, radio), news and announcements, organization and business databases, geographic information system (GIS) maps, job and volunteer opportunity postings, surveys and polls, on-line resumes, personalized web portals, and site-wide search capabilities.

In addition to the physical infrastructure (the computer and physi-

cal Internet connection), the project offered an intellectual infrastructure through a mandatory eight-week basic computer training course and several non-mandatory, but targeted workshops. Participants who could demonstrate some degree of basic technological proficiency were allowed to test-out of the required eight-week training course.

Participants also received mandatory training on the Creating Community Connections (C3) System which included how to use the Camfield website and how to explore its functionality and specific components. The C3 System is based on the principles of sociocultural constructionism (Pinkett, 2001). It is a database-backed web system designed to establish and strengthen relationships among community residents, local

businesses, and neighborhood organizations and institutions (e.g., libraries, schools, etc.). Monthly non-mandatory workshops were also conducted, related to educational, financial, government, and housing services. These workshops were specifically designed to address and provide the necessary skills to participants who wanted to learn how to search for specific information on the Internet.

The Camfield Estates Neighborhood Technology Center (CENTC) has a unique support structure. MassHousing, as the primary funding agency, developed a community-based process to decide what happens with the center. The Camfield Tenants Association (CTA), in existence more than 20 years, has played a significant role in decisions made in relation to the CENTC. The technology contractor and consultant, Williams Consulting, works very closely with both MassHousing and the CTA to ensure resident involvement in structuring and maintaining the NTC programs and curriculum. All of the partners meet regularly, both formally and informally to communicate about the CENTC and its delivery of technology.

After completing the eight-week training course and/or having successfully completed the test-out requirement, participants were given a personal computer to place in their home and were set up with two years of high-speed Internet access.

Method

A mixed-methods approach was used, which allowed various competing research methods to be triangulated, thus increasing the validity and credibility of results (Gaber & Gaber, 1997). This approach allowed the capture of not only the breadth of the study through the quantitative results, but also the depth of the study through qualitative results. The primary source of data for this manuscript is from the longitudinal survey research designed study of the Camfield Estates-MIT Creating Community Connections Project. The qualitative data was gathered through face-to-face survey interviews conducted both before and after the project by the co-researchers and trained research assistants over a twelve to fourteen month period. The survey instrument included closed- and open-ended questions, which took approximately two hours to complete. The survey instrument covered a number of areas; for the purpose of this study, items on the pre- and post-surveys captured data on community, empowerment, self-sufficiency and participant demographics. The pre-survey instrument contained questions regarding computer experience and exposure to computers (i.e., skill level), which was collected only at time one. The post-survey data was collected in follow-up interviews in the fall of 2001. The interviews were relatively informal and usually conducted in the participant's home. Web logs of participant Internet

access activities were analyzed, including statistics gathered regarding hits to the Camfield Estates website. In addition to individual interviews, qualitative data included field observations of community meetings and other resident gatherings. Additional targeted qualitative information was gathered on family uses and the mentor relationship that developed between a participant and the co-researchers.

Findings and Analysis

There were 37 participating Camfield households, which constituted 54% of 69 eligible households. Twenty of the 37 participating households were classified as full participants. Full participants were those individuals who completed the required training and follow-up interviews, and received uninterrupted Internet connectivity. Individuals that did not meet all three of the full participant requirements were not classified as full participants. The average project participant was a single (including widowed or divorced), African-American female, between the ages of 40 and 69, and at least one child under 18 in the household. The average household income was under $30,000 and many of the project participants had some formal education ranging from high school to no more than two years of college.

Sixty-two percent of participants considered themselves beginners at the start of the project, 27% reported intermediate experience with computers, and 11% considered their skills advanced. Pre-survey data revealed that among the 37 participants 46% reported that they owned a computer and 54% did not. Beginners were least likely to own a computer while intermediate and advanced were more likely to own a computer. Out of the 37 participants that considered themselves beginners, 35% were single African-American and/or Hispanic female with related children under 18 years of age.

In April of 2001, the most common websites visited by participants were community/cultural, E-Commerce and entertainment. One of the e-commerce sites, vstore.com, focused specifically on starting an online business. Unfortunately, in May of 2001, the Internet service provider discontinued operation of the transparent-proxy server that was collecting web traffic information.

Respondents that completed the post-survey reported using their computers an average of 3.8 hours per day. Fifty-five percent and 35% of post-survey respondents reported using their computer with the Internet everyday and almost everyday, respectively. The twelve most frequently performed Internet tasks from most frequent to least frequent were browsing; sending/receiving email; work/school related tasks; games; researching a

topic, hobby or interest; accessing educational resources for children; communicating with family/friends; continuing education; using Microsoft Office applications; using instant messaging programs; career or job exploration; and business or entrepreneurial activity.

Sense of Connectedness and Social Contact

Research suggests that the Internet decreases social contact and causes isolation (see Kraut et al., 1998; Nie & Erbring, 2000; Stoll, 1995). As discussed earlier, relationships and social networks are an important aspect of self-sufficiency because self-sufficiency does not mean total isolation. In fact, from a socio-economic perspective, total isolation can make one less self-sufficient. Therefore, it was important through this study to understand whether the presence of Internet access in the homes of low-income residents increased or decreased social isolation. In this study it was found that, after having computers and Internet access for more than a year, full participants overwhelmingly felt equally (32%) or more connected (37%) to other Camfield residents than they did before receiving Internet access (see Table 1). This feeling of connectedness was enhanced by the ease of information access from Internet and e-mail use. As one participant stated, "It's easy to get a message to the residents and I can do it from home." Another participant said, "It's especially good for those residents that are not able to get out as often, so they are able to stay connected with what is going on at Camfield." Additionally, it was found that participants felt equally (37%) or more connected (21%) to the Camfield Tenant Association (CTA) board. "To obtain information regarding Camfield, I usually go to our site," acknowledged one participant. Finally, residents felt equally (32%) or more (53%) connected locally, and equally (26%) or more (53%) connected beyond their local area to family members. This was confirmed by one participant who stated, "I am able to share information about hereditary family health conditions with family members here at Camfield and in other parts of the country."

Table 1: Full participants' feeling of connectedness, since receiving a computer and Internet access, and Internet and e-mail use.

Question[a]	Responses			Correlation	Coefficients
	More Connected	Equally Connected	Less Connected	E-Mail Use	Internet Use
Family/friends in your local area?	53%	32%	5%	.615 [d]	--
Family/friends not in your local area?	53%	26%	11%	.500 [c]	--
Residents at Camfield?	37%	32%	5%	--	--
Camfield Tenants Association board?	21%	37%	16%	--	.438 [b]
People inside your local community?	32%	26%	16%	--	.332 [b]
People outside your local community?	42%	26%	11%	.461 [c]	--

a n=20
b Correlation is significant at the 0.10 level for small sample size (2-tailed).
c Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
d Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The apparent relationship between e-mail use and participants' sense of connectedness to family, friends and people outside of their local community is interesting. It suggests that e-mail has a role in supporting interpersonal connections with people over distances. Also interesting is the possible relationship between Internet use and connectedness locally with the Camfield board and with people inside their local community. This suggests that other on-line functionality besides e-mail use may encourage local connectivity. Feeling connected to the Camfield board was most likely influenced by on-line CTA information and communication to residents.

It was also found that social contact increased not only between participant families but also between participants and other Camfield residents. For example, participants' average visits to one another's homes and average times talking to one another on the phone increased over the 10- to 12-month period in which this study took place. The increase was proportionally similar for full participants and other Camfield residents. Contrary to public perception and the findings of some researchers such as Nie and Erbring (2000) that Internet and e-mail use would decrease human contact, participants in this study actually reported greater levels of connectedness and social contact.

Empowerment and Self-Sufficiency

Empowerment can be looked at as the enabling ingredient in the self-sufficiency model. The empowering process includes learning decision-making skills, managing resources, and working with others, while empowerment as an outcome involves a sense of control, critical awareness and participatory behavior (Zimmerman, 2000). In this study, empowerment meant that individuals have beliefs that certain goals are possible and believe that they have the means available to accomplish those goals. Participants'remarks during post-survey interviews reveal the impact and complexity of the role of a personal computer. Qualitatively, the revelations are full of supportive ideas, expressions, emotions, states of being and understanding that directly signify feelings of empowerment and self-sufficiency. Individual responses from full participants showed what they have learned as a result of the Creating Community Connections Project and that the project has inspired continued computer use.

Many respondent comments are related to the influence of the intellectual infrastructure (human capital) that their participation provided and the development of their technological skill sets. One participant expressed pride and a sense of independence obtained through the project, stating "it [computer training] has changed my life a lot just because it has enhanced my knowledge of computers. I know a lot more how computers work and how to go online and use e-mail."

Further this quote denotes how technology nurtures feelings of independence, and the impact of this recognition of the power associated with in-home access. In addition to the impact of recognizing the relevance and the role of a personal computer, the following remark captures the potential role of technology in another respondent's broader life and future outlook: "I don't have to go to a library. I can't go out of my house. How am I going to a library? The computer is a library. I have it in my home…I mean, this is something that connects you throughout the world. And I found it incredible."

Knowledge gained about technology and the desire (goal) to learn was evident in the following respondent's remarks. Learning as a goal is generally a reasonable pursuit. The possession of understanding and motivation to pursue this goal corresponds with the notion of empowerment. Specifically one respondent commented:

> [The project] has changed my life in more ways than one. A good example of this is that I found enough courage to teach myself HTML. Had I not had this opportunity, I might still be looking to muster up the courage. I know that technology is key to the future and I know that I could personally do anything with it that I put my mind to.

Full participants' awareness of "associations and organizations that serve the community" increased over the 12-month period from 25 to 55 percent. Awareness of "volunteer opportunities in the community" and awareness of "social services and programs provided for the community" both increased 40 percentage points from the pre-survey (time1) to post-survey (time2). Awareness of "institutions located in the community (e.g., libraries and schools)" and awareness of "products and services sold by local businesses" both stayed about the same from time1 (75%, 35%) to time2 (85%, 35%) respectively. Awareness of "community projects, activities, and events" showed the largest increase of 50 percentage points from time1 to time2. Finally, awareness of "employment opportunities in the community" increased from 5% to 35% from time1 to time2. Awareness of internal resources, "skills and abilities of other residents at Camfield Estates," as shown in Table 2, rose 20% from time1 to time2.

Table 2: Awareness of community resources[2] .
Responded[a] very well or well informed

	time1	time2	Diff
Skills and abilities of other residents at Camfield Estates.	10%	30%	20%[b]
Associations and organizations that serve the community.	25%	55%	30%[b]
Volunteer opportunities in the community.	5%	45%	40%[d]
Institutions located in the community (For example, libraries and schools).	75%	85%	10%
Social services and programs provided for the community.	25%	65%	40%[d]
Community projects, activities, and events.	10%	60%	50%[d]
Businesses located in the community.	55%	65%	10%
Products and services sold by local businesses.	35%	35%	0%
Employment opportunities in the community.	5%	35%	30%[c]

[a] n=20
[b] Correlation is significant at the 0.10 level for small sample size (2-tailed).
[c] Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
[d] Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
[1] This measure is coded as 1 – not sure, 2 – less connected, 3 – equally connected, 4 – more connected.
[2] This measure is coded as 0 – not informed, 1 – somewhat informed, 2 – well informed, 3 – very well informed

Full participants responded that computer access was instrumental in their becoming more aware of available resources in their neighborhood and surrounding community. As discussed earlier, access to relevant information is an important component in the self-sufficiency model. This access is critical to an individual's ability to make informed decisions about how to deal with what affects his or her life and the lives of one's family. Key fac-

tors according to several respondents, in addition to Internet access, were their ownership of and motivation to get information and use the information:

> I think it was important for [residents] to go out and find that information ourselves [via the Internet] because that, in itself, was an exercise in community building. We are the ones that live here and this is going to benefit us and these are things that we should know.

The responses of full participants showed awareness of resources outside of the Camfield community. Specific to ownership and use of information, a respondent remarked about electronic communication as having an advantage over flyers that sometimes get lost:

> We are communicating more without a doubt. They [Camfield Tenants Association] send out e-mails to keep us updated. I think we are finding out more because they are sending it out. People had a problem finding out what was going on because they would say, 'I didn't get this or that' like the flyers or something that the kids would send out, then if they didn't get it they didn't know.

Technology's role in bolstering communication efforts and awareness is evidenced in the data and observed in participant remarks. The remarks include references to their sense of control, improved ability to communicate, ownership of online contents, taking responsibility for and sharing information and an overall sense of independence that translated into feelings of empowerment and self-sufficiency.

Discussion and Conclusion

Given this study's demographic population, which is characteristic of many low-income communities, it is important that more IT initiatives are undertaken in efforts to address the digital divide. This study revealed that once participants recognized the relevance of IT to their daily lives, including the ability to access as well as connect to family and friends, their computer use increased. Perhaps the cost of IT, and not a lack of relevancy, is a more likely inhibitor for IT use. Households with only one wage earner usually have much less dispensable income, as compared to two-income households (Wilson, 1987, 1996). The average cost of a new computer is roughly $1,000 dollars; in addition, the cost of high-speed Internet access can be as high as $50 per month (or $600 per year). The prospect of even a one-time expense of a thousand dollars (or more), not to mention the steep learning curve associated with setting up a computer and installing and using software (if one has never done it before) means that information technology may ultimately

lose out to more pressing economic and time-related family matters. This initiative was able to remove many of the economic barriers to IT use by providing free computers and access along with comprehensive computer training.

As discussed earlier, full participants reported using their computers and the Internet every day or almost every day for several hours per day. In addition to browsing the Internet and using e-mail frequently, many full participants also reported frequently doing work- or school-related tasks, researching a topic, hobby or interest, accessing education resources for their children, and communicating with family and friends. Reported usage gives important insight into the regularity with which the computer and Internet were used as a resource. Moreover, these findings also seem to refute some of the other studies that suggest Internet use and email contribute to social isolation. As the community and technology debate plays out over the next several years, I suspect concerns about Internet use causing isolation will take a different form and will have little effect on the continuing rapid growth of home computer and Internet use. That is not to suggest concern over Internet and isolation is not legitimate, but rather, the focus should be on the nature of on-line community connections and whether or not those on-line connections translate into something meaningful for the user.

The empowerment and self-sufficiency findings suggest that a personal computer and Internet access can play a role in empowering low-income individuals in becoming more self-sufficient. Moreover, Internet access plays a role in one's sense of control because of access to information, which can influence behaviors and encourage the opportunity to do more for oneself. Low-income communities and their residents have relied historically on third-party organizations to assist them in finding jobs, housing, services and other information. A personal computer and Internet access, along with comprehensive training, can help low-income residents to do more of these types of tasks on their own.

Empowerment and self-sufficiency are topics that are difficult to quantify because the definition of each can have different meanings for different people. The qualitative findings, such as self-reported feelings of empowerment and observations of self-sufficiency, provided a framework for allowing a certain degree of quantification. These findings can lead one to believe that Internet use is the sole cause of the increased sense of community, increased awareness and participatory behavior reported by participants. However, this cannot be said definitively. At the very least it can be said that Internet use did not take away from a participant's sense of community, empowerment or self-sufficiency as others have suggested.

In closing, empowerment, self-sufficiency, and community are not

concepts that are unfamiliar to Camfield residents, nor are these elements completely absent in this community. Residents desire all of the positive effects that result from achieving these ideals. The challenge is how one goes about being empowered or self-sufficient. Camfield residents, as do residents in many other low-income communities, want to be more self-sufficient and empowered and to live in safe, supportive and involved communities. Public policy has not been completely successful in its approach to promoting self-reliance. Rather, finger pointing continues to be directed at the individual and not at institutional barriers (Wilson, 1996). It is hoped that similar studies will continue to shed light on technology's role in sharing information and resources that could potentially empower an individual to become more self-sufficient.

Footnotes

[1]Linkage institution is defined in this instance as an entity that plays the role of connecting individuals and communities with information and resources (i.e. job opportunities, housing opportunities, economic opportunities, health care information, educational resources, etc.) which traditionally requires intervention by an outside agency or organization.

[2]Self-sufficiency for this paper is defined as a way of life that reduces or minimizes external support in order to survive and thrive.

[3]www.camfieldestates.net

[4]The Housing and Urban Development (HUD)/MassHousing Demonstration Disposition Project is a $200 million pilot project targeted at rehabilitating or rebuilding physically deteriorating HUD owned, low-income housing developments. Once renovated, development ownership would be transferred to residents in the form of homeownership opportunities.

[5]This system was created and designed by co-researcher Dr. Randal Pinkett.

[6]The eight-week training course in succession included:
- Introduction to the Windows Operating System: overview of the icons, menus, and toolbars associated with Windows.
- Working with files and folders: how to create, delete, copy, backup, move and rename files and install software.
- Maintenance and troubleshooting: how to conduct scan disk and defrag, use the task scheduler, change Windows settings, and use anti-virus programs.
- Introduction to Internet Explorer 5.0: brief history and definitions of the Internet and World Wide Web, and review of icons,

menus, and toolbars in Internet Explorer 5.0.

- Navigating the Internet: review of Internet address rules, how to use search engines, store bookmarks, subscribe to a web site, view browser history and surf the Web.
- Advanced file use: how to download files off the Internet, understand cookies, and work with temporary Internet files created by Internet Explorer.
- E-mail: overview of icons, menus, and toolbars in Outlook Express. How to configure an e-mail account, set up and use message rules, send and receive e-mail, manage incoming and outgoing messages, use Outlook Express address book and send e-mail attachments.
- Working with the hardware: how to set up a computer, connect printer and other peripherals.

[7]Sociocultural constructionism is a theory, expanded by Dr. Randal Pinkett (2001), which argues that "individual and community development are reciprocally enhanced by independent and shared constructive activity that is resonant with both the social setting that encompasses a community of learners, as well as the culture of the learners themselves" (p. 29)

[8]For the remainder of this manuscript the distinction between full participant and participant is intentional.

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Toward the Engaged Institution: Rhetoric, Practice, and Validation

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Abstract

This multi-case study of land grant institutions examines how campus executives, faculty, and staff at large research universities articulate and demonstrate their commitment to outreach and engagement. This study also sheds light on how community partners validate and make sense of this commitment. Findings suggest that community partner perceptions of institutional engagement are informed by rhetoric and behavior of top university leaders, and the extent to which faculty and staff successfully form community-university partnerships built on mutual respect, trust, and shared goals. The impact of various organizational structures on community perceptions of engagement is also discussed. The study provides implications for how land grant universities might better align their leadership, organizational structures, practices, and policies to be more responsive to societal needs.

During the last decade, a number of forces have challenged public colleges and universities to be more committed to serving societal needs. One of the most high profile challenges came from the Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land Grant Universities established in 1996. In their third report, *Returning to Our Roots: The Engaged Institution,* the Kellogg Commission argued that colleges and universities will face multiple challenges in the decades ahead, and at the center of these challenges is the public perception that higher education institutions are out-of-touch and unresponsive to the needs of society (Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land Grant Universities, 1999).

The Commission's stinging assertions have been supported by other studies conducted in the late 1990s suggesting that land grant institutions have drifted from their missions to be universities of the people. Among them, Bonnen's (1998) extensive critique of the modern land grant institution argued that university outreach and public service "is poorly focused and not well internalized in the value system of the modern university" (p. 39). His analysis led him to conclude, "We must face the fact that

the covenant that has governed the university's relationship with society since World War II has dissolved" (p. 45).

In response to these criticisms and growing accountability pressures from legislators and the public, national movements have emerged in an attempt to steer colleges and universities toward a more public agenda. Among them, a national clearinghouse has been established to help faculty members evaluate the quality of outreach scholarship as they seek promotion and tenure (Scholarship of Engagement, 2004) and organizations such as the National Forum on Higher Education for the Public Good have been established to "significantly increase awareness, understanding, commitment, and action relative to the public service role of higher education in the United States" (National Forum on Higher Education for the Public Good, 2004, para. 1).

The movement to create more publicly engaged institutions has gained momentum due to key scholarly contributions that have placed outreach scholarship in a more prominent light. Important works such as Scholarship Reconsidered (Boyer, 1990), Scholarship Assessed (Glassick, Huber & Maeroff, 1997) and Making the Case for Professional Service (Lynton, 1995) have been especially important influences on how faculty work might be reconceptualized to focus on serving broad public interests (Knox, 2001).

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to contribute to an understanding of how land grant universities might better align their leadership, organizational structures, practices, and policies to be more responsive to societal needs. A unique aspect of this study is that it is concerned with the perspectives of community stakeholders and the factors that these partners believe are key to demonstrating a university's commitment to outreach and engagement. Stemming from this rationale, two primary research questions guide this study: First, what are the factors that shape or characterize a land grant institution's commitment to outreach and engagement? Stated another way, what is the rhetoric and practice that defines and guides institutional efforts in outreach and engagement? Second, in what ways and to what extent do these institutional factors inform community partners' perceptions about institutional commitment to outreach and engagement? In other words, how do important stakeholders outside the institution validate and make sense of a land grant university's commitment to outreach and engagement?

Before these questions can be investigated, it is first important to clearly define two key terms in this study: "community" and "engagement." This study recognizes the challenges of defining both terms, as their interpretations are often nebulous and far-reaching in scope. In this study, com-

munity refers to geographical regions within states linked by common experiences and concerns (Anderson & Jayakumar, 2002). As for the term "engagement," this study borrows from a definition as articulated by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) Task Force on Public Engagement. According to AASCU, "The publicly engaged institution is fully committed to direct, two-way interaction with communities and other external constituencies through the development, exchange, and application of knowledge, information, and expertise for mutual benefit" (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 2002, p. 7). The concept of engagement as it is defined by AASCU is best understood through the lens of open systems theory, which provides the theoretical orientation for this paper.

Open systems theory.

Organizational theorists point out that higher education institutions face multiple organizational and structural challenges as they attempt to respond to a broad and diverse public agenda. Fundamentally, colleges and universities have been described as "organized anarchies" because they operate with ambiguous goals, unclear procedures, and are vulnerable to changes in their environment (Cohen & March, 1974). Open systems theory applies well to "organized anarchies" like colleges and universities that are made up of complex and loosely connected coalitions of shifting interest groups (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) capable of autonomous actions (Glassman, 1973).

Recognizing these organizational characteristics of colleges and universities, open systems theory provides a compelling framework for thinking about the forces that guide institutions to move toward establishing a two-way, mutually beneficial relationship with their communities. From an open systems perspective, "engagement" with the environment is essential for the survival and functioning of the system:

The interdependence of the organization and its environment receives primary attention in the open systems perspective. Rather than overlooking the environment, the open systems perspective stresses the reciprocal ties that bind and relate the organization with those elements that surround and penetrate it. The environment is perceived to be the ultimate source of materials, energy, and information, all of which are vital to the continuation of the system. Indeed, the environment is seen to be the source of order itself. (Scott, 1992, p. 93)

Within this framework, an interdependent relationship between the university and its external stakeholders is especially important, because the survival of an institution is viewed as dependent on information and resources from these stakeholders. The present movement for public colleges and universities to "reengage" with societal needs has stemmed from

threatening information from outside institutions that has pushed colleges and universities to be more responsive to their constituents. Challenged by increased demands for accountability, a skeptical media, and an intense demographic shift in the U.S. population, the leaders of the Kellogg Commission warned, "Institutions ignore a changing environment at their peril. Like dinosaurs, they risk becoming exhibits in a kind of cultural Jurassic Park: places of great interest and curiosity, increasingly irrelevant in a world that has passed them by. Higher education can not afford to let this happen" (Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land Grant Universities, 1996, p. 2).

Open systems theory assumes that loosely coupled organizations (Weick, 1976) like colleges and universities are capable of self-maintenance and that they have the ability to reconnect with societal demands to ensure their survival. The literature review that follows relies on this framework to understand organizational challenges facing colleges and universities as they attempt to be more engaged with community partners.

Review of Literature and Conceptual Framework

Scholars have noted that institutional commitment to outreach and engagement varies significantly across colleges and universities. While most campuses have rhetoric that speaks of their commitment to outreach and engagement, the breadth, depth, and richness of engagement vary significantly across postsecondary education institutions (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 2002; Holland, 1997; National Association for State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, 2002). The true test of understanding institutional commitment to outreach and engagement is to investigate the attributes of campuses that characterize these activities (Holland, 1997).

The literature reviewed for this study provides a broad conceptual framework for mapping the complex set of factors that explain institutional commitment to service and outreach. These factors can be grouped into the following four categories: institutional history and culture; leadership, organizational structure and policies; faculty and staff involvement; and campus communications.

Institutional history plays an important role in shaping campus culture, mission, and future directions for outreach and engagement activities on campus. For example, in Wisconsin, the University of Wisconsin-Madison's commitment to service can be traced back to the "Wisconsin Idea," the early 20th Century concept of leveraging the expertise of the university to directly improve the lives of state residents (Berry, 1972). This concept continues to shape UW-Madison's mission and vision for serving the state as the institution strives to update the idea for the 21st Century (Ward, 1999).

Leadership has been identified in many studies as a key factor predicting institutional commitment to outreach and engagement (e.g., Maurrasse, 2001; Votruba, 1996; Walshok, 1999; Ward, 1996; Zlotkowski, 1998). It is known that presidential leaders are critical to legitimizing service activities (Ward, 1996) and that the intellectual and political support of charismatic leaders are important to sustaining institutional commitment to service (Walshok, 1999). In addition, leaders are vital to providing a "public face" of engagement by hosting events, providing contacts, and playing other roles to support the effort (Walshok, 1999) and are central to sustaining engagement efforts since these individuals are charged with making key decisions about funding outreach programs (Ward, 1996).

A foundational work informing the organizational aspects of this literature review was conducted by Holland (1997), who investigated institutional commitment to service learning. Drawing on 23 case studies conducted between 1994 and 1997, Holland identified and evaluated seven organizational factors strongly associated with institutional commitment to service learning programs: mission, promotion, tenure, hiring, organizational structure, student involvement and curriculum, faculty involvement, community involvement, and campus publications.

As Holland (1997) suggests, organizational structure is important to understanding how an institution views the status of outreach or engagement programs. A recent study suggested that centralized outreach structures are more effective than decentralized structures as they are used to help research universities track, coordinate, and communicate its service to the state and local communities (Weerts, 2002). Similarly, it is known that outreach and engagement projects housed in a president or chancellor's office can give a clear signal to campus partners that such projects are high priority (Weiwel & Lieber, 1998) and that such organizational arrangements help to recruit faculty to take on projects such as service learning (Bringle & Hatcher, 2000).

Organizational structure is also important at the community level, as community participation in the leadership—shared governance, shared staff positions, and committee work—is continually negotiated and restructured among partners (Bringle & Hatcher, 2000). Evaluation of these partnerships is critical to establishing a sense of ongoing commitment to engagement among participants (Walshok, 1999).

Faculty and staff involvement is also essential to analyzing institutional commitment to outreach and engagement. A strong core of committed faculty and staff is essential to institutionalizing values of service (Zlotkowski, 1998) and their commitment is shaped by organizational rewards and mechanisms that promote or inhibit their participation.

Rigid structures of academic departments can stymie outreach and engagement because they often place intense fiscal and structural constraints on faculty who seek to undertake these activities (Ewell, 1998), and limited funding and poor faculty reward systems are barriers to faculty members' involvement with off-campus service programs (Seldin, 1982). Holland (1997) reports that clarity of public service mission; degree of support for public service in logistics, planning, and evaluation; faculty development; and rewards and incentives were good predictors of whether faculty would be involved in service learning. The extent to which faculty and staff involve students in planning service activities and curriculum is also an important indicator of campus commitment to service (Ward, 1996).

Finally, the cultural aspects of faculty and staff ability to work with community members and among disciplines must not be overlooked. Faculty are socialized within traditional views of higher education and place boundaries on what constitutes "appropriate academic behavior" and thus advance restrictive definitions of research and promotion that inhibit community based work (Dickson, Gallacher, Longden, & Bartlett, 1985). Similarly, the two-way interaction as proposed by leaders of engagement initiatives is often hampered because university research is designed narrowly, with community partners acting as passive participants, not partners in discovery (Corrigan, 2000). Also, effective outreach and engagement initiatives require cooperation among a variety of disciplinary fields to address societal problems, and breaking down academic barriers requires significant attention to organizational structures, management, and budgeting (Amey, Brown, & Sandmann, 2002). The ability of faculty to represent service-related work as scholarship is key to legitimizing these activities (Lynton & Elman, 1987).

Another important piece of analyzing institutional commitment to service is understanding internal and external communication practices of colleges and universities. Internally, studies suggest that strong centralized communications—supported by a centralized database of service activities—can promote campus collaboration in developing outreach programs and reduce duplication of activities (Mankin, 2000). Outside of the institution, community partners need access to "entry points" where they can obtain information about opportunities for collaboration with university partners (Lynton & Elman, 1987). Campus publications that target external stakeholders and articulate the service aspects of their universities can also serve to advance the institution's public relations efforts (Holland, 1997).

The multi-faceted factors identified in this conceptual framework might be easily lost in a strictly narrative form. Thus, the relationships among these factors are visually presented in the "fishbone" or "cause and effect" diagram shown in Figure 1. A fishbone diagram is useful because it

makes clear the relationships between dependent and independent variables and provides a format for documenting verified causal relationships (Scholtes, 1994). Applied to the conceptual framework of this study, the head of the fish (dependent variable) is labeled "institutional commitment to outreach and engagement." The large and small bones of the fish represent the macro and micro independent variables affecting commitment to outreach and engagement.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework
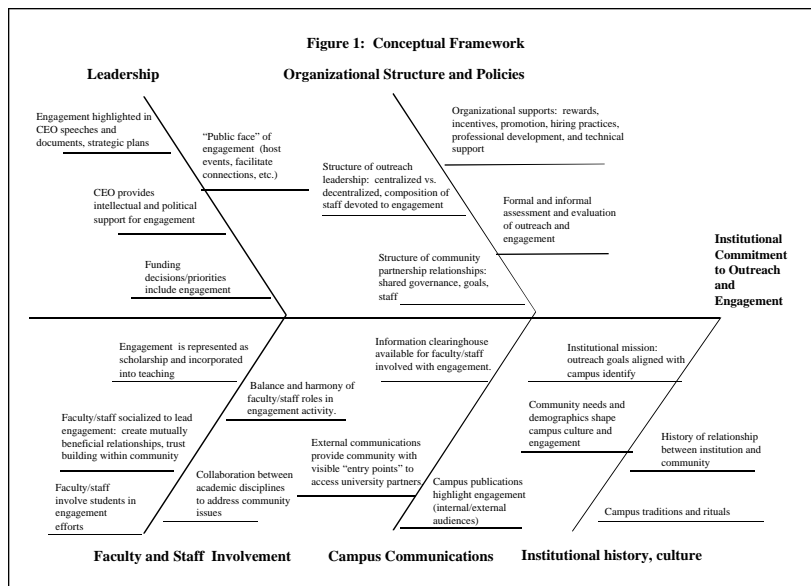
Methodology

The research questions in this study are addressed through a multi-case study of three land grant universities that have historically been active leaders in community outreach and engagement: the University of Illinois at Urbana/Champaign (UIUC), the University of Georgia (UGA), and the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW). These institutions were selected for investigation primarily due to their strong reputation for supporting outreach and engagement. The reason for selecting a multi-case method for this study is to show generalizability of data (Bogdan & Bicklen, 1992). In other words, data from the three institutions are analyzed and used to make broader conclusions about the link between organizational factors and community perceptions of outreach and engagement at land grant institutions.

Interviews and document review were the primary methods in all three phases of data collection for this study. In the first phase, the campus provost and chief officers overseeing outreach programs were interviewed to

get a sense of the history, mission, and culture that guide outreach and engagement at their institutions. Using snowball sampling (Bogdan & Bicklen, 1992), these interviewees provided names of other key informants and documents that could help shed light on institutional efforts to promote outreach and engagement. In phase one, interviewees were asked to name three to five community partnerships underway on their campus that typified the institution's practices in outreach and engagement. Based on these interviews, two engagement initiatives were selected on each campus for further investigation and leaders of these initiatives were interviewed in phase two of the project.

Upon being interviewed, campus leaders of the engagement initiatives under investigation were asked to provide the names and contact information for three to six community partners who would be willing to be interviewed for the project. In phase three of my interviewing process, these community partners were interviewed to gain their perspective on issues of university-community partnerships. Measures were taken to ensure confidentiality of respondents and all data were coded using the procedures outlined by Bogdan and Bicklen (1992). Interview protocol stemmed from this study's conceptual framework. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the 44 interviews conducted for this project.

Table 1: Interviews by campus and stakeholder group

	University of Georgia (UGA)	*University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW)*	*University of Illinois-Urbana, Champaign (UIUC)*
Phase 1: Campus executives (provost, outreach senior executives)	3	3	2
Phase 2: Faculty and staff leaders of engagement initiative	4	7	6
Phase 3: Community partners affiliated with engagement initiative	6	7	6
Total interviews	13	17	14

Rhetoric and Practice of Outreach and Engagement at Land Grant Universities

UGA, UIUC, and UW share similar histories as major research universities that are defined by their land grant traditions. This theme was heavily referenced throughout campus interviews as respondents resonated to their historic missions to be "universities of the people." Among the three institutions, Wisconsin is especially linked to its famous organizing principle called the Wisconsin Idea. The century-old concept stems from UW's early leadership in linking university knowledge to public policy, economic development, and agricultural improvements across the state.

Corresponding to their histories, the missions of all three institutions point to their commitment to public service and outreach in terms of their obligation to "bring resources in the form of professional knowledge to improve quality of life," as one interviewee put it. The campus mission statements at the three institutions largely reflect an extension type model where the institutions view themselves as widening their borders of expertise to transfer technology and knowledge to the far corners of their states. One provost summarized a general conception of a land grant institution's role in connecting to societal needs: "The original articulation of the land grant mission is to bring the knowledge of the university to the state. Now we extend this idea nationally and internationally, literally reaching out to anyone with our products of scholarly and creative work." My review of campus documents suggested that the concept of engagement on these campuses is still emerging, and that the rhetoric and practice leading the institution toward a two-way relationship with states and communities is largely dependent on the philosophy of campus leaders overseeing outreach activities.

Leadership and organizational structure for outreach and engagement vary significantly across the three institutions. UW has the most decentralized structure and defines outreach broadly across all the schools and colleges. The Provost and the Vice Chancellor for Continuing Programs loosely oversee the programs, but outreach programs are managed, governed, and communicated by schools, colleges, and institutes across the university. Most importantly, a separate UW System campus named UW-Extension (UWEX) controls the budget for outreach across the UW System and shares faculty and staff appointments with UW-Madison and other UW campuses to engage campus faculty in extension work.

The leadership, structure, and culture of UW lend itself to a "hands off" approach toward outreach and engagement by allowing various units to determine their appropriate role in linking their activities to the Wisconsin Idea. Said one campus executive, "Outreach lives in many places at UW, and

commitment to this activity varies from department to department." In this context, it is important to make clear that the face of public service and outreach at UW is shared with the UW-Extension campus, since both institutions share land grant status in Wisconsin. UW-Extension's explicit mission is to work with the UW-Madison and all the other UW System campuses to make the research and other resources of the University available to Wisconsin residents throughout the state. In this sense, outreach is very high profile in Wisconsin because it has been elevated to the level of being its own institution through the UW-Extension campus, but this may consequently lessen the profile of outreach on the UW-Madison campus.

UIUC and UGA are similar to UW in that the work of outreach on these campuses is conducted in schools, colleges, and institutes across the institutions. The difference, however, is that the UIUC and UGA campuses each operate a high profile office within their institutions as the "public face" of outreach and engagement. UIUC, for example, has an office of public engagement that acts as a broker between outside partners and UIUC on programs important to the state. Led by a Vice Chancellor for Public Engagement, UIUC has a strong presence and support for the concept of engagement. Central to this presence was the leadership of former Chancellor Nancy Cantor, who spoke about the values of engagement in speeches, published articles, and vision points on her webpage. Said one interviewee, "Nancy Cantor is committed to the concept of engagement — the concept of shared decision making versus the expert model. She recognizes the failures of the one-way approach that have historically defined our institutions."

At UGA, leadership for outreach is the responsibility of a Vice President for Public Service and Outreach. As evidenced by communications on the UGA website, the Vice President uses his position and authority to position outreach and engagement as an important strategic priority for the institution. The Office of Public Service and Outreach is set up to promote visibility and emphasize stewardship of UGA resources aimed to help Georgia communities. The structure reportedly aims to help the institution be responsive to public needs and act in more flexible ways to connect UGA personnel and community partners.

Across UW, UGA, and UIUC, rewards and incentives are beginning to be put in place to encourage traditional faculty to be involved in outreach. For example, UGA has service awards that provide recognition and support for faculty who are engaged in outreach. Similarly, the UW Chancellor hosts an event at his home to recognize those involved with service activities. UIUC also sponsors events to honor and recognize outreach work conducted by UIUC faculty.

While these reward mechanisms are viewed as important, interview data suggests that faculty involvement in outreach and engagement is ultimately contingent upon how this work will benefit their teaching and research. For some traditional faculty members in applied programs, the link can be made more easily. Said one associate professor in urban and regional planning at UW, "The partnership with the community benefits my teaching. Graduate students get a great experience in designing community workshops to study these issues—the community is a perfect laboratory for my students to learn."

Despite the efforts of some faculty, this study suggests that outreach and engagement at land grant universities is largely happening due to the work of outreach and academic staff, not traditional faculty. For example, UGA operates a separate public service career ladder housing over 800 UGA employees who are solely devoted to this effort. At UW, outreach appointments through UWEX are similar in scope and responsibility. In addition, UWEX buys time from faculty specialists across the UW System who devote a part of their work to outreach. Still, there is evidence that in some cases there is a divide between the "two classes" of employees. One outreach staff member when asked about working with traditional faculty on outreach projects said, "I'm glad that they [faculty] aren't involved with outreach. Most faculty have academic envy and are chasing Harvard instead of recognizing our charter to serve the people of this state."

In all cases, it was clear that traditional faculty would not be hired on the quality of their service, but that there is increasing support for engagement scholarship in some pockets of land grant universities. The challenge for all the institutions is that faculty have difficultly knowing how to evaluate this work and thus give it real consideration in promotion and tenure decisions. Still, tenure guidelines are being updated to "unpack and differentiate" outreach scholarship, as one campus executive put it, so that engagement work gains legitimacy among faculty throughout the institution. For example, the UWEX created a model to assess outreach scholarship for use in tenure and promotion decisions for outreach faculty (Wise, Retzleff, & Reilly, 2002). Despite these efforts, a challenge to assessing outreach is that it has many meanings across land grant institutions and can often be defined as almost anything outside of teaching and research.

Assisting the outreach and engagement effort at these institutions is student involvement through service learning programs and volunteer activities. Students on the three campuses are involved in this work to the extent that faculty in their major/minor areas are involved with engagement scholarship. Interview data suggests that among the three campuses, UGA is in the earliest stages of involving students through service learning, while UW's efforts in this area have been accelerated by the formation of the

Morgridge Center for Public Service. Funded by an endowment from the Morgridge family in 1996, the Center "promotes citizenship and learning through service within local, national and global communities," (Morgridge Center for Public Service, 2004, about section). At UIUC, the Office of Volunteer Services helps match students with service learning and volunteer activities throughout Illinois, most notably the East St. Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP), which involves over 400 student volunteers each year.

All three institutions investigated in this multi-case study are struggling with establishing useful measurements to demonstrate the impact of outreach and engagement activities. One campus executive staff member summarized it best:

> It is hard to measure the quality of public service because we have less consensus about what the outcomes are and should be. It is easy to evaluate the research area because we can look at the quality of the journal, number of citations of the author, etc. A lot of evaluation for service is applied to clinical aspects or the development of patents or total volumes sold.

Campus respondents all acknowledged that they primarily relied on input measures to understand impact of outreach but are trying to move to more qualitative outcome measures. UGA and UWEX have seemingly led the way in developing new benchmarks to measure impact of services and economic impact on clients. However, these techniques are not widespread among the institutions.

At all the institutions, communication pieces promoting outreach and engagement heavily compete for print and air time with many other university programs, especially in the area of research. A documents review suggested that UIUC had the most comprehensive coverage of outreach and engagement activities that were often integrated into the research and instructional missions of their institutions. The review suggested that publications pertaining to public service seem to have a more unified message when directed through centralized offices that have a "public face" for engagement (UGA and UIUC vs. UW).

Validation: Community Partner Perspectives of Outreach and Engagement

In this section, the voices of community partners shed light on factors perceived as key to understanding and validating institutional commitment to outreach and engagement. To limit the scope of this paper, interview data from community partners representing one engagement initiative from each campus will be summarized and presented within this study's conceptual framework. These initiatives include the UW Villager Mall project; Clarke County School District—

UGA—Athens-Clarke County (ACC) Partnership; and the Office for Mathematics, Science and Technology.

Education (MSTE) at UIUC.

Responding to failing marks of schools in Athens, UGA's five-year partnership with Athens-Clarke County schools was developed in 2001 to establish at-risk schools as community learning centers "where leadership, resources and accountability are shared among all the partners, parents, and most importantly, students" (CCSD/UGA/Athens Community Partnership for Community Learning Centers, 2003, about us section). A wide range of school administrators, community partners, and UGA faculty, staff, and students collaborate in problem solving through action teams that address curriculum, community and parent involvement, educator preparation, and other components of education.

In Madison, Wisconsin, the UW joined a group of neighborhood associations called the South Metropolitan Planning Council (SMPC) to improve quality of life on South Park Street, an area of the city troubled by significant urban problems related to lack of affordable housing and persistent poverty. In 1998, the UW made a five-year commitment to lease space in the Park Street Villager Mall to play a role in training the community, providing expertise and resources to build capacity in neighborhoods, and to mobilize community teams to work on key issues such as housing and transportation. The initiative involves a large group of community partners and UW faculty, staff and students.

Finally, the University of Illinois' MSTE program was established in 1993 to support technology-based teaching and learning at the K-16 level. The MSTE program facilitates education reform in mathematics, science, and technology through a set of high-tech networks and communities (Reese, 2002). Innovative web-based modules provide standards-based, technology-intensive math and science instruction for students, teachers and faculty at all levels. The MSTE website receives over 100,000 hits per month to access its programs. The program is guided by an advisory board consisting of UIUC faculty, staff, and K-16 teachers and administrators who assist in program design.

Leadership.

This study suggests that community perceptions about institutional commitment to outreach and engagement are informed by the rhetoric and behaviors of top executives at each of the institutions. One community member involved with the UW Villager Mall explained: "There is a sense among us that commitment to this project runs deep. The Chancellor's Office has highlighted this initiative in a special event and the university can use this initia-

tive to its credit." A community member in Georgia also recognized the role of formal institutional leadership saying, "It took the Deans level leadership to change the culture — the feeling that they [faculty] were doing service work despite their real duties of research."

Most importantly, community members from all the institutions felt that top-level leadership was crucial to sustaining their particular initiative. At UIUC, some community partners involved with the MSTE program were worried about institutional leaders applying pressure to make the program primarily a research-oriented office and its implications for the unit's mission and sustainability. In Athens, one community partner said, "How long will UGA fund staff to do this work? What if the Dean of the College of Education moves or if the superintendent takes a new job?" At both the community partner and institutional levels, campus leadership was viewed as key to understanding the sustainability and commitment to engagement initiatives.

In sum, the study suggests that institutional responsiveness is best understood by observing top-level leadership, and that responsiveness is often the result of threatening action outside the institution. For example, in the Villager Mall (UW) and Athens—Clark County (UGA) case studies, outside forces propelled institutional leaders to take collective action in response to adverse conditions outside the institution. At UW, the declining state of Park Street threatened the vibrancy of the gateway to the campus, igniting action at the UW Chancellor's Office to address the issue. Similarly, the ACC—UGA initiative was spurred on by the pending risk of closing two area elementary schools.

Faculty and staff attitudes and involvement.

The findings of this study support previous literature suggesting that structure, promotion and tenure, and organizational issues are important factors enabling faculty and staff to take on leadership roles in outreach and engagement. However, from the perspective of community partners interviewed in this study, socializing faculty and staff to work effectively with community members is just as important as building organizational mechanisms and policies to encourage faculty and staff participation. In other words, community partners informed me that one must go beyond analyzing structural and organizational factors when studying commitment to engagement and more carefully investigate the cultural and social factors that underlie these structures and organizational systems.

For example, when asked what factors were most important to building productive working relationship with the university, the most common answer was "mutual respect and communication." There is evidence that faculty and staff can, at times, be both the best evidence of institutional

commitment to outreach and engagement, or the most damning evidence against it.

The cases of successful faculty and staff involvement with the community were primarily evident at the level of providing expertise and service to the community on a particular project, such as housing, transportation, or educational issues. As the ACC—UGA example demonstrated, faculty and staff made trips to the school and offered expertise and personal support in a way that "inspired success," as one community partner put it. Others alluded to the strong personal relationships that some faculty members have built with the community over time and how this impacts the perception of the institution's commitment to engagement. As one community partner involved with the MSTE program pointed out, "They [MSTE staff] are good people who got into education for the right reasons and they are passionate and believe that their work will improve education. The partnership with MSTE works because they [MSTE staff] care about being successful for the kids versus protecting their own curriculum."

The most obvious barriers to successful engagement in these case studies are governance centered—how the faculty and staff relate to community partners in setting up the partnerships. It was clear that power issues are constantly being negotiated throughout the formation of the partnerships, and that trust may wax and wane during their formation. Evidence of conflict arose in two of the three partnerships. Said one frustrated community member, "The university must do what they say they are doing… if this is an initiative of equals, act like equals. Turn off your cell phone. Don't take the call in front of all of us. If you are that important have someone else join us." Similarly, use of language was important, as some community partners smirked that the university typically lists "university" first when describing "university-community" partnerships. However, some leaders of these initiatives are aware of the importance of language and have made efforts to ensure the evenhandedness of the university's profile with the community.

Organizational structure.

Reviewing data from this study, it is clear that organizational structure is a challenge to facilitating engagement. The "organized anarchy" (Cohen and March, 1974) of complex land grant universities was acknowledged at all levels of interviews, but especially from community partners. As the previous analysis revealed, organizational structure of outreach varies across the campuses and had some effect on how community members viewed the accessibility of the institution.

One community respondent summarized, "It is hard to get to know a place as complex as the UW. We often don't know what is available on campus to even ask for help. Our council is still trying to figure out how we

can access the entire UW as a resource and this is difficult given complexity of the institution." Said another who expressed frustration with the organizational structure of the decentralized nature of campus, "I felt like I was sent through this maze to the point that I almost lost interest [in participating in the program]. It is overwhelming in size and we didn't know who to talk to first." On the other hand, community partners in Illinois noted that participation in UIUC programs was enhanced through the formal creation of the Partnership Illinois program facilitated by the Vice Chancellor for Public Engagement. One community member said, "We tried for two years for people to work with us and nobody would even talk to us. Our opportunities expanded when the Vice Chancellor [for Public Engagement] got involved."

Despite these successes, a central challenge to engagement is that outreach and engagement is happening far beyond the boundaries of a central administrative unit, even within the most centralized outreach structures like UGA. Subsequently, the complex web of outreach and engagement activities makes it difficult to harness and understand the breadth and depth of these activities, even at the highest levels of leadership. As one community member put it, "The truth is, even the Chancellor's Office doesn't know what is all going on throughout campus and who has what expertise."

Conclusions and Implications

In this study, organizational factors most strongly associated with community partner perceptions of institutional commitment to outreach and engagement were best understood through the domains of leadership, organizational structures, and faculty and staff involvement.

An important finding of this study is that leadership at the top levels of the institution is critical to demonstrating commitment to outreach and engagement—both in the institutional context and the community partner context. As much of the literature suggests, top-level leadership serves to legitimize and reward engagement activities among university participants. This study further suggests that leaders at the executive level have an important role in assuring community partners that the initiative is sustainable, important, and valued within the institution. Leaders demonstrate this commitment in rhetoric and by providing a public, high profile face to these activities. An implication of this finding is for institutions to increase the visibility of campus leaders in communities where engagement is high priority.

However, while leadership is important, this study suggests that work at the ground level is essential to "backing up" the rhetoric of institutional leaders. For example, in addition to providing formal infrastructures and rewards to foster engagement activities, professional development programs must carefully prepare university personnel to build trust and mutual-

ly beneficial relationships with community partners. A main finding of this study is that developing an academic culture to support community work is critical to developing successful partnerships and plays an important role in demonstrating institutional commitment to engagement. One possible strategy is to develop an Outreach and Engagement Academy whereby faculty and staff are trained by experienced leaders of engagement representing both the campus and community. Such a program has been recommended by members of NASULGC's Extension Committee on Organizational Policy (National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, 2002). In Wisconsin, UWEX has developed a training program called the Extension Administrative Leadership Program (EALP) whereby faculty and staff who are a part of engagement work on UW campuses can enhance their professional competence and prospects for moving up the career ladder.

This study also provides implications for organizational structure. Findings suggest that community members examine the governance and organizational structure of the community-university partnerships to understand the power dynamics that define the institution's role in the community. Building collaborative structures was often cited as a critical piece of facilitating joint problem solving, community-based solutions, and fostering trust with community partners.

In addition, this study cautiously supports other literature (Weerts, 2000) suggesting that a centralized outreach structure such as the Office of Public Service and Outreach at UGA or Office of the Vice Chancellor for Public Engagement at UIUC may help facilitate access into the institution and provide community members with a recognizable structure that legitimizes outreach and engagement activity. This finding supports neo-institutional theorists who contend that organizational structures themselves can serve as an important signaling mechanism to the organization's constituencies about the values of an organization (Scott, 1992).

Figure 2 revisits the fishbone diagram from Figure 1 and illustrates how the findings from this study contribute to its conceptual framework. Marked by asterisks and bold type, the updated framework highlights key influences within leadership, organizational structure, faculty staff involvement, and communication that play an important role in validating commitment to outreach and engagement at land grant institutions.

Figure 2, Fishbone Diagram *(next page)*

Figure 2: Study Contributions to Conceptual Framework
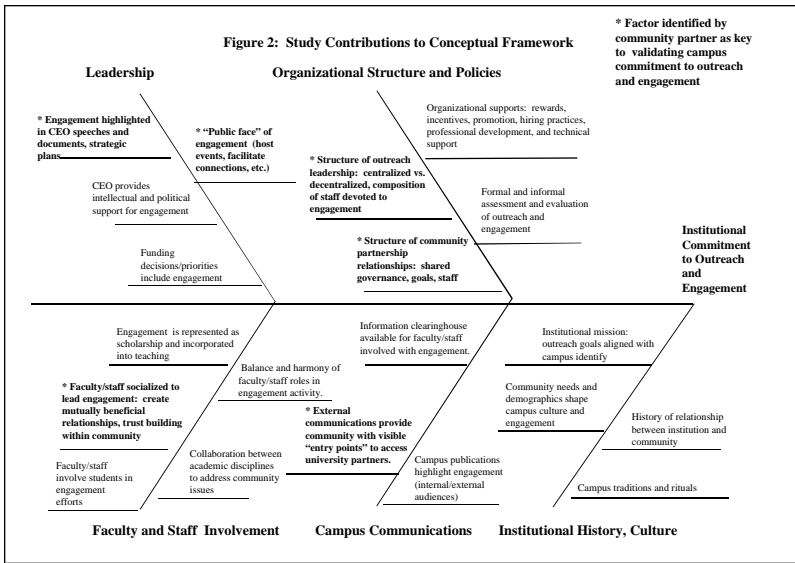
Limitations and Future Research

Finally, some limitations are important to address at the conclusion of this study. Most importantly, this study recognizes the many complexities associated with studying the public service and outreach mission of colleges and universities. While an attempt was made to place parameters on this study, it is understood that organizational systems and definitions associated with outreach and engagement opportunities are multifaceted and often defined in a variety of ways. Put simply, this study offers one perspective on a very large issue that deserves more in-depth analysis.

Furthermore, this emerging model requires more data before firm conclusions and implications can be made that affect institutional policy and strategy. Additional interviews and case study sites would provide richer perspectives into the issues raised in this study and would strengthen its conclusions.

There is a wealth of opportunity for future research building on this study. This research suggests that the organizational structure of outreach and engagement be studied in more detail so that firmer conclusions might be made about the "public effects" of centralized vs. decentralized structures on how community partners perceive institutional commitment to engagement.

Finally, an important area of research is to investigate the effect of outreach programs on public and political support for the institution. As the

introduction to this paper suggested, engagement is viewed as vital to the future of public higher education and institutions must be committed to this activity in order to remain relevant and deemed worthy of public investment. With more data and analysis, research on outreach and engagement will provide multiple benefits to practitioners, policymakers and interested scholars committed to aligning institutions to be responsive to their public service roles.

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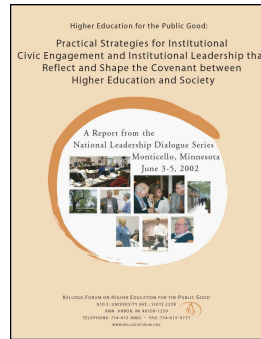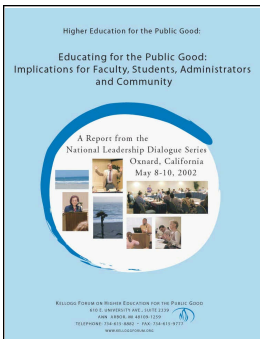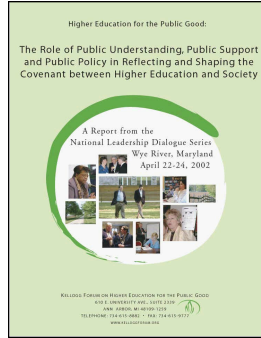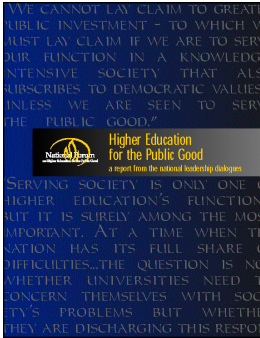
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